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HISTORY
OF THE
AFFAIRS OF CHURCH AND STATE
IN
SCOTLAND,
FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION
TO THE YEAR 1568.

BY THE
RIGHT REV. ROBERT KEITH,
PRIMUS OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, NOTES, AND INDEX,
BY
JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR THE SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY.
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PREFACE TO VOLUME SECOND

BY THE EDITOR.



O those who are interested in the public and private life of QUEEN MARY of Scotland, the present volume, comprising Bishop Keith's "Second Book" of his original folio, will be peculiarly acceptable. The details here given of the unfortunate Queen's eventful career, after her return from France and assumption of the Government till her compulsory abdication of the Crown and her flight into England, her unhappy marriages to Darnley and Bothwell, and the plots and murders which continually succeeded each other, in connection with the known character of the perpetrators and their associates, have more the aspect of a romance than a reality ; and the deeds of blood were so bold, daring, and extraordinary, that, were it not for their undoubted authenticity, we are almost induced to view them as terrible fictions, or exaggerated delineations of human depravity. As the truth, however, cannot be questioned, the succession of crime here recorded is a sad memorial of the dreadful state of Scotland in the sixteenth century.

The Editor in this volume has endeavoured to make it as complete as the limits admitted. He has followed Queen Mary in all her progresses and transactions with the utmost minuteness, and a large extent of new matter is introduced in the form of original notes, or of additions, explanations, and corrections, to those of Bishop Keith. Many facts dis-

covered since his time are prominently introduced, to which the Bishop had no access, or were then unknown; the deficiencies in our Historian's narrative are supplied; and altogether this volume is as much a new Work in the Notes as it is a reprint of the Text. The authorities are also in every case inserted, that the reader may be satisfied as it respects the sources of information. In short, it has been the object of the Editor to render the Notes an ample commentary on Bishop Keith's "History."

In editing a Work such as this, the researches of Mr Chalmers, in his elaborate "Life of Mary Queen of Scots," and more recently of Mr Tytler, in his "History of Scotland," are of the most essential importance, and the only regret is the partizanship of the former, and the inaccuracy, in many instances, of the dates of the latter, which are too numerous to be typographical mistakes. Thus, in Mr Tytler's first edition of his "History" we have the birth of James VI., which was in 1566, and most of the events of that year, narrated as occurring in 1565. Some of the publications of the BANNATYNE, ABBOTSFORD, and MAITLAND CLUBS, and the WODROW SOCIETY's edition of Calderwood's "Historie of the Kirk of Scotland," to a MS. of which Bishop Keith had access, are most valuable in elucidating the events of the time, as they were chiefly written by contemporaries, some of whom were intimately associated or acquainted with the parties.

In the Preface to the "Historie and Life of King James the Sext," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, and edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq. Advocate, Bishop Keith is censured for not "plainly denouncing the historical infidelity" of David Crawford of Drumsoy "in the broad and unqualified terms which he must have known it to have merited." This alludes to the Work, published in 1706, entitled—"Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, containing a Full and Impartial

Account of the Revolution in that Kingdom, begun in 1597 ; faithfully published from an authentic MS. By her Majesty's Historiographer for Scotland." The avowed object of the said Mr Crawford of Drumsoy, the ostensible Editor of this Work, was to counteract the tendency of Buchanan's History, the then popularity of which in Scotland is greatly deplored by Queen Anne's Scottish Historiographer. The reader is referred to the Preface of the genuine narrative, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB in 1825, for an account of the various MSS. of the now unknown contemporary author, the parties in whose possession they still are, and for an exposure of the grossest literary fraud ever attempted to pervert the genuine history of Scotland, in the form of "Memoirs" which were received by the public as the genuine production of a contemporary writer, and as such most unsuspectingly quoted by Hume, Robertson, Goodall, Tytler, and Whittaker, though the real character of the Work did not altogether escape detection and observation even by Bishop Keith. "That industrious person," says the Editor of the collated MS. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, "appears to have had access to one of the MSS. of the Life of James the Sext ; and in a copy of the printed Memoirs still preserved he has pointed out a great many interpolations and falsifications, though by no means the whole, in terms of unequivocal reprobation ; and it may now be regarded as matter of surprize that the extent of this author's '*variations*' from his alleged original, as Bishop Keith has courteously characterized them, should not sooner have deprived the Work of every pretension to credit."

A more serious charge has been recently brought against Bishop Keith. In a note in the first volume (p. 226) of "Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters," edited by Thomas Wright, Esq. M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, 8vo. London, 1838, our Historian is

accused of *wilfully suppressing* a letter from the Earl of Bedford and Thomas Randolph to the Council of England on the murder of Riccio, dated Berwick, 27th of March 1566. The letter is inserted by Mr Wright, who says—"This interesting and circumstantial letter redounds very little to the credit of the Queen of Scots, and therefore apparently it was not printed by Keith." But this is altogether gratuitous, for Mr Wright cannot prove that Bishop Keith was aware of the existence of such a letter. The nature of the document may be inferred from Mr Wright's observations.—"The imprudence with which Mary, in her passion, avows and justifies her criminal connection with Riccio, and the brutal and at the same time contemptible behaviour of Darnley, form a picture of wickedness and cruelty such, as Von Raumer with reason exclaims, that 'few scenes in the history of the world can be compared with it.'" After such strong language by Mr Wright, who is a most determined enemy to Queen Mary, we would naturally expect some very disgusting and indelicate disclosures by Bedford and Randolph; but instead of Queen Mary "avowing and justifying" criminal connection with Riccio, which is too monstrous to be credited for a moment, the whole occupies only a few lines in a letter of nine closely printed octavo pages, and merely details an alleged scene of angry recrimination between the Queen and Darnley, immediately after Riccio had been murdered, almost in her presence, in Holyrood Palace. The reader will find this and the particulars of Riccio's murder amply discussed in the note, p. 414-417 of the present volume; and a careful examination of Bedford's and Randolph's letter, which Bishop Keith is most unfairly and most presumptuously accused of wilfully suppressing, must satisfy the most fastidious that it contains no evidence whatever of such an outrageous intercourse as that imputed to Queen Mary without the least foundation.

In referring again to Mr Tytler's "History of Scotland," it is to be regretted that he has followed the former Scottish writers, and invariably printed the Regent Moray's name as *Murray*. Now, it is well known that such was the vulgar mode of pronouncing and writing *Moray* as if it was the patronymic or family name of *Murray*—the name of four Noble and of a number of ancient and distinguished Scottish families. Moray was always the *title* of the Earldom, as it has invariably been of the province or county of Moray or Elgin, and the Earls of Moray, the lineal descendants of the Regent, never were addressed or signed themselves *Murray*. Bishop Keith, like his predecessors and contemporaries, wrote the Regent's title as *Murray*, which is corrected in the present edition, but it is singular that Mr Tytler adopted this erroneous orthography throughout, and in this he has been followed by the Russian Nobleman, Prince Labanoff, in his voluminous collection of Queen Mary's letters; by Miss Strickland in her collection of the same; and by an eminent antiquarian, William Turnbull, Esq. Advocate, in his abridgement of Prince Labanoff's collection of letters, published in one volume in 1845. Prince Alexander Labanoff, in his seven volumes of the Letters of Queen Mary collected by him, and published in 1844, acknowledges some of those which he reprinted from Bishop Keith's Work; but Miss Strickland never mentions our venerable and industrious Historian. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find the following inaccuracy in her notice of a personage eminent in Scottish history in her "Letters of Mary Queen of Scots" (vol. i. p. 7). Referring to some of the Queen's proceedings after her return from France, Miss Strickland writes—"Mary appoints *James Murray*, her natural brother, and Maitland, her prime ministers." Miss Strickland ought to have known that *James Stuart*—not *James Murray*—was the name of the future Regent, and

that he was always designated *Lord James Stuart* before he was created Earl of Mar in 1561-2, which title he relinquished for the Earldom of Moray in 1562, his mother's family having the right to the Earldom of Mar. There are other mistakes which this lady commits in her chronological notes which we would gladly overlook, but we feel obliged in fairness to take notice of some of them, lest they mislead ordinary readers. Miss Strickland says—“*August 19, 1561—Mary disembarks at Leith. Having made a short stay at the Abbey of Lislebourg, she proceeded to Edinburgh*” (Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, with an Introduction, vol. i. p. 7). Now, the proper *Abbey of L'Islebourg* is the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, to which the Queen repaired immediately after she landed at Leith, and *L'Islebourg* was the French name of Edinburgh; but Miss Strickland, who evidently never consulted Bishop Keith's History, in which this fact is *twice* stated, and several letters of the French ambassador Le Croc are inserted, dated at *L'Islebourg*, otherwise *Edinburgh*, writes as if the Abbey of Lislebourg had been somewhere between Edinburgh and Leith. Again—“*July 3, 1565—The conspirators endeavour to seize the Queen near to the church of Beith, on the road between Perth and Callender.*” Miss Strickland is not aware that Callender House near Falkirk, the residence of the then Lord Livingstone, to which the Queen was journeying, and not a *town* called *Callendar*, is the proper locality, and that the parish church of Beath in the west of Fife, where this exploit was to be attempted, is *not* “on the road between Perth and Callender” House, near Falkirk—the other Callendar, a large village and extensive parish in the south-west of Perthshire, on the borders of Stirlingshire, forming part of the romantic district of the Trosachs. Miss Strickland informs us that the *Duke of Argyll* presided at Bothwell's mock trial, whereas

the Dukedom of Argyle was not created till 1701, and Archibald *fifth Earl* of Argyll, then Hereditary Lord Justice-General, presided at that trial. Miss Strickland has discovered that, after the surrender of Mary at Carberry Hill, which is most erroneously designated a *battle*, though not a sword was drawn, the Queen was taken “to the *Kirk-at-Field*, and shut up in the house where her husband’s corpse had been carried after his murder, and had laid till his burial” (vol. iii. p. 28), and we are gravely told this in defiance of the well-known facts that the house of the Kirk-of-Field was demolished by gunpowder on the morning of the murder of Lord Darnley, and that the Queen was first taken from Carberry Hill to the house called the *Black Turnpike* in the High Street of Edinburgh, then the residence of Sir Simon Preston of Cragmillar, the Lord Provost. Miss Strickland assures us that Bothwell was “turned of fifty, coarse and ugly” (vol. iii. p. 124). Now, though the date of Bothwell’s birth is not assigned in the Peerage lists, he was served heir to his father the third Earl on the 3d of November 1556, and it is now decided that Bothwell was little more than *thirty years of age* when he married Queen Mary. Instead of being “coarse and ugly,” if Miss Strickland had examined the history of the time carefully, she would have found that Bothwell was the very reverse, and even Walsingham describes him as a “glorious, rash, and hazardous young man.”

It only remains to notice two very extraordinary traditions maintained by the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics respecting Queen Mary’s domestic life, which completely refute each other. Wodrow, as stated in a note towards the end of the present volume (p. 789), asserts, on the authority of “old Mr Patrick Simson,” that Queen Mary soon after her escape from Lochleven bore a son to George

Douglas, and that son was the father of Mr Robert Douglas, a conspicuous Covenanting preacher in the reign of Charles I. who preached the sermon at the Covenanting coronation of Charles II. at Scone in 1651, and who survived till after the Restoration. Bishop Burnet says—“It is certain that Mr Douglas was not ill pleased to have this story pass. He had something very great in his countenance; his looks shewed both much wisdom and great thoughtfulness, but withall a vast pride. He was generally very silent; I confess I never admired any thing he said.” The Covenanting Presbyterians believed this incredible story, forgetting that only eleven days intervened between the escape of the Queen from Lochleven and the battle of Langside—that her flight into England after that battle was almost immediate—and that every day can be accounted for from the evening the Queen left Lochleven to the day of her execution in Fotheringay Castle. Though nothing is accurately known of the real parentage of Robert Douglas, it is stated on the authority of Bishop Keith’s friend, Mr Robert Myln, whose Collections are in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, that George Douglas, who assisted the Queen to escape, had an illegitimate son who became tutor to Laurence Lord Oliphant, and was the father of the noted Covenanting preacher.

It is nevertheless certain that Mary at one time believed herself to be pregnant while she was in Lochleven Castle. We have numerous announcements of this in letters and documents of the period, and the Queen’s conviction that she was in such a state was the chief inducement for her resisting every advice to repudiate Bothwell, which, she imagined, would illegitimatize her child. This introduces us to the Roman Catholic story, for so it may properly be designated, as emanating from the members of that Church, and asserted by its supporters, that in January or February

1568, upwards of nine months after the Queen married Bothwell, she was delivered of a daughter, who was taken to France, and afterwards became a Nun at Notre Dame de Soissons. Accordingly Prince Labanoff enlightens us with the following information and his own reflections on this subject, which are thus chronicled by Miss Strickland :—" Dr Lingard having repeated in his History of England the statement of the pregnancy of the Queen of Scotland, which had been refuted in 1782 by Dr Gilbert Stuart, I have thought it right to adopt the version of Le Laboureux, a very respectable historian, who makes mention of it in his additions to the ' Memoirs of Castelnau, vol. i. p. 610, edit. 1731.' Be it recollected that the author whom I quote held a post of confidence at the Court of France (he was Councillor and Almoner to the King), and that he had opportunities of learning many particulars which were long kept secret. Besides, it was easy for him, when he published his Work, to examine the Register of the Convent of Soissons, and to ascertain whether the daughter of Mary Stuart had been a Nun there."

If this story has any truth, it completely explodes the Covenanting tradition of ascribing a royal though illegitimate descent to Mr Robert Douglas. Here we have the statement that Mary was delivered of a daughter in Lochleven Castle in *January* or *February* 1568, who must have been the offspring of her husband Bothwell ; and we have the opposite Presbyterian allegation that the Queen was delivered of a son in May that year, during the interval between her escape from Lochleven and the battle of Langside, which was fought on the 13th of that month. Setting aside, therefore, the latter story, it is equally impossible that such an event as the birth of a daughter in Lochleven Castle could have occurred, and yet be unnoticed by contemporary historians and writers, when we consider that such a

the Queen merely *believed* herself in a peculiar condition while in Lochleven Castle.

The celebrated casket, in which Queen Mary's pretended love-letters to Bothwell were alleged to have been found in Edinburgh Castle, is now in Hamilton Palace, in which is another valuable memorial of that age—the harquebuss with which Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh assassinated the Regent Moray at Linlithgow.

The extent of this Volume precludes the insertion of our Historian's Appendix of Documents to his Second Book, which will be found in Vol. III. concluding the present edition.

JOHN PARKER LAWSON.

EDINBURGH, NOVEMBER 1845.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME SECOND.

BOOK II.

PAGE

CHAP. I.—CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF STATE AFFAIRS, FROM THE CONVENTION OR PRETENDED PARLIAMENT IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1560, UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN FROM FRANCE IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1561	1
CHAP. II.—A CONTINUATION OF STATE AFFAIRS, FROM THE QUEEN'S ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1561, TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1561-2	63
CHAP. III.—A CONTINUATION UNTIL THE END OF THIS YEAR	109
CHAP. IV.—CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF AFFAIRS, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1561-2, UNTIL MIDSUMMER THE SAME YEAR	133
CHAP. V.—CONTAINING MATTERS OF STATE, FROM MID- SUMMER IN THIS YEAR 1562, UNTIL THE 1ST OF APRIL IN THE NEXT YEAR 1563	154
CHAP. VI.—CONTAINING MATTERS OF STATE FROM THE 1ST OF APRIL 1563, UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE EARL OF LENOX IN SCOTLAND, IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER OF THE FOLLOWING YEAR 1564	195
CHAP. VII.—CONTAINING MATTERS OF STATE FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE EARL OF LENOX IN SCOTLAND, IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 1564, UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF HIS SON THE LORD DARNLEY IN THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY 1564-5	231
CHAP. VIII.—CONTINUATION OF STATE AFFAIRS FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE LORD DARNLEY INTO SCOTLAND IN THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY 1564-5, UNTIL THE MARRIAGE OF THIS LORD WITH THE QUEEN OF SCOTS, IN THE MONTH OF JULY 1565	263


CHAP. IX.—CONTAINING STATE AFFAIRS FROM THE QUEEN'S MARRYING THE LORD DARNLEY IN THE END OF JULY 1565, TILL THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE IN THE MONTH OF JUNE 1566	344
CHAP. X.—CONTINUATION OF STATE AFFAIRS FROM THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF SCOTLAND, AFTERWARDS KING JAMES VI., ON THE 19TH OF JUNE 1566, UNTIL THE MURDER OF THE KING ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY 1566-7	433
CHAP. XI.—CONTINUATION OF STATE AFFAIRS FROM THE KING'S MURDER ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY 1566-7, UNTIL THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL ON THE 15TH OF MAY IN THE SAME YEAR 1567	510
CHAP. XII.—CONTAINING STATE AFFAIRS FROM THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL ON THE 15TH OF MAY 1567, UNTIL THE EARL OF MORAY'S ACCEPTATION OF THE REGENCY IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST THE SAME YEAR	581
CHAP. XIII.—CONTAINING MATTERS OF STATE FROM THE EARL OF MORAY'S ACCEPTATION OF THE REGENCY IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1567, TILL THE QUEEN'S RETREAT INTO ENGLAND IN THE MONTH OF MAY 1568	750

THE
HISTORY
OF THE AFFAIRS OF
CHURCH AND STATE IN SCOTLAND.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF STATE AFFAIRS, FROM THE CONVENTION OR PRETENDED PARLIAMENT IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1560, UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN FROM FRANCE IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1561.

N the preceding Book we have seen great and surprising alterations in the ancient polity both of our Church and State ; the first totally subverted, the latter only not quite extinguished. In this Book we shall meet with events no less, and perhaps the more surprising, that the new form of the pure and immaculate spouse of JESUS CHRIST¹ shall be found to be no check sufficient to restrain

¹ See the Black Acts, Parl. I. King James VI. Act xii.—[See notice of the Collection called the "BLACK ACTS," in the account of the Public Records of Scotland, vol. i. of the present edition, Biographical Sketch, p. lx. This reference to the first Parliament of James VI. is by anticipation, as that Parliament was not held till December 1567, and was under the Earl of Moray's Regency. See the Act "Anent the Jurisdiction of the Kirk," Dec. 20, 1567, in Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 24, which is the twelfth Act in that Collection. See also the Acts "Anent the Abolishing of the Pope and his Usurpit Authoritie," Ibid. p. 14 ; "anent the annulling of the Actes of Parliament maid aganis Goddis Word and Maintenance of Idolatrie in ony times bypast," Ibid. ; "anent the Messe abolishit, and

the new modellers from the committing of such enormities as will ever remain a stain upon the perpetrators of them.¹

By the Treaty of Accord between the deputies of the King and Queen, and their subjects in Scotland, it is declared (Number xvii.)²—"That the Nobility of Scotland have engaged, that in the ensuing Convention of Estates, some persons of quality shall be chosen for to repair to their Majesties, and lay before them the state of their affairs, &c.—at which time they shall get delivered to them the ratification done by their Majesties," &c. In some sort of conformity to which Article, after the rising of the Parliament, or Convention of Estates, in the month of August anno 1560,³ we are informed by Mr Knox and Mr Buchanan,⁴ two historians then alive, that Sir James Sandilands⁵ was directed

punisching of all that heiris or sayis the samin," Ibid. p. 22; "anent the Trow and Haly Kirk, and of thame that are declarit not to be of the samin," Ibid. p. 23. See also the Acts against the Jurisdiction of the Pope, "Idolatry and all Acts contrair to the Confession of Faith publish in this Parliament," and the Mass, Ibid. p. 36.—E.]

¹ [This is strong language, but at the same time quite just. The "pure and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ" seems rather an irreverent expression, but our Historian applies it ironically to the "new form" set up by the "new modellers," and the crimes and disasters which ensued, as forming a singular contrast to their extraordinary pretensions to religious purity.—E.]

² [The seventh article in the "Treaty of Accord" between those French deputies and the Scottish nation.—E.]

³ [This was after the 24th of August, on which day Acts were passed abolishing the Pope's jurisdiction, the Mass, and what was designated "Idolatry," with "all Acts contrair to the Confession of Faith publish in this Parliament." *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. ii. p. 534, 535. The Records of that Parliament are now lost.—E.]

⁴ [Knox's *Historie of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 255; Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, folio, Edin. original edition, 1582, Book xvii. fol. 199.—E.]

⁵ This gentleman was second son to Sir James Sandilands of Calder. He went and resided for some time in the Isle of Malta, where he was received a Knight of that military Order, and in the year 1543 was invested in the title and jurisdiction of *Lord St John of Jerusalem within Scotland*. These Knights of Malta were at first called Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, from a church and hospital founded there in honour of St John Baptist. Afterwards they were erected by Baldwin, the Christian King of Jerusalem, into a military Order of Knights about the year 1194. After the Christians had been driven out of the Holy Land by the Infidels, these Knights seized upon the Island of Rhodes, lying in the bottom of the Mediterranean, anno 1310, and began to get the appellation of *Knights of Rhodes*. But having been likewise beat from that

into France with a copy of the Acts thereof, in order to obtain a ratification of them from the King and Queen; but both these writers give broad hints, and seem indeed

Isle by the Turks, they obtained in gift from the Emperor Charles V. the small Isle of Malta, on the coast of Sicily, in the year 1530, and this last place continues to give them the denomination of *Knights of Malta*. The Chief of the Order in the several kingdoms of Europe goes by the name of *Lord St John of Jerusalem*, for they had lands pertaining to the Order in all Christian countries, and continue still to have, in the kingdoms subject to the See of Rome. They have strongly fortified the Isle of Malta, have a regular government there, and their profession is to wage continual war against the Turks, or enemies of Christianity. When they go to war, they wear above their common and ordinary black habit a red cassock, with a large white cross both before and behind without points, whereas the cross on their ordinary habit hath eight points. The Knights are all unmarried, and must be all nobly descended, and their Superior is called the *Grand Master*. Sir James Sandilands, Lord St John, of whom we now speak, did afterwards resign his lands of Torphichen, belonging to the Knighthood, into the hands of the Queen, and her Majesty erected them into a temporal lordship for him, on the 24th of January 1564.—[Of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, see the note, vol. i. p. 84, 85, of the present edition. See also, for an account of the proceedings of Sir James Sandilands, or Lord St John, as he is called, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's Letter to Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, dated Orleans, 21st November 1560, in "Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters," edited by Thomas Wright, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge: London, 8vo. 1838, vol. i. p. 49–57. As it respects the Knights of Malta, Bishop Keith's historical summary of them refers to their condition in his time. In 1516, Sicily, with the Maltese groupe, consisting of Malta, and the small islands of Gozo, Comino, and Tripoli, passed to the Emperor Charles V. as heir to the crown of Arragon. On the 4th of March 1530, after their expulsion from Rhodes by the Turks, the Emperor granted to the Grand Master and religious fraternity of St John the ownership of all the castles, fortresses, and islands of Malta, Gozo, and Tripoli, with complete jurisdiction. The sovereignty was thus transferred to the Knights, though the form of tenure from the Crown of Sicily was maintained by the obligation to present a falcon as the annual payment to the King of Sicily or his viceroy. At that time Malta was little better than a barren rock, but it soon recovered under the Knights, who commenced those extraordinary fortifications which still remain as monuments of their perseverance and military power, to protect their island against the invasions of piratical enemies, and particularly against the Turks. After the surrender of Malta to the French in 1798, the celebrated Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, or Knights-Hospitallers, became extinct as a sovereign body, and all their possessions in various parts of Europe were confiscated. The Order, however, still exists as a Religious Society, though a reduced remnant of its former greatness and power. In 1845, Ferrara, in the Papal States, was the residence of the Grand Master and a few Knights of St John of Jerusalem, who subsist on the dilapidated residue of their once munificent revenues. It has been appropriately

to speak out plainly enough the sentiments of the governing party at home, viz. that they were little solicitous what might be the success of this message, since we see some expressions in the original Instructions delivered by the Parliament at this time,¹ which appear not to be very decent from subjects, and are only suitable for those who had continued to hold a Convention under the form of a Parliament, and to enter upon the discussion of such things as were particularly reserved from their consultations. Upon which account it is the less to be wondered at that Sir James Sandilands was sent away without any answer from the Queen; and that her Majesty's relations of the Guisian Family should reproach him, who was a man dedicated to the holy war, for taking upon him to manage the commands of a parcel of *rebels* and *heretics*, as Mr Buchanan informs they did.² Nay, so displeased was the Queen with

observed, that the altered state of affairs in Europe, the Levant, and Africa, renders the existence of the Knights as a sovereign Military Order incompatible with civilization and political security, and the objects of their institution have long ceased to be recognised; but they were for centuries, in conjunction with Venice, the great bulwarks of Italy and Western Europe against the Turks.—E.]

¹ In the Manuscript which I had occasion to mention in the close of the former Book these Instructions are recorded; and though in a great many places they be so spoilt as not to be legible, yet there is so much still remaining as may render the same acceptable enough to the publick. They are in Appendix, Number I. This manuscript is in the Laigh Parliament House, Edinburgh. It is exceedingly much defaced and eaten away at the corners, few lines only being legible in a great many places, and sometimes a few words only here and there. It contains miscellaneous Papers of State during the reign of Queen Mary. I shall be obliged to quote it frequently, and shall call it the *scattered manuscript*.—[The *Laigh Parliament House*, *Edinburgh*, in which Bishop Keith saw the MS. he quotes, was in his time the depository of the Public Records. It comprises the apartments under the Parliament House occupied by a large portion of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. See Biographical Sketch, in vol. i. p. lxxii. of the present edition.—E.]

² [Buchanan's statement is—"Nam Gusionerum in manu tum res Gallica erat; qui postquam se animadverterunt blanditiis, et minis parum proficere, vi et armis adversam factionem opprimere conabantur; et in quos sectio diversæ crimen competere non poterat, eos proditi regni fecerunt rursus.—Inter hæc Sandilands in aulam venit, non tam præteritorum vendam precabundus humiliter, quam ad cives suos tumultuum causis in Gallos rejectis purgandos. Gusioni in eum asperrime cohorti increpabant, quod homo sacræ militiæ addictus mandata rebellium pro hæresi illa execrabili, quam tum maximus omnium gentium consensus in Concilio

the late deportment of her subjects, that it is very observable that neither *now*, nor at any time *thereafter*, even when she was returned into her ancient and hereditary kingdom of Scotland, and thereby free from the influence of her husband and French relations, could her Majesty be prevailed upon to own and acknowledge the late meeting as a lawful Parliament. Nor were the Acts thereof ever allowed to be printed and published along with the Acts of other Parliaments, during her Majesty's administration.¹

The bad reception which the Lord St John met with at the French Court, which was then residing in the city of Orleans, joined to the uncertain returns which might be made in England to the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, and Mr Maitland, younger of Lethington,² who had likewise been sent thither by the States of Parliament, much about the time that Sir James Sandilands went into France, did "greatly trouble the minds of the Professors" (says Archbishop Spottiswoode), "for they were sensible of their own weakness, and doubtful of support from England, if France should again invade, because of the loss the English had received in the late expedition."³ But under correction, might it not be strongly suspected that the *Professors* (viz. of the new doctrines, in reality the opposers of the regal

Tridentino damnaret, perferenda suscepisset."—*Historia*, &c. original edition, Edinburgh, 1582, folio, fol. 199.—E.]

¹ Rapin de Thoyras says—"The amnesty of the King and Queen was sent over into Scotland, and ratified by the States; and that likewise their Majesties ordered a punctual obedience to be paid to the laws which the States made in favour of the Reformation." But I suspect it is not in the power of any man to shew a proper document for either of these assertions. That Author's readers would do best not to credit too easily his information in Scottish affairs about this period.

² ["From this Parliament," says Sir James Balfour, "the Earles of Mortone and Glencairne, with Secretary Lidingtone (Maitland of Lethington), are sent ambassadors to Queene Elizabeth to thanke her for her aide againste the French, and to recommend the marriage of the Earle of Arrane to her; to the last of wiche she gave no answer at all." *Annals of Scotland*, Edin. 8vo. 1824, vol. i. p. 324. But as appears from the document which follows, Sir James Balfour was in error when he asserted that Queen Elizabeth "gave no answer at all" to the Scottish proposal to espouse the Earl of Arran, unless he means that her "answer" was unsatisfactory.—E.]

³ [Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, folio, fourth edition, London, 1677, p. 151.—E.]

authority) had little, if any ground at all, to doubt of repeated assistance from England? Their interests and Queen Elizabeth's of England were more firmly cemented than to allow that circumspect lady to suffer her good friends and allies to perish for want of timely relief.¹

Our Historians have given some account of this message into England, but the original commission and answer are of much more value, both which, though they have been already published,² yet to make this part of our History more complete, I have taken the freedom to give them a place here.

*The Commission of the Estates to move Queen Elizabeth to take the Earl of Arran to her husband.*³

“THE Lords of Parliament, and others underwritten, havand consideration how the kingdome of England is joynt with this, be an dray March, how puissent it is, what incommodity we and our forefathers have felt be the continual weirs betwixt the two nations, and be the contrar, how profitable their amytie may be to us, what welth and commodity we may obtain therthrow; hes thought good, divysed, and ordained, that the occasion presently opened up to us shall be followed; that is, sute made to the Queen of England in the best manner, that it may please her Majesty, for establishing of one perpetual friendship, to joine in marriage with the Earll of Arran, being of the lawfull blood of this realme; and failzieing of succession of

¹ [The celebrated Lord Burghley was in Scotland in the summer of 1560 on Queen Elizabeth's affairs. In his notes of occurrences he thus states, under date July 28, 1560—“Sir William Cecil came to Greenwich from Scotland, so as he was absent sixty-three days, having had *La per diem*, *in toto* L.252, and for postage with twenty horses from London to Edinburgh, and from thence back to London, L.117.”—Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters, edited by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.A.S., Trinity College, Cambridge: London, Svo. 1838, vol. i. p. 449. It appears that Cecil was in Scotland with Dr Wotton to negotiate with the French commissioners for the evacuation of Scotland by the French troops. Edward, ninth Lord Clinton, Lord High Admiral of England, created in 1572 Earl of Lincoln, to the Earl of Sussex, dated June 17, 1560, *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 28, 29.—E.]

² Bishop Burnet's History of the English Reformation, vol. iii. Collect. p. 398.

³ Taken from the original at Hamilton.—[Preserved in the archives of the Duke of Hamilton at Hamilton Palace.—E.]

the Queen our Soverain Ladie's body, next his father, the Duke's Grace of Chastellerault, declared be Act of Parliament second Person of the realme, air apparant to the crown: And for that purpose, that honourable persons be sent in ambassate frae them yn behalf of the Estates. And to the effect the sute may be made in the most honourable manner, and to her Majesty's best contentation, they have devised that presently in plane Parliament it shal be devised, that certain ambassadours be sent to her Majesty fre the Estates, to give her Hieness thanks for the guid will she has ever born to this realme sen she came to her crown, and desire she hes that it may continue an free kingdom in th'antiant liberty, sufficiently of late declared be her support liberally granted for the relief therof; and for the guid quietnes we presently enjoy, purchast to us be her Majesty's means and labours: And they are withall to desire of her Heeness to give strait commandments to her wardains and officers upon the Borders, to continue with ours for suppressing of broken men, and stanching of thift; with sic other things as are necessar for the common weel of this realme. And that the States give power to the Lords of Articles, and others underwritten, to devise sic Commission and Instructions as are necessar for that purpose, to be sealed and subscribed be six of the principals of every Estate, whilk sal be as sufficient as giff it were subscribed and sealed by the hail Estates; and thereafter the Lords of Articles, and ours (*forte*, others) under specified, to devise the Instructione and Commission tuching the heid of the marriage."¹

This Order of Parliament, Bishop Burnet assures us,² is signed by the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Dunblane, Argyle, and the Elect of the

¹ [This document, from the original in the archives at Hamilton Palace, is printed in *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. ii. p. 605, 606. In the original document, the words *the principal*, which were inserted before the word *commission* in the title, thus—"The Principal Commission of the Estates," &c. are deleted, and also the following lines at the end after the word *marriage*—"in secrete maner nocht to be devulgit nor communicate to any persoun befor the ambassators be depeschit toward hir Maiestie."—E.]

² [Bishop Burnet is quite correct. See *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. ii. p. 606.—E.]

Isles;¹ and by as many Abbots and Priors,² viz. the Prior of St Andrews, Abbots of Arbroath, Newbottle, and Culros; the Commendator of Kilwinning, and the Prior of Lochleven;³ also by the Duke,⁴ the Earls⁵ of Argyll, Athol, Moriton, Crawford, and Sutherland; and by the Lords⁶ Erskine, Gordon, Salton, Hay,⁷ Uchiltree, Innermeth,⁸ Boyd, Lindsay,

¹ [The Prelates who signed were John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews; Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld; Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway and Titular Archbishop of Athens; John Campbell, Bishop-Elect of the Isles; William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, the successor of his uncle of that name; and James Hamilton, Bishop-Elect of Argyll, but never consecrated, brother of Archbishop Hamilton.—E.]

² [James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews, afterwards Earl of Moray, and Regent; John Hamilton, Abbot or Commendator of Arbroath; Mark Kerr, Abbot of Newbattle; Gavin, Abbot of Kilwinning; J. Abbot of Culross, but called *William* in the roll of the Parliament; and John Winram, Prior of Portmoak in Lochleven.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 525.—E.]

³ There is no such person in the list of this Parliament.—[Bishop Keith seems not to have been aware that this “Prior of Lochleven” was no other than John Winram, Sub-Prior of St Andrews. Winram was Prior of Portmoak, on the banks of Lochleven in Kinross-shire, or rather of the religious house on St Serf’s Island in that lake dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The Priors of Portmoak were often in consequence designated *Priors of Lochleven*. The Poet Winton, in the time of James I. of Scotland, is known as Prior of Lochleven.—E.]

⁴ [The Duke of Chatelherault, the ex-Regent, Arran’s father, who simply signs himself JAMES.—E.]

⁵ [These Noblemen are particularly enumerated in the notes, vol. i. p. 312, 313, of the present edition.—E.]

⁶ [These Noblemen are also elsewhere noticed. See vol. i. p. 312.—E.]

⁷ This must be William Lord Hay of Zestir, as in the list of the Parliament.—[This conjecture is correct. William, Lord Hay of Yester, signs himself as such in the document, Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 606. He was sixth Lord Hay of Yester, and dying without male issue in 1590 or 1591, he was succeeded by his brother James, whose son and successor, John, eighth Lord Hay of Yester, was created Earl of Tweeddale in 1646.—E.]

⁸ [John Stewart, son of Richard third Lord Innermeath, succeeded as fourth Lord in 1528. He was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session in March 1542, supported the Reformation, joined the association for the pretended safety of James VI. in 1567, and was present at the coronation of that monarch. His grandson John, sixth Lord Innermeath, was created Earl of Atholl by charter under the Great Seal in March 1595-6, the Earldom having reverted to the King on the death of John Stewart, fifth Earl of Atholl. The family of Stewart of Innermeath were extinct in the reign of Charles I., who conferred the Earldom of Atholl on William Murray, second Earl of Tullibardine.—E.]

Gray, and some others whose names cannot be read;¹ and by eight Provosts of Burghs.² And the Right Reverend Author makes this observation, after he has set down the names of the clergy—viz. “So many of the ecclesiastical state of both ranks concurring, shews that they rejoiced in the deliverance that they had from the servitude under which the French had almost brought them.” But this seems to be too liberal an observation, because *one*, and not the least principal branch of the message to the Queen of England at this time, was to propose a marriage betwixt her Majesty and the Earl of Arran, to which, no doubt, the friends and relations of the Family of Hamilton would greedily give their concurrence, such as the Archbishop of St Andrews, and his brother the Bishop of Argyll, the Commendators of Aberbrothock and Kilwinning. The Bishop of Dunblane likewise was well known to have been strongly in our Queen’s measures, and so not averse to the maintaining her authority by force.

To the preceding Commission of the Estates of Scotland the Queen of England returned the following answer:—

The Queene’s Majestie’s Answer, declared to her Counsell, concerninge the Requests of the Lords of Scotlande.

*Her Majestie reduced the Answer into three Points.*³

“I. THE First was—That where the three Estates had sent the Lords of Scotland to present their hartly thanks to her Majestie for the benifits receaved this last yere by her Majestie’s ayde given to them: Her Majestie is very glad to perceave her good will and chardgs so well bestowed, as to see the same thankfullie accepted and acknowledged; and findeth the same to have been seasonablie planted that produceth so plentifull fruct, with the which her Majestie doeth so satisfie herself, as if at any time the like cause

¹ [The names of John Gordon of Lochinvar, William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, Walter Kerr of Cessford, John Kerr of Fernihirst, and John Maxwell of Terreagles, “Knight,” are among the signatures.—E.]

² [Seven of them are specified, viz. the Provosts of Edinburgh, Dundee, St Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Linlithgow, and Jedburgh. To these are added Patrick Benson, commissary of Perth, and James Barron.—E.]

³ Cotton Library, Calig. Book 10, fol. 133.—[British Museum.—E.]

shall happen, wherein her friendship or ayde shall or may profit them for their just defence, the same shall not be wantinge. And although in former times it appeared that sondry beneficts bestowed upon divers of the Nobilitye here by her Majestie's most noble father had not such succes, nor was answered with lik thankfullness, yet her Majestie doeth now evidently se the cause thereof to be, for that the meaneinge of her father's beneficts were interpreted and supposed to be to the discomoditye of the land, and these her Majestie's be evidentlye sene to bend directlye to the safetie of that Realme. And so the diversitie of the bestowinge hath made the diversitie in the operacion and acceptation of them.

“II. The Second Point is—Where the same Estates have by their Parlyament accorded, That suyte should be made for the marriage with her Majestie of the Earl of Arrayne; her Majestie cannot interprete that motion to come but both of a good meaneinge of the same Estatis, pretendinge thereby to knit both theis kingdomes presently in amytie, and hereafter to remaine in a perpetual amytie, and of a great good will of the same Estates towards her Majestye, offeringe to her the best and choicest person that they have, and that not without some daunger of the displeasure of the French Kinge in so doinge: For answeare hereunto, her Majestie findeing herself not disposed presently to marry, although it may be that the necessity and respect of her Realme shall hereto hereafter constrainne her, wished that the Earle of Arrayne should not forbear to accept such marriage as may be made to him for his own weill and surety; and that all other means be used to the continewance of amytie firmly betwixt these kingdomes; whereunto her Majestie thinketh many good reasons ought to induce the people of both Realmes, and in a manner to continewe as good amytie thereby as by marriage. For it appeareth that if every Nobleman of Scotlande will well consider how necessarye the friendship of this Realme is to that, for the preservation of their liberties, they shall, chiefly for safeguard of themselves, joyne together in concord with this Realme, and so every one particularly minding his own suretye, of consequence the love and amytie shall be universal; by which means her Majestie thinketh the amytie

may be well assured, though no marriage be obteyned. And as to the person of the Earle of Arrayne, her Majestie surely hath heard a verie good report of him, and thinketh him to be a noble gentleman of great woordinesse, and so thinketh surely that he shall prove hereafter.

“III. Thirdly, and lastly, Her Majestye thanketh the said Lords for their paines and travell; and although she doubteth nether of their wisdome, nor of the providence of the Estates at home in Scotland, yet for demonstracion of her hearty good will, her Majesty cannot forbear to require them not to forget the practices that be past, by such as before tyme sought the subversion of them, and nowe much more will do it, if there maye be left any entry for corruption, be reward, or other scope of practise. And therefore her Majestie wisheth that they all do persist, first in a good concorde, makinge their causes come amongst themselvs, and not to dissever themselvs in any factions, but to foresee well thinges before they chaunce; for that her Majestie thinketh this prove verie true, that darts foreseen hurt verie little, or not at all. And for her Majestie’s parte, there shall no reasonable thinge be neglected that may further this comun action of defence of both the realmes against any common enemye.”

Whilst Sir James Sandilands was at Paris on his journey homeward, the surprising and unexpected news arrived there of the death of Francis II., King of France, husband to our Queen, who having sickned on the 19th day of November, departed this life at Orleans on the 4th day of December 1560, in the seventeenth year of his age.¹ Upon

¹ Mezeray.—[Histoire de France, depuis Faramond, jusqu’au Regne de Louis le Juste, par le Sieur F. de Mezeray, Historiographe de France, folio, Paris, 1685, tom. iii. p. 42. Mezeray distinctly dates the death of Francis II. on the *fourth* of December:—“Le lendemain *quatrième jour de December*, à cinq heures du soir, le Roy rendit le dernier soupir de sa vie, sur la fin du dix-septième mois de son regne, et de la dix-septième année de son âge.” Francis II. was the eldest son of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici. He was born in 1543, and married in 1558 Queen Mary Stuart. By the death of his father, 10th July 1559, he succeeded to the throne of France when in the sixteenth year of his age, and entrusted the government to Francis Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the brothers of Queen Mary’s mother, the Dowager of James V. This was the chief cause of those civil and religious wars which ravaged France for half a century. Enraged at two such comparative strangers as were the Duke of Guise and

the certain account of the death of the French King ("the cause of joy in Scotland,"¹ says Mr Knox), so many of the Nobility of Scotland as were near at hand were advertised by the pretended Council to meet at Edinburgh on the 15th

the Cardinal (who by an oversight, which the reader is requested to correct, is designated the *uncle* instead of the *brother* of Queen Mary's mother, in the note, vol. i. p. 140), in possession of all the powers of the State, Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé, with other Princes of the blood, and certain Great Officers of State, formed a powerful combination against the House of Guise, who were the zealous supporters of the Papal Church, and joined the Protestants. In March 1560 the information of a conspiracy to overthrow them induced the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal to remove Francis II., Queen Mary, and the Court to the castle of Amboise, in the Department of Indre et Loire, on the south bank of the Loire, between Blois and Tours, 127 miles south-west of Paris. Francis II. nominated the Duke of Guise to be Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; numbers of persons were arrested and executed; and the plot of the Prince of Condé and his coadjutors was defeated. Soon afterwards the edict of Romorantin, a town in the department of Loire et Cher, was issued, depriving the Parliaments of judging in cases of heresy, and transferring that power to the Bishops. This was done to prevent the establishment of the Inquisition in France, which the Cardinal of Lorraine had proposed, and the edict, it is said, was sanctioned by the Chancellor L'Hopital, not only to avoid that greater evil, but in the hope that the Bishops would prove more humane than the Parliaments, who caused the execution of a great many Protestants. Francis II. assembled the States-General at Orleans towards the end of 1560, when the Prince of Condé, on his arrival, was condemned to be beheaded, but he was saved by the death of the King, which occurred in December after a reign of only one year and five months, leaving the young Queen Mary a widow. He died of an abscess in the ear, and not by poison, the rumours of which have been proved by De Thou and other historians to be without foundation. Bishop Keith says that Francis II. died on the *fourth* of December, but other writers date his demise on the *fifth* of that month. Knox most erroneously (*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 259) asserts that Francis II. died on the *fifteenth*.—E.]

¹ It is strange to see what venom this writer spues out against this poor young King, who every body must see was not yet arrived to such age as to deserve these monstrous expressions—"He was suddenly stricken with an aposthume in that *deaf ear that never would hear the truth of God.*" And again—"His glory perished, and the pride of his *stubborn heart* vanished into smoke." Very ridiculous expressions indeed, and so very untrue at the same time, that we are told by the French historians that this young King had always been troubled with a fistula in his right ear. Some men have a knack of fishing miraculous mercies and judgments both from the most natural and frivolous events.—[The uncharitable and vulgar expressions of John Knox, justly denounced by Bishop Keith, occurs in his "*Historie of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland,*" Edin. edit. folio, 1732, p. 259. Knox inserts some Latin stanzas, which, he says, "the godly in France upoun this suddane death set forth" as "an

of January 1560-1. In this meeting the Lord James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews,¹ was appointed to go to the Queen, and perswade her Majesty to return into Scotland; and he was admonished by the *Professors*, not to condescend that her Majesty should have mass either publicly or privately within this kingdom, otherwise he would betray the cause of God, and expose religion to the utmost danger. To which admonition, Mr Knox tells us,² the Prior made answer—"That he would never consent that she should have mass publicly, but to have it secretly in her chamber who could stop her?" This meeting dissolved³ without any other State business, except that they appointed a Convention to meet on the 20th or 21st of May following. These were the steps taken by the regnant party upon the incident of the French King's death. But as this was certainly a very nice and critical juncture, those that had not gone so heartily into the late measures,⁴ did not think fit to be idle neither;

admonition to kings;" and he gives a rhyming doggrel translation, of which the following is a specimen—

"Leist Francis, that unhappie child,
His father's footsteps following plane,
To Christ crying, deaf ears did yield,
Ane rotten ear then was his bane."

The stanzas conclude with an "admonition" to "craftie, deif, and foolish kings," exhorting them to be wise, or "shamefull death will even devour you."—E.]

¹ [This illegitimate son of James V. is repeatedly mentioned in this History as subsequently Earl of Moray and Regent of Scotland.—E.]

² [This passage is from Knox, "Historie of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland," Edin. edit. folio, 1732, p. 262. Knox adds, that in reply to the observations of Lord James—"The danger was schawin, and so (he) departed."—E.]

³ [No records of this illegal and self-constituted meeting are preserved.—E.]

⁴ They were the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, and Ross, the Earls of Huntly, Athole, Crawford, and Sutherland, besides a great many other prime persons both of the clergy and laity. —[This was properly a secret Convention of the adherents of the Papal Hierarchy, and the Earls of Caithness and Marischal are mentioned in addition as present.—Tytler's History of Scotland, Edin. 1842, vol. vi. p. 207. The Earl Marischal must have been very insincere or very fickle, when we consider his declaration respecting the new Confession of Faith in the so-called Parliament held on the 1st of August 1560.—See vol. i. p. 321 of this History. It appears, however, that the departure of the future Earl of Moray and the future Bishop of Ross was delayed by the

wherefore they meeting together in the most secret manner they could, did resolve to send into France John Leslie,¹ to make an offer of their duty and fidelity to her Majesty, and to represent such other things to her as had been communed betwixt them and him.

In the beginning of the year 1561, the Queen of England sent Francis Russel Earl of Bedford² into France, to condole on her part the death of Francis II., and to congratulate the accession of Charles IX.³ to the throne of that

arrival of four Commissioners from the Queen, viz. Preston of Craigmillar, Ogilvy of Findlater, Lumsden of Blanern, and Leslie of Auchtermuchty, bearing an affectionate and conciliating message, assuring them that she soon intended to return home—that all offences would be forgiven—that she had offers of marriage from the Prince of Spain, and the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and authorizing a commission to the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyll, Atholl, Huntly, and Bothwell, and Lord James Stuart, to summon a Parliament. The Commissioners also notified that the King of France had empowered Monsieur Noailles to propose to the Three Estates a renewal of the ancient league between France and Scotland, in which she heartily concurred.—Tytler's History of Scotland, Edin. 1842, vol. vi. p. 207, 208.—E.]

¹ He was for the present only Official and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Aberdeen, but being a man of a good stock of learning, he was afterwards by the Queen made a Privy Councillor, one of the Ordinary Lords, and afterwards President of the Session, and Bishop of Ross. It was he that wrote the History of our nation in good Latin, which might have been looked upon as pretty elegant, had not Mr Buchanan's *Roman* pen out-done both his, and perhaps every body's else in Europe. But we shall have occasion to say more of this gentleman afterwards.—[This justly merited compliment to the learning of Buchanan is honourable to the candour and liberality of Bishop Keith.—E.]

² [Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, only son of John Russell, Esq., described as "one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his time," became the favourite and confidential companion of Henry VIII., who, on the 9th of March 1538-9, created him Baron Russell of Cheynceys in the county of Buckingham. Edward VI. advanced him to the dignity of Earl of Bedford on the 9th of January 1550. Francis second Earl, mentioned in the text, succeeded his father in March 1544-5, and was a person of great influence during the reign of Queen Elizabeth till his death in 1585. He was the great-grandfather of William fifth Earl and first Duke of Bedford.—E.]

³ [Charles IX., the successor of his brother Francis II., was the second son of Henry II. and his Queen Catherine of Medici. At his accession he was only eleven years of age, and during his minority the affairs of State were conducted by his mother, though Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, acted as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The release of the Prince of Condé, the King of Navarre's brother, was one of the first acts of the new Government. The dreadful massacre on St Bartholomew's Day, 1572, was perpetrated under the auspices of Charles IX.—E.]

Realm. This Nobleman had besides a particular Commission to require from our Queen the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh.¹ To which her Majesty only answered in general, that her Council not being then about her, she could make him no direct answer therein.

In the month of March the English Queen, considering the present juncture to be proper for insinuating something, which highly tended to her advantage, into the minds of the States of Scotland, as well those who favoured the *ancient*, as those who professed the *new* form of religion, dispatched Mr Thomas Randolph² into Scotland with the following Instructions.

*A Memorial to Thomas Randolph to execute diverse Things for the Service of the Queen's Majesty in Scotland.*³

“IMPRIMIS, you shall understand that the Princes Protestants of Germany being assembled at Nuremburg the 20th of January last past, for the renovation of the League heretofore made for a mutual defence of themselves against the Pope and all his adherents, have sent to the Queen's Majestie intelligence of all their doings, and have required her Majestie to continue in her religion, and to further the like in the kingdom of Scotland, as more at lenth shall appear by an abstract of the message sent from the said

¹ It hath been already told that the Queen of England had signed and ratified this treaty on the 2d day of September last. But the King of France had still delayed the ratification of it, upon a pretext, as I can understand, that Queen Elizabeth had made a formal treaty with the rebellious Scots, or they with her, in the month of February that year, at Berwick.—[See this Treaty, entitled “Conventionum Scotiæ antememoratatum Ratificatio,” in Rymer's “Fœdera,” folio, London, 1713, vol. xv. p. 601, 602.—E.]

² [Thomas Randolph, also called Randall, afterwards Sir Thomas Randolph, who sometimes, as may be seen in the Sadler Papers, conducted his correspondence under the name of Barnabie, was one of the ablest of Queen Elizabeth's agents, and was long employed in political and state affairs in Scotland. It is said of Randolph—“He was of a dark intriguing spirit, full of cunning, and void of conscience; there is little doubt that the unhappy divisions in Scotland were fomented by this man's artifices for more than twenty years.” Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 353. It appears, however, that Randolph was a faithful and zealous servant of his mistress Elizabeth.—E.]

³ An original in Cecil's hand, Cotton Library, Calig. Book 10.

Princes to her Majestie. In consideration whereof, her Majestie principally meaning to promote the glory of God and the truth of the Christian religion, wou'd that Thomas Randolph shou'd declare to such of the Nobility of Scotland as be inclin'd to the same cause, that her Majestie seeth daily no amity nor intelligence betwixt one country and another so sure as that which is grounded upon unity and consent in Christian religion. And he shall sollicite the said Estates to persevere and to augment the number, both for the increase of the true honour of God, and for the maintenance of the amity and good will betwixt those two nations. And if he shall perceive any to be perplex'd with worldly fear, he may put them in remembrance in how good case, to all worldly respects, the possession of true religion at this day standeth in France, where of late days great persecution was, and now not only ceaseth by order and authority, but also freedom granted for all persons to live with free consciences, observing common peace and tranquillity. In Germany all the Princes and Estates have newly ratified the Augustane Confession;¹ and therefore the Nobility there in Scotland observing common peace amongst themselves, and rendring their duty to their Soverain in things concerning their obedience, there is no cause, if they will keep unity in opinion amongst themselves, to fear any power to offend them. But contrariwise, if they shou'd, upon a vain fear, yeild to contrary practises, or sever amongst themselves, their ruin wou'd shortly ensue; and in this manner the said Randolph shall declare this advice from the Queen's Majestie, as a matter containing in it nothing more than the augmentation of God's honour, the observation of their duty towards their Soverain, and a continuance of this good amity now enjoy'd by both the Nations.

¹ [This "Augustane Confession" must indicate the "Augsburg Confession" prepared by Melancthon with Luther's sanction to be laid before the Emperor Charles V. at the great Diet held at Augsburg, now the capital of the Bavarian Circle of the Upper Danube, in June 1530. It was on that occasion read in the German language by the Chancellor of Saxony, after which two copies of it, one in German and the other in Latin, were delivered to the Emperor, containing the signatures of John, Elector of Saxony, George, Marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest, Duke of Lüneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, the free town of Nuremberg, and other cities. This Confession has ever since continued to be the Lutheran code of Faith.—E.]

“ *Item*, He shal deal with others that be not much affected to the matter of religion, and yet much given to the continuance of the amity, in this sort following :—

“ He shal lay this foundation, That now whilst their Sovereign is unmarried, and out of her country, and that the Queen’s Majestie is given to keep peace with that Realm, the very time is to make an Accord betwixt these two Realms, either for a perpetual Peace, or at the least very long to continue : And therefore it wou’d be devis’d, whilst the Queen of Scots and that Realm is free from the unprofitable old League with France, that either some new league might be made with the Queen’s Majestie of England and her Realm, of the one part, and the Scottish Queen and that Realm, of the other part ; or at the least some Heads and Articles of the old League in France, as were frequent occasions betwixt these two Realms — might be either clearly omitted or qualified. And for the doing thereof, her Majesty thinketh the Estates of Scotland have presently good opportunity, and may, with many sure and necessary reasons, induce the Queen their Sovereign not only to allow of this advice, but also to be therof, for her own estate, very desirous. This time chiefly moveth to have this matter in consideration ; for, although in times past the Kings of Scotland have for the most part seen what ruins and hurts came to them and their people by the hostility of this kingdom, which grew only by the means of the League betwixt France and that Realm, yet were they never untill this time free to remedy the same, but always tied with the band of France, which, if it shal be knit up again, the Queen herself and her posterity shal most repent it.

“ *Item*, The said Randolph shal also put them in remembrance, how necessary it is for them to consider with whom their Queen shal marry ; for if she shal marry with a stranger, the same inconveniences which were felt and feared in her former marriage, and perchance more also, will ensue : And surely if such as in this late time, for defence of the liberty of that country, shewed themselves most earnest, be not soundly reconcil’d to her favour, the marriage of her to any stranger shal be their ruin. Yea, howsoever they be reconcil’d, a stranger being her husband, will not lett, both for pleasing of her, and for compassing his own purposes, to

rid them out of the way, and to make one of them an instrument to the subversion of the other, and of them both in the end, to make a prey for himself and his own friends. This is a policy so apparent to insue, that nothing can be imagin'd otherwise to withstand it, but for the Nobility and States of that kingdom to consent altogether to perswade their Soverain either to marry at home in her own country, or else not marry without some great surety of them which ought to succeed.

“ It cannot be thought but the Duke of Chatellerault with all his family, the rest of the Nobility, and others, both of burgh and town, which stand in defence of their country, ought all to be of this mind; for that there remaineth to them no surety in any other device. And as to the rest of that nation which intermeddle not herewith, there can seem no probable cause why the Queen their Soverain shou'd not take such a husband as might bring universall quietness in her kingdom, and sure peace with this Realm. In all these matters the said Randolph shal, as the Queen's agent there, proceed to his discretion; and for furtherance of ev'ry parcel herof, shal confer with such as he knoweth well adicted to the cause of religion, and to the good amity betwixt these two Realms.

“ By the Queen's commandment,

“ W. CECILL.”

In the same month of March, Monsieur Noailles,¹ a Member of the Parliament of Bordeaux, arrived in Scotland with

¹ [Noailles had been formerly Ambassador in England. See “Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters,” edited by Thomas Wright, M. A. Lond. 1833, vol. i. p. 55. The Parliament of Bordeaux, of which Monsieur Noailles was a Member, was established in 1462, and was one of seven local Parliaments instituted in France at various times previous to 1620, between which year and 1753 five were added. All those Parliaments claimed to be considered as forming one body, but this the Government would never acknowledge. The Government had no direct influence over those Parliaments. It could neither nominate nor dismiss members. All offices were acquired by purchase, and were viewed by those invested with them as their lawful property, which they could retain or sell at pleasure. This notion of property was carried so far, that even those Members who forfeited their places by mal-practices retained the right of selling them. Such judicial functions came in progress of time to be vested in a certain number of families, who formed a

a Commission from the new King of France, consisting of these three Points:—1. That the ancient League betwixt the two kingdoms might be renewed. 2. That the late Confederacy with England should be dissolved. 3. That the Churchmen should be restored to their places and benefices. But the *Junto*, unwilling to meddle with matters of that importance, thought fit to remit him to the Convention which had been appointed to meet in the month of May.

Meantime the Lord James and Mr John Leslie, deputed by the different parties to repair into France to the Queen, had taken different routes to accomplish their journey; the former departed from Edinburgh overland,¹ the 18th day of March; the latter sailed from the Port of Aberdeen to the Brill in Holland,² and both of them made such equal dispatch, that Mr Leslie, by his own account, arrived at Vitry³ in Champagne, where the Queen then was,⁴ but one single

separate class of Nobility, called *Noblesse de Robe*, or *Nobility of the Gown*. Those Parliaments were close self-elected corporations, exercising a terrible despotism over the country, from which it was almost impossible to obtain redress. They often deviated from the letter of the law, and decided according to what they called rules of equity. This originated the French proverb—*Dieu nous garde de l'équité du Parlement*. They had great power in criminal cases, and could inflict death on very slight proofs of guilt.—E.]

¹ It has been reported that the Prior concerted and communicated matters while he passed and repassed through England.—[The future Regent Moray's mercenary and political intrigues to ruin Queen Mary are now historical facts. He had personal reasons for proceeding by London in his route. "The Prior, Lord James," says Chalmers, "was now *thirty*.—His nature and education prompted his ambitious spirit. As early as 1552, he, who had no religion, put himself at the head of the *religion*. In 1558, 1559, and 1560, he was in fact *King* under the management of Cecil and Elizabeth." See "Memoir of the Regent Moray," *apud* "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots," by George Chalmers, London, 4to. 1818, vol. ii. p. 291.—E.]

² [Briel, or Brielle, a seaport town on the south side of the Island of Voorn, in the Province of South Holland, near the mouth of the Maas, twelve miles west of Rotterdam, twenty-four miles north-west of Dordrecht, and six miles north of Helveltsluys. In 1572 it became the celebrated seat of the independence of the Dutch Republic.—E.]

³ [Vitry le François, in the district of Pertois, a former division of Champagne, one of the most extensive Provinces of France.—E.]

⁴ Our Queen, after the death of her husband, perceiving her mother-in-law's countenance—who came now to have a great hand in the government—to be not kindly towards her, had retired to Rheims in Picardy, where she remained all the rest of the winter with the Cardinal of

day before the Lord James. The day of his arrival was the 14th of April.¹ Having been graciously received, he declared to her Majesty the things wherewith he was intrusted, the sum whercof, as related by himself, was this²—That her Majesty would be pleased not to allow herself to be ensnared by her brother's crafty speeches, who would probably advise her to bring with her no French forces into Scotland, merely on purpose that after he had insinuated himself so far into her good graces, as to obtain under her the chief management of affairs, he might with the more easiness crush the ancient form of religion within the Realm; which nevertheless, Mr Leslie assured the Queen, the Prior had not so much at heart, notwithstanding all his outward pretences, as to wrest the sceptre out of her hand, and to set the crown upon his own head. Therefore he humbly entreated her Majesty, either to cause retain her natural brother in France until she had arrived in Scotland, and had settled her affairs at home; or, that she would comply with another advice of the Nobles that had sent him, namely, to land with her ships in some port of the North of Scotland, especially at Aberdeen, where her friends could easily convene an army of 20,000 men, with which her Majesty might with security advance towards Edinburgh, and defeat all the bad designs of her enemies. After Mr Leslie had delivered his Commission, he tells us—That the Queen commanded him to remain by her until she should return to Scotland; and ordered him in the meantime to assure by writ the Lords and Prelates who sent him, of her favour towards them, and of her intention to return home. But it is very

Lorraine, Archbishop of that city, her own uncle. In the spring of the year, her Majesty went to visit the Duke and old Duchess of Guise, her grandmother, at Joinville, and the Duke of Lorraine at Nancy. There her Majesty was taken ill of an ague, and from thence, for her health, she returned to Joinville. After her recovery, she went again in the month of June to Rheims, and from thence to Paris, where she remained until she set out for Calais, in order to embark for her own kingdom.

¹ [Bishop Lesley arrived about the 9th of April, and obtained his first audience with Queen Mary on the 14th. Some writers state that *March* was the month when Bishop Lesley and Lord James Stuart appeared at Vitry. See the "History of Scotland during the Reign of Queen Mary," by the Rev. James Carruthers. Edinburgh, 8vo. 1831, p. 145.—E.]

² *De Rebus Gestis Sctorum, authore Joanne Leslao Episcopo Rossensi.*—[Libri x. Romæ, 1578, 4to. *Iidem, juxta exemplar Romanum*, 1675, 4to.—E.]

observable, that he says not one word which may imply the Queen's approbation of his Commission, or that she would comply with what he had advised her; which seems, indeed, to create no small credit to what Sir James Melville relates,¹ viz. that "Messieurs de Martigues,² d'Ozel,³ la Brosse,⁴ the Bishop of Amiens,⁵ and such other Frenchmen as were lately carried out of Scotland in the English ships, as well as the rest of the Queen's friends, advised her, to serve the time, to be most familiar with my Lord James, Prior of St Andrews, her natural brother, and with the Earl of Argyle, who had married Lady Jean Stewart her natural sister, and to use the Secretary Lidington (i. e. William Maitland, younger of Lidington) and the Laird of Grange most tenderly in all her affairs; and in sum, to repose most upon those of the reformed Religion." It is not, indeed, to be doubted that this last was good advice, had the Queen been resolved to abandon the *ancient* and take up with the *new* model of religion; but as it appears she had no intention to come into these measures, the former advice in all probability would have answered her affairs better.

The next day after Mr Leslie had been first with the Queen, her natural brother having beforehand received

¹ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, London, 1683, p. 26.—E.]

² [Count Martiques, of the "House of Luxembourg," commander of a party of French soldiers who came to Scotland in January 1559-60. See the first volume of this History, p. 263.—E.]

³ [Monsieur D'Osell, the French Ambassador, is repeatedly mentioned in the first volume of this History as delivering the Regalia of Scotland in name of Queen Mary to her mother the Queen-Dowager—as building a fort at Eyemouth—besieged in Leith by the forces of the Congregation—and as concerned in several negotiations and engagements for the Regent Queen-Dowager, Queen Mary, and her husband Francis II. In a letter from De la Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, dated Edinburgh, 27th March 1559, he is styled *Mons. de Ville Parisis*. See "Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters," edited by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.A.S., of Trinity College, Cambridge: London, 8vo. 1838, vol. i. p. 25-28.—E.]

⁴ [La Brosse was a French Knight, who arrived at Leith, towards the end of September 1559, with two hundred foot and eighty horse, accompanied by the Bishop of Amiens.—E.]

⁵ [Pelleuce, Bishop of Amiens, brought with him some Doctors of the Sorbonne, who intimated that they came to Scotland to dispute with the preachers of the so-called "Congregation." Sir Ralph Sadler states, on the 29th of September—"The Bishop, as they say, cometh to curse, and also to dispute with the Protestants, and to reconcile them, if it wol be."—E.]

intelligence of the advertisement she had got to use his and his friend's advice, came and presented himself before her Majesty at St Diziers, likewise in Champagne,¹ and requested her to return home, faithfully promising for himself to serve her to the utmost of his power, and assuring her that the whole Scottish nation would obey her as one man, without constraint by any foreign soldiers.² Mr Leslie acknowledges that the Prior soon perceived the Queen's heart to be inclined towards him; and this did probably encourage him to demand from her Majesty the Earldom of Moray³

¹ [St Diziers is a town in France in the Department of the North Marne, on the right bank of the Marne, 138 miles from Paris, on the road by Meaux and Chalons to Nancy and Strasburg.—E.]

² If the Prior of St Andrews had any foresight of things, it was surely convenient that the Queen should not bring foreign force, or even not have any force at all about her.

³ [Of this great object of Lord James Stuart's ambition, a summary may not be uninteresting. The Earldom of Moray, or, as it is often absurdly printed, *Murray*, from the vulgar pronunciation, is one of the most ancient in Scotland. Sir Thomas Randolph, only son of Thomas Ranulph, or Randolph, one of the *Magnates Scotiae*, by his wife Lady Isabel Bruce, eldest daughter of Robert Earl of Carrick, and sister of King Robert Bruce, was created Earl of Moray by his uncle soon after the Battle of Bannockburn. At the death of King Robert Bruce he became Regent of Scotland, and guardian to his relative David II., and died at Musselburgh of the stone, in July 1332, universally regretted. His sons, Thomas and John, succeeded him as second and third Earls, but the former dying unmarried, and the latter leaving no issue by his cousin Isabel, only daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkil, the Earldom devolved on Earl Randolph's only daughter, Lady Agnes, who married Patrick ninth Earl of Dunbar and March, and who, in her right, assumed also the title of Earl of Moray. The heroic daughter of Earl Randolph, celebrated for her extraordinary defence of the Castle of Dunbar against the English, is known in Scottish history by the soubriquet of *Black Agnes*. Her second son John obtained from Robert II. a charter of the Earldom of Moray, except the lordship and lands of Badenoch, the Castle of Urquhart, and the great customs of the Earldom, in favour of himself and his Countess Marjory, eldest daughter of King Robert II., in March 1371-2. After the death of his grandson Thomas, the third Earl of this succession, the title appears to have devolved on James Dunbar of Frendraught, who married Lady Janet Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander first Earl of Huntly, by whom he had two daughters, the eldest of whom, Lady Janet, was designated Countess of Moray, and appears to have been twice married—first to James second Lord Crichton, and second to John Sutherland; but Archibald, third son of James seventh Earl of Douglas, who married the younger sister Lady Mary, obtained the Earldom to the prejudice of Lady Janet's husband. He took up arms against James II., when that monarch assassinated his eldest brother, the eighth

to be conferred upon him, in which the Queen promised to satisfy his request at her return into Scotland.¹ Matters having succeeded so well in this expedition, that gentleman resolved to make all the dispatch he could in his journey, so that taking his route through England, he arrived again in Scotland² some time in the month of May; about which

Earl of Douglas, in Stirling Castle in February 1451-2, and after a variety of adventures was killed in an encounter with the royal forces at Arkinholm in Dumfriesshire on the 1st of May 1455. He was attainted for high treason in the following month, and the Earldom of Moray was vested in the Crown. On the 20th of June the Earldom was granted by charter of James IV. to his illegitimate son James Stuart by Janet, eldest daughter of John second Lord Kennedy. He was employed in several public affairs, married Lady Elizabeth Campbell, and died in June 1544, leaving one daughter Lady Mary, who became the wife of John Stuart, Master of Buchan, eldest son of John third Earl of Buchan, of that branch of the Stewarts, Earls of Buchan. As the charter was limited to heirs-male, the Earldom of Moray reverted to the Crown in 1544, and was conferred, in 1548-9, on George Gordon, fourth Earl of Huntly, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and his heirs and assignees. The Earldom continued in this position in 1560, when Lord James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews, resolved to wrest it from Huntly, and secure it to himself. "He had for some years," says Chalmers, "cast his eagle eyes on the Earldom of Moray. When he went into the Northern shires to reform the churches in August 1560, he had seen how much could be obtained by a person of his pretensions; yet he did not, perhaps, very accurately know, that the object of his cupidity belonged to others, though he saw and envied the extensive jurisdictions and personal influence of the Earl of Huntly."—*Memoirs of the Regent Moray, apud Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, 4to. vol. ii. p. 293. We shall soon trace the career of the "Prior of St Andrews," the able, designing, and unscrupulous illegitimate son of James V.—E.]

¹ [The Prior, otherwise Lord James Stuart, told Queen Mary with his usual duplicity, on the day of his arrival after Bishop Lesley, that he "came only to pay his duty to her as his Sovereign Lady, without any commission whatsoever relating to anything else." The Queen declined to give any definite answer to his request for the Earldom of Moray. The Prior, however, studiously concealed the fact that Maitland of Lethington, then the ablest statesman in Scotland, who had betrayed her mother when Regent, was then acting with Cecil as Secretary—that the Duke of Chatelherault and others of the Nobility had offered their services to Queen Elizabeth—and that the party with whom he was associating were more attached to her interest than to their lawful Sovereign. In the State Paper Office are preserved the documents shewing the traitorous designs of those personages.—E.]

² Leslie says about the beginning of May, but Knox seems to make it about the end of that month.—[He arrived in Paris on the 4th of April, and left that city at his return by London to Edinburgh. When in London he informed Elizabeth and Cecil of Queen Mary's purpose to proceed

time the Earls of Bothwell and Eglinton, the Bishops of Orkney, and several other Noble persons, went over into France, to pay their duty to the Queen.

Mr Knox takes notice (whether true or not, nobody can now tell), that there had been a design in Paris to assassinate the Prior,¹ which he escaped by the means of some good friends; and he observes that—"his arrival in Scotland was to the great comfort of many godly hearts, and to no little astonishment of the wicked; for from the Queen our Sovereign he brought letters to the Lords, praying them to entertain quietness, and to suffer nothing to be attempted against the Contract of Peace which was made at Leith, till her own home-coming, and to suffer the religion publicly established to go forward."² And Mr Buchanan says—"He brought a commission from the Queen, empowering the States to sit and enact laws for the good of the public."³ But Mr Leslie mentions none of these things.

by sea to her own kingdom, and advised them to intercept her. James, the Bastard, says Camden, returning very lately through England, had given secret warning to intercept her, and Maitland of Lethington wrote to the same effect. The letters of Maitland are still in the Cotton Library and State Paper Office. Though neither Knox nor our Historian fixes the precise date of the Prior's arrival in Edinburgh, yet, "by a letter of Throgmorton," says Mr Tytler, "to the Lord James [the Prior himself], it appears that he was in London on the 20th of May, and at Edinburgh on the 3d of June."—*History of Scotland*, Edin. edit. 1842, vol. vi. *note*, p. 225.—E.]

¹ [There is no evidence that Knox's statement of the design to assassinate the Prior had the slightest foundation in truth. Knox pretends that this plot was concocted by the "Papists," who got up a religious procession in Paris on the street, and designed to quarrel with the Prior if he passed without the accustomed homage, but that he and his friend the Rhinegrave, who first advertised him of the project, escaped with their followers by the speed of their horses. It is not likely that such a clumsy plot would be perpetrated under the pretence of a street riot. Knox says that the Prior lost his box in which was his secret "pois," or money. *Historie of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, Edinburgh, folio, 1732, p. 273.—E.]

² [Knox's *Historie of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, Edin. fol. edit. 1732, p. 273.—E.]

³ [Buchanan's *Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, original edition, Edin. 1582, Book xvii. folio 193, and Translation of the same, Edin. fourth edition, Svo. 1752, vol. ii. p. 276. The Prior brought no commission with him to govern for the Queen till her arrival. This is proved by Queen Mary's letter to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, which immediately follows in the text, as translated by our Historian. Chalmers conjectures that Buchanan

At the Convention in May, Monsieur Noailles received audience, and had the following Answers given to his Commission, with which he soon after departed for France. And perhaps the States of Scotland were the more frank in their Answers, that a little before this time the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, and Mr Maitland, had returned from England, and had notified the good acceptance they had met with from that Queen, and the promises she had made to assist them, in the defence of the liberties of the kingdom, if they should at any time stand in need of her help.

The particular Answers to the French Ambassadors were to this purpose:—

1. “That France had not deserved at their hands, that either they or their posterity should enter with them again into any league or confederacy, offensive or defensive, seeing that so traiterously and cruelly they had persecuted them, their realm and liberties, under pretence of amity and marriage.

2. “That besides their conscience, they could not take such a worldly shame, as without offence committed to break the League, which in God’s name they had made with *them* (meaning the *English*), whom he hath made instruments to set Scotland at freedom from the tyranny of the French, at least of the *Guisians* and their faction.

3. And lastly, “That such as they called Bishops and Churchmen, they knew neither for pastors of the Church, neither yet for any just possessors of the patrimony thereof; but understood them perfectly to be wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle bellies. And therefore as Scotland hath forsaken their Pope and Papistry, so could they not be debtors to his foresworn vassals.”¹

The Queen of England having still greatly at heart our Queen’s ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh, and considering that her Majesty had lately deferred the same until she should hear from her Council in Scotland, thought it a

probably confounded this statement with the real commission, which arrived early in 1560-1. Life of Queen Mary, vol. ii. p. 40.—E.]

¹ Knox.—[Historie of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, Edin. edit. folio, 1732, p. 274.—E.]

proper season, now that her trusty friend the Prior of St Andrews was with his sister, to renew her demand concerning the Treaty. For this purpose she sends orders to her ambassador in France, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton,¹ to sollicite our Queen upon that head; and her Majesty returned such answer to that ambassador as she judged expedient at the time. And perhaps it may not be unfit to insert here both the one and the other.

A Letter² of the English Ambassador to Queen Mary of Scotland, for her ratifying the Treaty of Leith.

“PLEASETH it your Majestie. The same may remember that at my Lord of Bedford’s being in this Court, he and I demanded of you, on the behalf of the Queen’s Majestie our mistress, your good sister and cousyne, your ratification of th’accord lately made at Edingborough in Scotland, whereunto you made answer, amonge other things, That your Counsell being not about youe, namely, your uncle, my Lord Cardinall of Lorraine, by whom you are advised in your affaires, and also for that your Majestie had not heard from your Counsell in Scotland, from whom you looked to hear then verie shortlye, you could make us no direct answer therein. But that heering from them, and having consulted with your Counsell heere, you would satisfie her Majestie in the same. Sins whiche tyme, her Majestie having knowledge of the coming to you of the Lord James, your brother, who passed lately through England hitherwards, by whom (her Majestie judgeth) you will be advised, bothe in respect of his ranke and estimacion in your Realme of Scotland, and also for that he hathe the honour to be your Majestie’s brother, and of good credite with you: And nothing doubting of your consultation with my said Lord Cardinall, and others of your Counsell heere sins that tyme, her Majestie hathe presentlie commanded, and authorized me to put your Majestie in remembrance therof againe, and to renew the

¹ [Sir Nicholas Throckmorton or Throckmorton, who was employed for several years first in France and afterwards in Scotland, and subsequently appointed Chamberlain of the Exchequer and Chief Butler of England, was the fourth son of Sir George Throckmorton of Loughton in Warwickshire. He died in 1570.—E.]

² Paper Office, and Burnet, vol. iii. Collect. p. 313.

demande of your confirmation of the said late Accord. Therefore I have presently depechid to you this gentleman, bearer heerof, her Majestie's servant, by whom, I beseeche you, to let me understand your resolute answer in that behalfe. And uppon knowledge of your pleasure, to delyver me the said Ratification, and of the tyme and place, I will not faile (God willing) to resort, whither your Majestie will appoint me to come for that pourpose.

"By demanding of this Ratification, as the Queen's Majestie, my mistress, your good sister, dothe shew the great desyre she hathe to lyve from henceforth in all assured good love, peas, and amytie with you and your Realme; so, in her opynion, there is nothing that can argue your reciproke good will to answer for the lyke for your parte agayne, so much as the stablishing the same by this knot of friendship which God hath appointed, and hath been chief Worker therin, for both your quyetnesses and comforts, being now the onlie refuge of you both. And so I pray Almighty God long to preserve your Majestie in parfaict healthe, honour, and filicitie."

"From *Paris*, the 13th of Aprill 1561."

Our Queen's answer to the foregoing letter being written by her in the French language, and so not intelligible to a great many of our English readers, I have put the same in the Appendix;¹ but shall here insert a translation of it.

"MONSIEUR AMBASSADEUR—I have read the letter which you wrote me by the gentleman who brings you this: And seeing I am to leave this place very quickly, I can't give you a return till I come at Rheims, where I expect to be at the King's Coronation. I shall only here tell you, that the Lord James, who is presently with me, came only to pay his duty to me as his Sovereign Lady, without any commission whatsoever relating to any thing else. I pray God to keep you, Monsieur Ambassadeur.

"Your very good friend,

"MARIE."

"*Nancy*, this 22d April 1562."

¹ Number II.

To the above Letters may be fitly joined the part of another¹ from the said Ambassador to his own Queen, as giving some farther light into our affairs.

“It maye please your Majestie to be advertised, that having written this other lettre, and being ready to have depeched it to your Majestie, Mr Somer, your Highness’s servant, arryved heere from Nanci in Lorraine, from the Queen of Scotland with answer to my lettre, which (by your Majestie’s commandment) I wrote to her, in such sorte as I have advertised by my former, and therewith sent to your Majestie the coppies of my lettres to the said Queen and Cardinall of Lorrain. Which her answer being by lettre (having also said as much by mouth to Mr Somer), together with the said Cardinall’s answer, I send your Majestie herewith. And though your Majestie’s said servant used the best speech as he coude to get some direct answer of her, accordinge to her late promesses, putting her in remembrance of her words to my Lord of Bedford, and to me at Fontainbleau, yet other answer nor direction then is contained in her letter coude he not gette of her. And seeing she hath deferrid to make me further answer till my next meetinge with her, which she reckonith shall be at Reims, at the French King’s *Sacre*,² as appeareth by her said lettre, where she and the Cardinall told Mr Somer she mynded to be the 8th of Maye, for that it is said the *Sacre* shall be the 15th.”—Sir Nicholas after this adviseth his mistress to send Mr Somer (an attendant on the Ambassador) to receive our Queen’s answer, because himself was labouring under sickness at the time. And then he adds—“And tho’ I thinke verily that her answer will be such as I have already advertised your Majestie she made to my Lord James³ (which is means to draw the tyme still into greater length), yet the same, or anye other, being made to your Majestie by her self, you shall the better know how to proceede with her in the matter afterwards.”—“I wrote to your Majestie, by

¹ Paper Office, and Burnet, vol. iii. Collect. p. 313.

² [The word *Sacre* here means the Coronation of Charles IX. The Kings of France were always crowned at Rheims.—E.]

³ So it appears the Lord James was just now employed by the Queen of England.

my letters of the 23d of this present, that the Queen of Scotland would authorize my said Lord James (as she had told him herself) to have the special charge of the government of the affaires in Scotland till her coming thither; and would for that purpose give him Commission under her Seale.¹ For which Commission, and other letters, he left a gentleman of his with the said Queen, to bring it after him to this towne. The gentleman is retourned from the Queen with her letters, but hath brought no Commission. And I understande that she hath now changed her mynd in that point, and will appoint none to have authoritie there till she come herself. And as to such sute and requests as are made to her for benefices, and such other things as are to be bestowed, she will not dispose of any of them, or make other answer therein till her cominge thither. Which (it is thought) she dothe, to bestowe the same upon some such as she shall see worthy of her favour and prefferment, and upon others, to winne them the sooner to her devocion. The special cause why she hath changed her opinion for my Lord James (as I heere) is, for that she coude by no means dissuade him from his devocion and good opinion towards your Majestie, and the observation of the League between your Majestie and the Realme of Scotland.² And also for that she, nor the Cardinall of Lorraine, could not winne nor divert him from his religion, wherein they used verie great meanes and perswasions. For which respects the said Lord James deservith to be the more estymid of your Majestie. And seeing he hath dealt so plainly with the Queen his Soveraine, on your Majestie's behalfe, and shewed himself so constant in religion, that neither the feare of his Soveraine's indignacion coude waver him, nor great promesses winne him, your Majestie may, in myne opinion, make good accompt of his constancy

¹ This gains much credit to the narrations concerning this Lord, contained in the "*Innocence de Marie*;" for there it is said that he indirectly, yet with a sort of threatening, solicited the Queen, by her uncle the Duke d'Aumale, to make him Governor of the Kingdom.—[The work mentioned by our Historian in this note is a small volume entitled—"L'Innocence de la tres Illustre, tres Chaste, et Debonnaire Princesse Madame Marie, Royne d'Ecosse, imprimé l'an. 1572," and the incident occurs in p. 6.—E.]

² Compare this with Mr Knox's account of the message brought home by this Lord, p. 161.

towards you; and so deserveth to be well entertayned and made of by your Majestie, as one that may stand you in no small steade, for the advancement of your Majestie's desire. Sins his being heere, he hath dealt so franckly and liberally with me, that I must beleeve he will so contynue after his return home. And in case your Majestie wold now in tyme liberally and honorably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more beholding to your Majestie, it wold, in my simple judgement, serve your Majestie to great purpose.¹ He departeth hence homeward about the 4th of Maye,² by the waye of Diepe, and myndith to land at Rye; whereof I thought good to advertise your Majestie that it may please the same to give order for him and his company to be receyved and accommodated as apertenith. Which will be well bestowed upon him for the good reporte he made of his late reception there, and of the great favour your Majestie shewed him at his coming hitherwards.

"I understand that the Queen of Scotland maketh account to fynd a good partie in her Realme of such as are of her religion; and amongs others, the Earle of Huntly hath promysed, that having the Duke on his side, he, with such other as he holdeth assured, will be able enough to make head to the contrary parte. And so hath he promised to bring greate things to passe there, for the Queen's purpose and affection.——

"I understand that the Queen of Scotland hath hitherto no great devotion to Ledington, Grange, and Balnaves, whereof I am nothing sorry.³ But she mindeth to use all the best meanes she can to wyne them to her, which she trusteth well to compasse.——

"Having written thus farre, I understand that whereas it was determined that the King shuld have departed the 23th of Aprill, from Fontanbleau towards Reims, to his *Sacre*, the same is retarded by reason that the Queen-Mother is fallen sick of a catarre. So that both his depar-

¹ The Queen of England was wise enough to bind the subjects of Scotland to her Majesty by all proper ties, and no doubt this person got an early taste of her benevolence.

² This confirms Mr Knox's account, that this Lord did not return to Scotland before the end of May.—[See the note, p. 29, 30 of this volume.—E.]

³ Perhaps the English ministry have found these three gentlemen to be, at the bottom, true to the interests of Scotland.

ture from thence, and the time of his *Sacre*, is now uncertain, and dependith wholly upon the said Queen-Mother's recovery.—From Paris, the first of Maye 1561.

“ Your Majestie's humble and most

“ obedient subject and servant,

“ N. THROKMORTON.”

It hath been observed already, that our Sovereign had fallen ill of an ague ; therefore when the Queen of England heard of her recovery, and of her return to the city of Paris, she ordered her Minister to compliment her thereupon, and at the same time to make a new request for the ratification of the forementioned Treaty of Edinburgh. This gentleman's letter to his mistress will give the best account of the matter, which, though it be somewhat prolix, and has been published formerly by Mr Knox, yet because by it and the other original letters, we have a plain series of all the several incidents relating to this affair, which at bottom did breed all the other differences betwixt the two Sovereign Ladies of this island, I have thought it not amiss to insert the same here.

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton his Letter to the Queen of England, dated at Paris 23d June 1561.*¹

“ MADAME—The 18th of this present June, I sent Somer to the Queen of Scots for audience, who appointed me to come to her the same day after dinner, which I did. To her I did your Majestie's hearty commendations, and declared unto her your Majestie's gladsomnes of her recoverie of her late sickness ; whose want of health, as it was grievous unto your Majestie, soe did yee congratulate and greatlie rejoice of the good tydings of health she was presentlie in. After these offices, I putt her in remembrance againe, what had passed from the beginning of the matter of your Majestie's demand of ratification, according to the purport of the said Treaty, as weill by me at the first, as afterward by my Lord Bedford at his being heere, and also followed sithence again by me in audience ; and by my letter to her being in Lorane ; adding hereto your Majestie's farther

¹ Knox. Item, Calderwood's Large M.S.—[Calderwood's History, printed for the Wodrow Society, 8vo. Edin. 1843, vol. ii. p. 131-136.—E.]

commandment and recharge to me again, presentlie to renew the same demand as before had been done. The said Queen made answer—‘ Monsieur l’Ambassadeur, I thank the Queen, my good sister, for her gentle visitation and congratulation of this my recoverie; and though I be not yet in perfyte health, yett, I thank God, I feel myself in verie good health in comming to. And for answer to your demand of your Ratification, I doe remember all things that you have recited unto me; and I would the Queen, my good sister, sould think that I do respyte the resolute answer in this matter, and performing thereof, untill such tyme as I might have the advices of the Nobles and Estates of mine own Realm, which I trust sall not be long a-doing, for I intend to make my voyage thither shortlie. And though this matter,’ quoth she, ‘ doeth touch me principallie, yet doeth it also touch the Nobles and Estates of my Realm too, and therefore it sall be meet that I use ther advices therein. Heretofore they have seemed to be grieved that I should do any thing without them; and now they would be more offended, if I sould proceed in this matter of myself, without ther advice. I do intend,’ quoth she, ‘ to send Monsieur d’Osell to the Queen your mistresse, my good sister, who sall declare that unto her from me, that I trust sall suffice her, by whom I will give her to understand of my journey into Scotland. I mean to embark at Calice. The King hath lent me certane galleys and shypes to convoy me home, and I intend to require of my good sister these favours that Princes use to doe in those cases; and though the termes wherein we have stood heretofore have been somewhat hard, yet I trust that from henceforth we sall accord together as cousins and good neighbours. I mean,’ quoth she, ‘ to retire all the Frenchmen from Scotland who had given jealousie to the Queen my sister, and discontentment to my subjects, so as I will leave nothing undone to satisfie all parties, trusting the Queen, my good sister, will doe the like; and from hencefurth none of my disobedient subjects sall find aid or support at her hands.’ I answered—That I was not desyrous to fall into discourse how these hard termes first began, nor by what means they were nourished; because therein I most charge some party with injustice and perrell offered to the Queen my mistresse, which was the very ground of these

matters ; but I was well assured that there could be no better occasion offered to put the former unkindnesse in forgetfulnesse then by ratifying the Treaty of Peace, for that sould repay all injuries past. And, Madame, quoth I, when it pleaseth you to suspend the Ratification till you have the advices of the Nobles and the Estates of your Realm, the Queen, my mistresse, doth nothing doubt of ther conformity in this mater, because the Treaty was made by their consents. The Queen answered—‘ Yea, by some of them, but not by all. It will appear, when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same minde that you say they were then of ; but of this I assure you, Monsieur l’Ambassadeur,’ quoth she, ‘ I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfyte and the assured amitie of the Queen, my good sister, and I will use all the meanes I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed.’ I answered—Madame, the Queen, my mistresse, you may be assured, will use the like towards you, to move you to be of the same opinion towards her. ‘ Then,’ said she, ‘ I trust the Queen, your mistresse, will not support nor incourage none of my subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor to take upon things which appertaineth not to subjects. You know,’ quoth she, ‘ ther is much adoe in my Realm about the maters of religione ; and though ther be a greater number of the contrary religione to me then I would ther were, yet ther is no reasone that subjects give a law to ther Sovereigne, and speciallie in maters of religione ; which I fear,’ quoth she, ‘ my subjects sall take in hand.’ I answered—Madame, your Realme is in no other case at this day, then all other Realmes through Chrisendome are ; the proof whereof you see verified in this Realme, and you see what great difficulty it is to give order in this mater, though the King and all his counsell be very desircous thereunto. Religione is of the greatest force that may be ; you have been ionge out of your own Realme, so as the contrarie religion to yours had win the upper hand, and the greatest part of your Realme. Your mother was a woman of great experience, of deep dissimulatione, and keepest that Realme in quietnesse, till she begane to constraine men’s consciences. And you think it unmeet to be constrained by your subjects ; soe it may be like you to consider, the mater is as intollerable to them to be constrained by you in maters

of conscience ; for the duty due to God cannot be given to anie other without offence off His Majesty. ‘ Why,’ said she, ‘ God commanded subjects to be obedient to their Princes, and commandeth Princes to read His law, and governe therby themselves and the people committed to their charges.’ Madame, quoth I, in these things that be not against His commandments. ‘ Weill,’ quoth she, ‘ I will be plaine with you. The religione which I professe, I take to be most acceptable to God ; and indeed, nather doe I know, or desire to know anie other. Constancie becometh all folks weill, but none better than Princes and such as have rule over Realmes, and specially in maters of religione. I have been brought up,’ quoth she, ‘ in this religione, and who might credit me in any thing, if I sould shew myself light in this case ? And though I be young, and not weill learned, yett have I heard this mater oft disputed by my vncle my Lord Cardinall,¹ with some that thought they could say somewhat in the mater ; and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion.’ Madame, quoth I, If you judge weill in that mater, you may be conversant in the Scriptures, which are the touchstone to try the right from the wronge. Peradventure you are so partiallie affected to your uncle’s arguments, that you could not indifferentlie consider the other parties ; yett this I assure you, Madam, quoth I, your uncle my Lord Cardinall in conference with me about these maters hath confess’d, that there be great errors come into the Church, and great disorder in the ministers and clergie, in so much that he desired and wished there might be a reformation of the one and the other. ‘ I have oft heard him say the like,’ quoth she. Then I said, Weill, I trust God will inspire all you that be Princes, that ther may be some good order taken in this mater, soe as ther may be one unitie in religion through all Christendome. ‘ God grant,’ quoth she ; ‘ but for my part, you may perceiue that I am none of these that will change my religione every year ; and as I told you in the beginning, I mean to constraine none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am, and I trust they sould have no support to constraine me. I will send Monsieur d’Osell,’

¹ [The Cardinal of Lorraine.—E.]

quoth she, ‘to you, before he goe, to know whether yee will anything into England. I pray you so order yourself in this mater betwixt the Queen, my good sister, and me, that there may be perfyte and assured amitie betwixt us, for I know,’ quoth she, ‘ministers may do much good and harm.’ I told her I would faithfullie and truelie make declaration of all that she had said to me unto your Majesty, and trusted that she would soe satisfie your Majestie by Monsieur d’Osell in all things, as I sould heerafter have no more occasions to treat with her anything but of the encrease of amitie. [She replied] ‘Ther sould be no want therin upon her behalf.’ This is the effect of the Queen of Scotland’s answer to your Majestie’s demand of her said ratification, and of my negociations with her at this tyme.”

The Queen of England perceiving by the above letter of her resident, that our Queen had little intention to yield to her demand of the ratification of the Treaty, and that likewise her Majesty, in the conference with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton had plainly affirmed, that the Treaty was not made by consent of all her Nobility; and having some suspicion, as would appear, that others of the Scottish Nobility might, by the presence of their own Sovereign, and by the expectation of favours from her, be wrought upon to abandon the interest of their English ally: Queen Elizabeth, I say, perceiving and suspecting these things, and that perhaps some contrivance or other might be framing against her and her State, sent the following expostulatory Letter to the States of this Realm.

*The Queen of England’s Letter to the States of Scotland.*¹

“RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved Cousins, We greet you. We doubt not but as our meaning is, and hath always been, since our reign, in the sight of Almighty God straight and direct towards the advancement of His honour and truth in religion, and consequently to procure peace, and maintain concord betwixt both these Realms of England and Scotland, so also our outward acts have well declared

¹ [This letter is also inserted by John Knox in his “Historie,” Edin. edit. folio, 1732, p. 277-279.—E.]

the same to the world, and especially to you, being our neighbours, who have tasted and proved in these, our friendship and earnest good-will, more than we think any of your antecessors have ever received from hence, yea more than a great number of yourselves could well have hoped for of us; all former examples being well weighed and considered. And this we have to rejoyce of, and so may ye be glad, that where in the beginning of the troubles in that countrey, and of our succours meant for you, the jealousie, or rather malice of divers both in that Realm and other countreys, was such, both to deprive us in the yielding, and you in requiring our ayd, that we were noted to have meant the surprise of that Realm, by depriving of your Sovereign the Queen of her crown, and you, or the greatest part of you, to have intended by our succour, the like; and either to prefer some other to the Crown, or else to make of that monarchie a commonweale: Matters very slanderous and false. But the end and determination, yea, the whole course and process of the action on both our parts have manifested, both to the slanderers, and to all others, that nothing was more meant and prosecuted, then to establish your Sovereign the Queen, our cousin and sister, in her State and Crown, the possession whereof was in the hands of strangers. And although no words could then well satisfie the malicious, yet our deeds do declare, that no other thing was sought but the restitution of that Realm to the ancient libertie, and as it were to redeem it from captivitie. Of these our purposes and deeds, there remaineth, among other arguments, good testimony, by a solemn Treaty and Accord made the last year at Edinburgh, by Commissioners sent from us and from your Queen, with full authority in writing under both our hands, and the Great Seals of both our Realms, in such manner as other Princes, our progenitors, have always used. By which Treaty and Accord, either of us have faithfully accorded with other to keep peace and amity betwixt ourselves, our countrey, and subjects. And in the same also a good Accord is made, not only of certain things happened betwixt us, but also of some differences betwixt the ministers of the late French King, your Sovereign's husband, and you the States of that Realm, for the alteration of laws and customs of that countrey attempted

by them. Upon which Accord there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, surety to your Sovereign's State, quietness to yourselves, and a better peace betwixt both Realms, then ever was heard of in any time past. Nevertheless, how it happeneth, we know not (we can, for she in her conceit thinketh herself Queen of both), that your Sovereign either not knowing in this part her own felicity, or else dangerously seduced by perverse counsel, whereof we are most sorry; being of late at sundry times required by us, according to her bond with us, signed with her own hand, and sealed with the Great Seal of that Realm, and allowed by you, being the States of the same, to ratifie the said Treaty, in like manner as we by writing have done, and are ready to deliver it to her, who maketh such dilatory answers thereunto, as what we shall judge thereof, we perceive by her answer, it is meet for us to require of you. For although she hath always answered, since the death of her husband, That in this matter she would first understand the minds of certain of you before that she would make answer; and so having now of long time suspended our expectation, in the end, notwithstanding that she hath had conference, both by messengers and by some of yourselves being with her, yet she still delayed it, alledging to our Ambassador in France (who said that this Treaty was made by your consent), It was not by consent of you all; and so would have us to forbear, untill she shall return into that her countrey. And now seeing this her answer depended, as it should seem by her words, upon your opinions, we cannot but plainly let you all understand, that this manner of answer, without some more fruit, cannot long content us. We have meant well to our sister, your Queen, in time of offence given to us by her. We did plainly, without dissimulation, charge her in her own doubtfull State; while strangers possessed her Realm, we stayed it from danger. And now having promised to keep good peace with her, and with you her subjects, we have observed it, and shall be sorry if either she or ye shall give us contrary cause. In a matter so profitable to both the Realms, we think it strange that your Queen hath no better advice; and therefore we do require you all, being the States of that Realm upon whom the burden resteth, to consider this matter

deeply, and to make us answer whereunto we may trust. And if you shall think meet she shall thus leave the Peace imperfect, by breaking of her solemn promise, contrary to the order of all Princes, we shall be well content to accept your answer, and shall be as careless to see the Peace kept, as ye shall give us cause; and doubt not, by the grace of God, but whosoever of you shall incline thereto, shall soonest repent. You must be content with our plain writing. And on the other side, if you continue all in one mind, to have the Peace inviolably kept, and shall so, by your advice, procure the Queen to ratifie it, we also plainly promise you, that we will also continue our good disposition to keep the same in such good terms as now it is; and in so doing, the honour of Almighty God shall be duely sought and promoted in both Realmes, the Queen your Sovereign shall enjoy her State with your surety, and yourselves possess that which ye have with tranquillity, to the increase of your families and posterity, which by the frequent wars heretofore your antecessors never had long in one State. To conclude, we require you to advertise us of what mind you be, especially if you all continue in that mind, that you mean to have the Peace betwixt both the Realmes perpetually kept. And if you shall forbear any longer to advertise us, ye shall give us some occasion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow then good. From," &c.

*The Answer to the foregoing Letter by the Council, or Junto.*¹

"MADAME—Please your Majestie, that with judgment we have considered your Majestie's letters: And albeit the whole States could not suddainlie be assembled, yet we thought expedient to signifie somewhat of our mindes unto your Majestie. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us that infamy before the world, or grudge of conscience before our God, that we should lightly esteem the observation of that Peace lately contracted betwixt these two Realmes. By what motives our Sovereign delayed the ratification thereof we cannot tell; but of us (of us, we say, Madame, that have protested fidelity in our promise), her Majestie

¹ [Knox's "Historie," &c., Edin. edit. 1732, folio, p. 279, 280.—E.]

had none. Your Majestie cannot be ignorant, that in this Realme there are many enemies, and farther, that our Sovereign hath counsellors, whose judgements she in all such causes preferred to ours. Our obedience bindeth us, not only reverently to speak and write of our Sovereign, but also to judge and think ; and yet your Majestie may be well assured, that in us shall be noted no blame, if that Peace be not ratified to your Majestie's contentment. For God is Witness, that our chief care in this earth, next the glory of God, is, that constant peace may remain betwixt these two Realmes, whereof your Majestie and Realme shall have sure experience, so long as our counsel or votes may stop the contrarie. The benefite that we have received is so recent, that we cannot suddainlie bury it in forgetfulness. We would desire your Majestie rather to be perswaded of us, that we to our powers will study to leave it in remembrance to our posterity. And thus with lawfull and humble commendation of our service, we commit your Majestie to the protection of the Omnipotent. Of Edinburgh the 16th day of July 1561."

Mr Knox, from whom I have transcribed the two foregoing Papers, observes that "there were some other persons that answered some of the ministers of England somewhat more sharply, and willed them not to accuse nor threaten so sharply, till that they were able to convince such as had promised fidelity of some evident crime; which although they were able to lay to the charge of some, yet respect would be had to such as long had declared themselves constant procurers of quietness and peace."¹

The readers will remember, that our Queen told the English resident, that she was to send Monsieur d'Oysel²

¹ [Knox's "Historie," &c. Edin. edit. 1732, p. 280.—E.]

² [Buchanan thus describes d'Osell—"Regis Gallorum legatus Osellius, homo celeris, et vehementis iræ, cætera vir bonus, et pacis, bellicque artibus juxta eruditus; quique ad juris æquitatem potius quam ad Gusionum libidinem sua consilia dirigeret."—*Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, lib. xvi. fol. 197, original edition, Edin. 1582. "Osel, ambassador of the King of France, a man hasty and passionate, otherwise a good man, and well drilled in the arts both of peace and war. He was one that directed his counsel rather by the rule of equity than the will and pleasure of the Guises."—Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 270.—E.]

with a message to her sister of England. Accordingly we find this gentleman did come into England, to ask in the name of our Queen a safe-conduct for her free passing by sea into her own Realm; and liberty for himself to go by land into Scotland.¹ Mr Buchanan thinks fit to say that “our Queen’s Envoy was well entertained at the Court of England, and was sent back presently into France to tell the Queen of Scots, that if she pleased to pass through England she should have all the respect which she could desire from a kinswoman and an ally; and that she would take it as a great favour besides. But if she shunned the profer’d interview, she would look upon it as an affront.”² But Mr Camden of England narrates this point much more conformable to truth, when he informs us that “Queen Elizabeth denied both the requests of our Queen; alledging as the cause of this denial, that she had not yet ratified the Treaty of Edinburgh.” Mons. d’Oysel returned into France about a week only before our Queen set out from Paris upon her return into Scotland; and thereupon followed a large conference betwixt our Queen and the resident of England concerning d’Oysel’s message, which I chose to lay before the reader in that minister’s own words.

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, then Ambassador in France, to Queen Elizabeth, touching a free passage for the Queen of Scots through England into Scotland.*³

“It may please your Majestie to understand, that the 17th of July I received your letters at Poisey,⁴ of the 14th of the same, by Francisco the bearer; and for that I could not, according to your Majestie’s Instructions in the same letters, accomplish the contents of them untill Mons. d’Oysel had delivered your letters to the French King, the Queen of

¹ Bishop Leslie acquaints us, that the intention of the King of France, by sending Monsieur d’Oysel into Scotland, was to take care that the forts of Dunbar and Inchkeith should be preserved by the French soldiers, until our Queen was safely arrived.

² [Historia Rerum Scotiearum, original edition, Edin. 1582, fol. 200. Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 277.—E.]

³ Taken from the Cabala, edit. 1663.

⁴ [A town in the Department of the Seine and Oise, District of Versailles, three miles north-west of St Germain.—E.]

Scotland, and the Queen-Mother¹ (who did not arrive at this Court till the 20th of this present), I did defer to treat with any of the Princes of your Majestie's answer to the said Mons. d'Oysel. Nevertheless, the 18th of this moneth, I required audience of the French King, which was granted me. The same day, in the afternoon, I repaired to his Court, being at St Germain's; and there the Queen-Mother, accompanied with the King of Navarre² and sundry other great personages, was in the place of State to hear what I had to say to the King her son³ who was absent; unto her I declared your Majestie's pleasure according to my Instructions, concerning your acceptation of the hostages already received and hereafter to be received, signified to me by your Majestie's letters of the 17th June; and as I wrote to your Majestie lately, brought to me by Mons. de Noailles the 16th of July. For answer whereunto the Queen-Mother said—'Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, we marvel greatly how it cometh to pass, that the Queen your Mistress doth not make more stay to receive the King my son's hostages than she hath done heretofore; for from the beginning, since the hostages were sent into England, neither the King my late lord and husband,⁴ nor the late King my son,⁵ did either recommend the sufficiency of their hostages by their letters, or cause their names to be recommended unto you the Ambassador; but the presentation of them by our Ambassador in England did suffice.' Thereunto I said—Madam, you know they be hostages for a matter of some moment, and if they should neither have the King's assurance for their validity, nor the Queen my mistress's ambassador's allowance of their sufficiency, some personages might be sent which were neither meet for the King to send, nor for the Queen my mistress to receive; and yet, Madam, the Queen my mistress doth not require the manner of recommending the sufficiency of the hostages, for any doubt she hath that unmeet persons should be sent; but rather, because a friendly and sincere fashion of dealing should be betwixt her good brother and her, with whom her Majestie is so desirous to have a perfect and assured

¹ [Catherine de Medici.—E.]

² [Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre.—E.]

³ [Charles IX.—E.]

⁴ [Henry II.—E.]

⁵ [Francis II.—E.]

amity. I said also, That the King her son had notified both to my Lord of Bedford¹ at his being here, and unto me, the names of some of the hostages; as the Count of Benon, before his going into England, as Monsieur de Sualt, who had the charge so to do, could well inform her; so as this motion need not seem strange for the newness. The Queen answered—‘Monsieur l’Ambassadour, we shall be well pleased, seeing your mistress doth require it, that from henceforth either the hostages shall have the King my son’s letters of recommendation, or else their names should be notified unto you, or any other her Ambassador here; and I pray you, Monsieur l’Ambassadour,’ quoth she, ‘give the Queen your mistress, my good sister, to understand from me, that if there be any thing in this country that may please her, she shall have it, if I may know her liking.’ I told the said Queen, That I was sure your Majestie was of the same mind towards her, for any pleasures to content her in your Realm. And so I took my leave of her for that time.

“It may farther please your Majestie: Having intelligence that Monsieur d’Oysel had advertised the Queen of Scotland, by Rollot² her Secretary, the 17th of this present, what answer your Majestie had made him; and hearing also of the sundry praises and discourses made here, of that your Majestie answered—I sent to Dampier,³ a house of the Cardinal of Lorrain’s, the 19th of this moneth, to the Queen of Scotland, to require audience of her, which she appointed me to have the next day in the afternoon at St Germain’s. She was accompanied at Dampier with her uncles the Cardinals of Lorrain and Guise, and the Duke of Guise;⁴ there was also the Duke of Nemours,⁵ who the same day arrived

¹ [Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford. See note, p. 14 of this volume.—E.]

² [Or Raulet, who came to Scotland with Queen Mary as her French Secretary.—E.]

³ [The Castle of Dampier, or Dampierre, is near the town of its name, three miles west of Chevreuse, in the Department of Seine and Oise.—E.]

⁴ [See the note, p. 11, 12 of the present volume.—E.]

⁵ [The Duke of Nemours was a relative of Emmanuel Philibert, King of Sardinia, or properly of Savoy and Piedmont, from 1553 to his death at Turin in 1580. The first Dukes of Nemours became extinct in the person of Louis d’Armagnac, Duke of Nemours, who was killed at the battle of Corignola in Apulia in 1503. The line of Armagnac was descended from Caribert, a son of Clotarius II., King of France, who died

there in post out of Savoy, and visited the said Queen before he came to this town.

“ The 20th of this present, in the afternoon, I had access to the said Queen of Scotland, with whom I found Monsieur d'Oysel talking when I entred into her chamber. She dismissed Monsieur d'Oysel, and rose from her chair when she saw me ; unto whom I said—Madam, whereas you sent lately Monsieur d'Oysel to the Queen my mistress, to demand her Majestie's safe-conduct for your free passage by sea into your own Realm, and to be accommodated with such favours as upon events you might have need of upon the coast of England, and also did farther require the free passage of the said Monsieur d'Oysel into Scotland through England : The Queen my mistress hath not thought good to suffer the said Monsieur d'Oysel to pass into Scotland, nor to satisfie your desire for your passage home ; neither for such other favours as you required to be accommodated withall at her Majestie's hands, inasmuch as you have not accomplished the ratification of the Treaty accorded by your deputies in July, now twelve months ago, at Edinburgh, which in honour you are bound many ways to perform ; for besides that you stand bound by your hand and seal, whereby your Commissioners were authorised, it may please you, Madam, to remember, that many promises have been made for the performance thereof, as well in the King your husband's time, as by yourself since his death ; and yet notwithstanding, the Treaty remaineth unratified as before, a whole year being expired since the Accord thereof, which by your Commissioners was agreed to have been ratified within sixty days ; so as upon this unamicable and indirect dealings, the Queen my mistress hath refused you these favours and pleasures by you required, and hath grounded this her Majestie's strangeness unto you, upon your own behaviour, which her Majestie doth uncomfortably, both for that your Majestie is, as she is, a Queen, her next neighbour and next kinswoman. Nevertheless, her Majesty hath commanded

A. D. 630. Louis XII. bestowed the Duchy upon Gascon de Foix, son of his sister Mary, who fell in the battle of Ravenna against the Spaniards and Italians in 1512. The Duchy of Nemours was afterwards given by Francis I. to his uncle Philip of Savoy in 1528, in whose line it continued till 1657, when Henry of Nemours, his last male descendant, died.—E.]

me to say unto you, Madam, quoth I, that if you can like to be better advised, and to ratify the Treaty, as you in honour are bound to do, her Majestie will not only give you and yours free passage, but also will be most glad to see you pass through her Realm, that you may be accommodated with the pleasure thereof, and such friendly conference may be had betwixt you, as all unkindness may be quenched, and an assured perfect amity betwixt you both for ever established. Having said thus much unto her, the said Queen sate down, and made me also sit down by her. She then commanded all the audience to retire them further off, and said—‘Monsieur l’Ambassadeur, I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported; but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions, as the Queen your mistress was content to have when she talked with Monsieur d’Oysel.¹ There is nothing that doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen your mistress that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey, than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into my own Realm, I think, without her passport or licence; for though the late King your master,’ said she, ‘used all the impeachment he could both to stay me, and catch me when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l’Ambassadeur, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly,’ said she, ‘I was so far from evil meaning to the Queen your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead, than all the friends I have; and yet you know, both in this Realm, and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ both their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have, Monsieur l’Ambassadeur,’ quoth she, ‘often times told me, that the amity between the Queen your mistress and me were very necessary and profitable for us both: I have some reason,’ quoth she, ‘now to think that the Queen your mistress is not of that mind; for I am sure, if she were, she

¹ It is remarked by the English historians, that Queen Elizabeth made choice to deny our Queen’s suit to her by d’Oysel, in the presence of a numerous attendance, which is not reckoned to be very decent.

would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects than she doth of me their Sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman and her next neighbour; and trow you,' quoth she, 'that there can be so good meaning between my subjects and her, which have forgotten their principal duty to me their Sovereign, as there should be betwixt her and me? I perceive that the Queen your mistress doth think, that because my subjects have done me wrong, my friends and allies will forsake me also. Indeed your mistress doth give me cause to seek friendship where I did not mind to ask it. But, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, let the Queen your mistress think that it will be thought very strange amongst all Princes and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now being widow, to impeach my going into my own country! I ask her nothing but friendship; I do not trouble her State, nor practise with her subjects; and yet I know there be in her Realm that be inclined enough to hear offers; I know also they be not of the mind she is of, neither in religion, nor other things. The Queen your mistress doth say that I am young, and do lack experience; but I have age enough and experience to use my self towards my friends and kinsfolks friendly and uprightly; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me, that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than it becometh of a Queen, and my next kinswoman. Well, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I could tell you, that I am, as she is, a Queen allied and friended, as is known; and I tell you also, that my heart is not inferior to hers, so as an equal respect would be had betwixt us on both parts; but I will not contend in comparisons. First, you know,' quoth she, 'that the Accord was made in the late King my lord and husband's time, by whom, as reason was, I was commanded and governed. And for such delays as were then in his time used in the said ratification, I am not to be charged; since his death, my interest failing in the Realm of France, I left to be advised by the Council of France, and they left me also to mine own counsel. Indeed,' quoth she, 'my uncles being, as you know, of the affairs of this Realm, do not think meet to advise me in my affairs;

neither do my subjects, nor the Queen your mistress, think meet that I should be advised by them, but rather by the Council of my own Realm. Here are none of them, nor none such as is thought meet that I should be counselled by; the matter is great; it toucheth both them and me; and in so great a matter, it were meet to use the advice of the wisest of them. I do not think it meet in so great a matter to take the counsel of private and unexpert persons, and such as the Queen your mistress knoweth to be most acceptable to such of my subjects as she would have me be advised by. I have,' quoth she, 'often times told you, that as soon as I had their advices, I would send the Queen your mistress such an answer as should be reasonable. I am about to haste me home as fast as I may, to the intent the matter might be answered; and now the Queen your mistress will in nowise suffer neither me to pass home, nor him that I sent, into my Realm; so as Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,' quoth she, 'it seemeth the Queen your mistress will be the cause why in this manner she is not satisfied, or else she will not be satisfied, but liketh to make this matter a quarrel still betwixt us, whereof she is the author. The Queen your mistress saith that I am young; she might as well say that I were as foolish as young, if I would, in the State and country that I am in, proceed to such a matter of my self, without any counsel: For that which was done by the King, my late lord and husband, must not be taken to be my act; so as neither in honour nor in conscience, I am bound, as you say I am, to perform all that I was by my lord and husband commanded to do; and yet,' quoth she, 'I will say truly unto you, and as God favours me, I did never mean otherwise unto her than becometh me to my good sister and cousin, nor meant her no more harm than to myself. God forgive them that have otherwise perswaded her, if there be any such. What is the matter, pray you, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,' quoth she, 'that doth so offend the Queen your mistress, to make her thus evil affected to me? I never did her wrong, neither in deed nor speech. It should the less grieve me if I had deserved otherwise than well; and though the world may be of divers judgments of us and our doings one to another, I do well know, God that is in heaven can and will be a true Judge, both of our doings and meanings.'

I answered—Madam, I have declared unto you my charge, commanded by the Queen my mistress, and have no more to say to you on her behalf, but to know your answer for the ratification of the Treaty.

“ The Queen answered—‘ I have afore time shewed you, and do now tell you again, that it is not meet for to proceed in this matter, without the advice of the Nobles and States of mine own Realm, which I can by no means have untill I come amongst them. You know,’ quoth she, ‘ as well as I, there is none come hither since the death of the King my late husband and lord, but such as are either come for their private business, or such as dare not tarry in Scotland. But I pray you, Monsieur l’Ambassadour,’ quoth she, ‘ tell me how riseth this strange affection in the Queen your mistress towards me ? I desire to know it, to the intent I may reform myself if I have failed.’ I answered—Madam, I have, by the commandment of the Queen my mistress, declared unto you the cause of her discontentation already ; but seeing you so desirous to hear how you may be charged with any deserving, as one that speaketh of mine own mind, without instruction, I will be so bold, Madam, by way of discourse, to tell you. As soon as the Queen my mistress, after the death of her sister, came to the Crown of England, you bore the Arms of England diversly quartered with your own, and used in your country notoriously the stile and title of the Queen my mistress, which was never by you put in use in Queen Mary’s time. And if any thing can be more prejudicial to a Prince than to usurp the title and interest belonging to them, Madam, I do refer it to your own judgment. You see, such as be noted usurpers of other folk’s States cannot patiently be born withall for such doings, much more the Queen my mistress hath cause to be grieved, considering her undoubted and lawful interest, with the offer of such injury. ‘ Monsieur l’Ambassadour,’ said she, ‘ I was then under the commandment of King Henry my father, and of the King, my lord and husband ; and whatsoever was then done by their order and commandments, the same was in like manner continued untill both their deaths ; since which time, you know, I neither bore the Arms nor used the title of England. Methinks,’ quoth she, ‘ these my doings might ascertain the Queen your mistress, that that which

was done before was done by commandment of them that had power over me ; and also in reason she ought to be satisfied, seeing I order my doings as I tell you. It were no great dishonour to the Queen my cousin, your mistress, though I, a Queen also, did bear the Arms of England ; for I am sure some inferior to me, and that be not on every side so well apparented as I am, do bear the Arms of England. You cannot deny,' quoth she, ' but that my grandmother was the King her father's sister, and, I trow, the eldest sister he had. I do assure you, Monsieur l'Ambassadour, and do speak unto you truly as I think, I never meant nor thought matter against the Queen my cousin. Indeed,' quoth she, ' I know what I am, and would be loth either to do others wrong or suffer too much wrong to my self. And now that I have told you my mind plainly, I pray behave yourself betwixt us like a good minister, whose part is to make things betwixt Princes rather better than worse.' And so I took my leave of the said Queen for that time.

" The same day, after this my audience, I required audience in like manner of the French King, which was assign'd me, on the 21st of this present, at afternoon ; at which time I did set forth, as well as I could, to the Queen-Mother, the good reasons and just occasions, according to your Majestie's Instructions, why your Majestie did refuse the Queen of Scotland your safe-conduct for her free passage into her country ; and declared, at good length, the causes why your Majestie did not accommodate the said Queen of Scotland with such favours as she required in her passage—not forgetting the reasons that moved your Majestie to return Monsieur d'Oysel back hither again.

" The Queen-Mother answered—' Monsieur l'Ambassadour, the King my son and I are very sorry to hear that the Queen my good sister, your mistress, hath refused the Queen my daughter free passage home into her own Realm. This may be an occasion of further unkindness betwixt them, and so prove to be a cause and entry into war. They are neighbours and near cousins, and either of them hath great friends and allies ; so, as it may chance that more unkindness shall ensue of this matter than is to be wished for, or than is meet to come to pass. Thanks be to God,' quoth she, ' all the Princes of Christendom are now in peace ; and

it were great pity that they should not so continue. And where,' said she, 'I perceive the matter of this unkindness is grounded upon the delay of ratification of the Treaty, the Queen my daughter hath declared unto you, That she doth stay the same, untill she may have the advice of her own subjects; wherein methinks,' said she, 'my daughter doth discreetly for many respects. And though she have her uncles here, by whom it is thought, as reason is, she should be advised, yet considering they be subjects and counsellors to the King my son, they be not the meetest to give her counsel in this matter. The Nobles and States of her own Realm would neither like it nor allow it, that their Sovereign should resolve, without their advice, in matter of consequence; Therefore, Monsieur l'Ambassadour,' quoth she, 'methinks the Queen your mistress might be satisfied with this answer, and accommodate the Queen my daughter, her cousin and neighbour, with such favour as she demandeth.' I answered—Madam, the Queen my mistress trusteth you will, upon the reasons before by me declared, as her good sister and friend, interpret the matter as favourably on her part, as on the Queen of Scotland's; and that you will also indifferently consider how much it importeth my mistress not to suffer a matter so dangerous to her and her State as this is to pass unprovided for. It seemeth by the many delays which in this matter have been used, after so many fair and sundry promises, that the Queen of Scotland hath not meant so sincerely and plainly as the Queen my mistress hath done; for by this time the said Queen might have known the minds of her subjects in Scotland, if she liked to propound the matter unto them. There have been since the death of the King, your son and her husband, two or three assemblies of the Nobles and States of Scotland, and this matter was never put forth amongst them. Hither have come out of Scotland many of sundry Estates, and some that the Queen did send with Commission thither, as the Lord of Finlater,¹ to treat on her behalf with the Estates of

¹ [This appears either to have been James Ogilvy of Cardell, who held the office of steward in Queen Mary's Household in France, and who was ancestor of the Earls of Findlater; or his father, Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Deskford, Findlater, and Ogilvy, who was induced to disinherit his son and bestow his estates in 1545 on Sir John Gordon, then an infant, third son of George, fourth Earl of Huntly.—E.]

that Realm, and of other matters; so as if she had minded an end in this matter of the Treaty, before this time she might have heard her subjects' advices. Thereto the Queen-Mother said—'The King my son and I would be glad to do good betwixt the Queen my sister, your mistress, and the Queen my daughter, and shall be glad to hear that there were good amity betwixt them; for neither the King my son, nor I, nor none of his Council, will do harm in the matter, nor shew ourselves other than friends to them both.'

"After this I took my leave of the said Queen-Mother, and addressed my speech to the King of Navarre; unto whom I declared as I had done to the Queen-Mother, adding—That your Majestie esteemed his amity and friendship entire; that you did not doubt of his good acceptance of your doings and proceedings with the Queen of Scotland; and said further—That for your Majestie's purpose to have reason at all times and in all things of the Queen of Scotland, it were better she were in her own country, than here. The said King conceived that your Majestie needed not doubt that the King his sovereign would shew himself, in this matter, more affectionate to the Queen of Scotland, than to you his good sister; and thereof he bade me assure your Majestie. Then taking my leave of the said King of Navarre, I went to the Constable,¹ and declared unto him as I had done unto the King of Navarre on your Majestie's behalf. The Constable humbly thanked your Majestie, that you would communicate your affairs with him, which argued your good opinion of him. He said, he trusted that your expectation should not be deceived of him; but would rather so behave himself towards your Majestie as your good opinion of him should be increased. As to the matter of the Queen of Scotland, he was sorry that the occasions were such, as your Majestie could not bestow such kindness on her, as was meet betwixt Princes, so near neighbours and kinsfolks; but he trusted that time would repair these unkindnesses betwixt you. As for his part, he prayeth your Majestie to think, that he would never give other advice to the King his sovereign, but such as should rather increase the good amity betwixt both your Majesties, than

¹ [Mentmorency, Great Constable and Marshal of France.—E.]

diminish it ; and so prayed me to present his most humble commendation and service to your Majestie, wherewith I took my leave of him.

“ And to the intent I might the better decypher, whether the Queen of Scotland did mind to continue her voyage, I did, the same 21st of July (after my former negociations finished), repair to the said Queen of Scotland, to take my leave of her ; unto whom I then declared—That in as much as I was your Majestie’s Ambassador, as well to her for the matters of Scotland, as to the French King, your good brother, and hearing, by common bruit, that she minded to take her voyage very shortly, I thought it my duty to take my leave of her, and was sorry she had not given your Majestie so good occasion of amity, as that I, your minister, could not conveniently wait upon her to her embarquing. The said Queen made answer—‘ Monsieur l’Ambassadeur, if my preparations were not so much advanced as they are, peradventure the Queen your mistress’s unkindness might stay my voyage ; but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatsoever come of it. I trust,’ quoth she, ‘ the wind will be so favourable, as I shall not need to come on the coast of England ; and if I do, then, Monsieur l’Ambassadeur, the Queen your mistress shall have me in her hands to do her will of me ; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me.¹ Peradventure that casualty might be better for me than to live ; in this matter,’ quoth she, ‘ God’s will be fulfilled.’ I answered—She might amend all this matter if she would, and find more amity of your Majesty and Realm than of any other Prince or country. The Queen answered—‘ I have, methinketh, offered and spoken that might suffice the Queen my sister, if she will take any thing well at my hand. I trust,’ said she, ‘ for all this, we shall agree better than some would have us ; and, for my part, I will not take all things to the worst. I hope also,’ said she, ‘ the Queen, my sister and cousin, will do the like ; whereof,’ quoth she, ‘ I doubt not, if ministers do no harm betwixt us.’ And so the said Queen embraced me.

“ This is the sum of my negociations, at these my last

¹ In this the poor Queen presages but too truly, for such was indeed her fate, several years after.

audiences with the French King, the Queen-Mother, the King of Navarre, the Queen of Scotland, and the Constable ; whereof I have thought meet to enlarge to your Majesty. in such sort as the same passed and was uttered betwixt us. As far as I can perceive, the said Queen of Scotland continueth her voyage still ; and I hear that Villageigmon¹ and Octavian² have the principal order of her said voyage,³ and mean to sail along the coast of Flanders, and so to strike over to the north part of Scotland, as the wind shall serve. She did once mean to use the west passage, but now she dares not trust the Duke of Chastelherault, nor the Earl of Argyll, and therefore dareth not to pass by the West Seas.

“ The said Queen, as I hear, desireth to borrow of the

¹ [Villageigmon, or Villegaignon, was a French naval officer who had some experience in Scottish affairs. In July 1548, he weighed anchor from Leith with four galleys, pretending to sail for France ; but after clearing the mouth of the Frith of Forth, he changed his course, coasted along the whole north-east of Scotland, passed through the Pentland Frith, and came round to the Clyde. He approached Dunbarton, where Queen Mary, then a beautiful infant in her sixth year, who waited his arrival, was delivered by her mother the Queen-Dowager to Monsieur de Brézé, who conveyed her on board the galley provided for her. Setting sail about the 7th of August, the little squadron safely cast anchor in the harbour of Brest, whence the young Queen was conducted to the Palace of St Germain.—See Tytler's History of Scotland, small octavo edition, Edin. 1842, vol. vi. p. 45. Villegaignon returned to Scotland after safely landing his royal charge, and we find him taking a conspicuous part in 1549 in the capture of Inchkeith from the English, then fortified, in the Frith of Forth, under Monsieur D'Essé. The other French officers engaged in this affair, which was superintended by the Queen-Dowager, were Monsieur De Biron, De Termes, De Seur, and Gasper Strozzi, the commander of a party of Italians, who was killed on the Island.—See Beague's History of the Campaigns of 1548 and 1549, printed at Paris in 1556, and translated by Dr Patrick Abercromby in 1707.—E.]

² [Octavian was an Italian, a native of Milan, who came to Scotland with a reinforcement from France, on the arrival of which the French began to fortify Leith. Cecil, on the 24th of August 1559, writes to Sir Ralph Sadler—“ The French were embarked the 20th of this moneth, being in number 14 sayles, but as yet I have no knowledge certen of their passing by. There is 1000 pykes, and 1000 harquebussiers. One Octavian, a Millener [Milaner] of this Court hath chef charge.” Octavian arrived towards the end of August, but he appears to have repeatedly crossed and returned.—E.]

³ Monsieur Brantome assures us, that the galley in which the Queen sailed, was commanded by one Menillon, and that the captain of the other galley was one Albize. Besides, we know that her Majesty's uncle the Grand Prior, and General of all the Gallies of France, sailed with her to Scotland.

French King an hundred thousand crowns, the same to be received again of her dowry, which is twenty-eight thousand crowns by the year. The Queen-Mother is willing to help her; the King of Navarre doth not further the matter, but seeketh to abridge the sum. After I had done my negotiations at the Court, I was constrained to dislodge from Poisey, for the Assembly of the Clergy, who meet there to the end of this moneth; and the Ambassadors are now appointed to lodge at Paris.

“The Queen of Scotland departed from St Germaines yesterday, the 25th of July, towards her voyage, as she bruiteth it; she sendeth most of her train straight to Newhaven¹ to embarque, and she herself goeth such a way between both as she will be at her choice, to go to Newhaven or to Calice. Upon the suddain, what she will do, or where she will embarque, she will be acknown to never a Scotchman, and but to few French. And, for all these shews and boasts, some think she will not go at all; and yet all her stuff is sent down to the sea, and none other bruit in her house but of her hasty going. If it would please your Majestie to cause some to be sent privily to all the ports on this side, the certainty shall be better known to your Majestie that way, by the laying of her vessels, than I can advertise it hence. She hath said, that at her coming into Scotland, she will forthwith rid the Realm of all the Englishmen there, namely, of your Majestie’s agent there;² and forbid mutual traffick with your Majestie’s subjects. If she make the haste to embarque that she seemeth to do, she will be almost ready to embarque by that time this shall come to your Majestie’s hands. Two or three days ago the French King was troubled with a pain in his head, and the same beginneth to break from him, by bleeding at the nose and running at his ear. It is taken to be the same disease in his head whereof his brother died; but by voiding it (which the other could not do, that organ being stopped), this King is well amended.

“At the despatch hereof, the King of Navarre was disquieted by a flux and a vomit, and the Queen-Mother with

¹ i. e. Havre de Grace.

² This is still a farther proof, that Mr Randolph was now in Scotland, trafficking for his mistress with our Queen’s subjects.

a fever. I hear that in Gascoigny the people stir apace for religion, as they do in many other places, and being there assembled, to the number of four thousand, have entered a town, thrown down the images, and put out the priests, and will suffer no Mass to be said there.

“ My Lord of Leviston¹ being ready to go homewards into Scotland through England, went to the Queen of Scotland for her leave so to do ; but she hath commanded him to tarry and wait on her, and to meet her at Abbeville, without letting him know any thing else. He, in doubt what she will do, is content to expect her coming thither, and to do then as she shall command him ; and seeing no likelihood of her short passing (which, he saith, is uncertain), but that she will go to Calice, there to hover and hearken what your Majestie doth to stop her, and according thereunto to go or stay. He mindeth to get him home ; he hath required my letters of recommendation to your Majestie’s officers, at his landing in England ; which, for his good devotion towards your Majestie, and for that he is one that wisheth the same well, I have not refused him ; and so I humbly beseech your Majestie’s good favour towards him, at his coming to your Majestie for his passport. Here is a bruit, that the Turk² is greatly impeached ; both by a sort of Jews within his own country, and also by the Sophy.³ And thus I pray God long to preserve your Majesty in health, honour, and all felicity.

“ Your Majesty’s most humble and most

“ obedient subject and servant,

“ N. THROKMORTON.”

“ *Paris*, July 26, 1561.”

¹ [Probably William Livingston, sixth Lord Livingston, father of Alexander, seventh Lord Livingston and first Earl of Linlithgow, also ancestor of the Earls of Calendar. His father, the fifth Lord, was appointed by Act of Parliament, conjunctly with Lord Erskine, custodier of Queen Mary’s person in 1545, and he accompanied her to France in 1548, where he died in 1553. The sixth Lord adhered to the interest of Queen Mary, and was at the battle of Langside.—E.]

² [Sultan Soliman, or Sulieman I. surnamed *the Great*, son of Selim I. He is also called Soliman II. by those historians who give the title of Sultan to Soliman, the son of Bayazid I. Soliman I. was the greatest of the Osmanlis, and his reign is the most important period of Turkish history. He died in his camp before Szigeth, which he was besieging, in Hungary, in September 1566.—E.]

³ [These gossiping allusions to the “ sort of Jews ” and the “ Sophy,”

Our Queen having set forth toward the sea coast, in order to her embarkation, was pleased, according to Mr Cambden, to send for this minister to Abbeville, a town about half-way betwixt Paris and Calais,¹ where she talked to him again, concerning the methods whereby she might satisfy his royal mistress; but since I have met with no original paper that gives an account of this conference, I must leave my readers to take an abstract of it from this author. He tells us, then, that our Queen mildly demanded of him—"By what methods she might satisfy his royal mistress?" "By confirming," returns he, "the Treaty of Edinburgh, as I have more than once told your Majestie." To which she replied—"I desire you to hear me, and then judge whether they be not very cogent reasons, which the Queen takes for vain excuses and delays. The I. Article in that Treaty, for confirming the truce at Cambray, does not in the least concern me. The II., which relates to signing the Treaty there made betwixt the English and Scots, was ratified by my husband and myself, and cannot be repeated, unless in my name only, whereas my husband is expressly named therein. The III. IV. and V. Articles are already answered and fulfilled; for there are no farther warlike preparations; the French garrisons are remanded from Scotland; the fort at Aimouth² is razed to the ground; I have, since my husband's death, quitted the Arms and Title of England. To raze and strike them out of all the moveables, buildings, and charters in France, is a thing no way in my power; and it is more than I can do, to send back the Bishop of Valence and Randan, who are no subjects of mine, into England, to appear at a conference about the VI. Article. As for the last Article, I hope my rebel subjects will not complain of any great severity toward them. But she, I perceive, designs to prevent any proofs I might show of a merciful disposition

are not clear. Shortly before this period the domestic peace of Turkey was disturbed by the civil war which raged between Sultan Soliman's sons, Selim and Bayazid, occasioned by their dispute, during the lifetime of their father, about the future succession to the throne. Bayazid and his sons were put to death in 1561.—E.]

¹ [Abbeville is ninety-one miles north by west of Paris. Calais is one hundred and forty-eight miles from Paris by the road through Beauvais and Abbeville, and one hundred and fifty-seven miles from Paris, by Clermont, Amiens, and Abbeville.—E.]

² [Eyemouth.—E.]

towards them, by resolving to hinder my return. What is there now behind in this Treaty, that can any way prejudice the affairs of your mistress? Nevertheless, to give her the fullest satisfaction I can, I design to write to her about these matters with my own hand, though she would not vouchsafe me an answer but by her Secretary. But I would advise you, who are an Ambassador, to act suitably to that character; I mean, rather to qualify and compose matters, than to aggravate and make them worse.¹

This, according to Mr Cambden, was the substance of our Queen's conference at this time with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. But he remarks that the same "had not the desired effect on Queen Elizabeth, who could not so easily forget the usurpation of her Arms and Title;" and he adds, that "she began to be something uneasy lest she (the Queen of Scots) should assume them a second time, were she not bound by a solemn oath and signing of the Treaty, to forbear the encroachment." Certainly there is no doubt to be made, that this was the very point which touched the Queen of England so sharply, and which obliged her to press our Queen so much both now and afterwards to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh. And as little doubt is there, that the same was the point which our Queen wanted by all means to evade, and which made her late husband likewise, the King of France, refuse to confirm the Treaty. And whatever pretexts either he or our Queen might offer for their refusal or delay, yet this was still the true difficulty at the bottom. The Queen of England was too sensible of the note of illegitimacy imputed to her birth, not to foresee that the Queen of Scots would be ever supported as the lineal and righteous heir of the Crown of England, by all her particular fautors and the Roman Catholic Princes. For obviating hereof, the English Commissioners in the late treaty had so blinded the French Plenipotentiaries, as to get it engrossed in the

¹ The readers having now perused several original Conferences, &c. betwixt the Queen of Scots and the English minister, relating to this point of the Ratification, will, I suppose, clearly discern the fine spirit and genius of that Princess, who was yet but in the nineteenth year of her age; and discover likewise what sentiments her Majesty then entertained, both of the Queen of England and of her own subjects; namely, that the one supported rebellion in a neighbouring country, and that the other were still rebels in her estimation.

same (Number VI.)—That the King and Queen of France and Scotland should abstain in all times coming from using the Title and Arms of England—an Article which our Queen had no mind to ratify. She was easily persuaded to abstain from using *these* for the *present*; but she could not think to oblige herself *never hereafter* to use them. But the *First* was not satisfactory to Queen Elizabeth; and therefore she always continued to demand the *Second*. And so this *demand* on the one side, and *refusal* on the other, was the true fountain, as I have already noticed, from whence did issue all the secret animosities and open differences which afterwards appeared betwixt these two Queens.

The ground of our Queen's sending for Sir Nicholas Throckmorton while she was on her journey to the sea-coast would appear to have been, that her Majesty was still apprehensive lest, by some accident or other, by fraud or by force, she might fall into the hands of the Queen of England. And truly the event proved that she had but too good ground for her suspicion, since it is an undoubted fact¹ that a squadron of English ships was at that time sent out to sea; and the Historians of both Nations make little scruple to insinuate, that whatever was pretended, the real design was to have intercepted our Queen's passage.² Though Mr

¹ The English historian Holinshed, who lived in the time, says—"The Queen of England set forth some of her great ships to the seas." And Buchanan—"The English Queen had prepared a great fleet, *classem satis amplam*." It is true, the Queen of England, in her letter, to be insert a little after this, diminishes the matter as far as she can; but let Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's preceding letter, and the acknowledgment of the historians of both nations, be all laid together, and then the readers may be able to form a pretty exact judgment concerning the intention of these ships, which, allowing them to have been but *small*, as the English Queen says, might for all that have been an over-match for our Queen's two galleys. And Queen Elizabeth was very well apprised of the weak force that conducted her cousin homeward.

² [See Tytler's History of Scotland, and the documents cited in that valuable work, Edin. edition, 1842, vol. vi. p. 227-230. The anxiety of Elizabeth to intercept Mary chiefly originated in the advice of the Prior and Maitland of Lethington; and the English fleet was sent out by their advice, for "James the Bastard," says Stranguage (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 9), "very lately returned by England, had secretly advised Queen Elizabeth to take Mary by the way, if she (Elizabeth) had a desire to provide for her religion and her own country; and (Maitland of) Lethington being glad that D'Oisel was detained in England, persuaded it also." Camden writes in the same strain, (Annals p. 67), as do various

Cambden, when writing of this particular point, may appear somewhat too heavy in the charge he lays to Lord James, our Queen's bastard brother, and to Mr Maitland of Lethington; yet when this last named gentleman's letter of the 10th of August this year is perused,¹ perhaps the readers may alter their mind into favour of this author's representations. And I will take the freedom to declare here, once for all, that upon due search it will be found, that Mr Cambden's narrations are more conformable to original letters and records, than these of any other author that treats of our Scottish affairs. A French gentleman, who was lately employed in compiling a very partial History, so far as concerns the Scottish affairs of this period, labours what he can to discredit Mr Cambden's narrations, as being unsupported by authorities; in which attempt he has only discovered his own unacquaintedness with our Records, and affected malice against Mr Cambden; in the first whereof that foreigner may be easily pardoned, though not in the other. If Mr Cambden has not always produced his authorities, *that* did not proceed from his want of authorities, but because the laudable practice of inserting authorities at full length was not introduced in his days.

After this short digression, which I have made merely for the sake of truth, I reckon it may not be unacceptable to shut up this tedious Chapter with a short account of our Queen's journey and voyage homeward, since I have observed that the smallest particulars relating to Princes are received with abundance of satisfaction. Our Sovereign left the city of Paris on the 21st day of July, accompanied to the village and Palace of St Germain by the King of France and the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, brother to the King, the King of Navarre, and a great many other persons of the first rank. After some days stay there, the Family of France took leave of her Majesty, and she set forward about the 25th of the month, attended by her six uncles, viz. the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise,

other writers; but the fact is proved by Mr Tytler. See also Goodall's Examination of the Letters said to be written by Mary Queen of Scots to James Earl of Bothwell, vol. i. p. 172.—E.]

¹ See it in the Appendix, Number III.

the Duke d'Aumale, the Marquis d'Elbeuf,¹ and the Grand Prior, who was likewise General of the French galleys; the Duke de Nemours, Mons. Danville, and other Nobles of both sexes, who all conveyed her to Calais; in which port were two galleys² ready to attend her Majesty, and two

¹ [Mary intended to nominate her uncle, the Marquis d'Elbœuf to be Governor of Scotland, and little doubt can be entertained that he got some commission to that effect. Lord James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews, took alarm, and it was undoubtedly wise to deprecate the administration of a foreigner, at all times to be avoided in a well regulated State. It is asserted that he stated to the Duke d'Aumale, the brother of the Marquis, the impolicy of confiding such an important trust to a foreigner, and he declaring his belief that if the Queen did not name a *proper person*, the Scottish Nobility would do so themselves.—See “L’Innocence de la tres Illustre Marie Reine de l’Ecosse,” *apud* Jebb, Scriptor. Mar. Reg. vol. i. p. 446. Probably the Prior meant himself, when he asserted that some *proper person* should be appointed; and, at all events, by the word the *Nobility*, he could only mean the “Lords of the Congregation.”—E.]

² Messieurs de Castelnau and Brantôme, who were both of the Queen's retinue, and accompanied her into Scotland, tell us, that these two galleys had orders to repair to Calais from Nantes, whither they had arrived the year before, from the port of Marseilles, with some other galleys under the command of the Grand Prior, with an intention to have brought assistance to the Queen-Regent, at the time that Leith was besieged. But they met with so much bad weather, that the Capitulation, or Treaty of Edinburgh, was signed before they arrived at Nantes.—[Cecil writes to the Earl of Sussex, dated Smallbridge, Mr Walgrave's house (Edward Waldegrave, Esq. of Smallbridge in Suffolk, ancestor of the Earls of Waldegrave), 12th August 1561—“The Scottish Queene was the 10th of this month at Bulloyn (Boulogne), and meaneth to take shipping at Callise (Calais). Nether those in Scotland nor *we here doo lyke her going home*. The Queen's Majestie hath three ships in the North Seas to preserve the fyshers from pyratts. *I thynk they will be sorry to see her pass.*” Queen Elizabeth was at Smallbridge when this letter was written, having visited that mansion from the 11th to the 13th of August.—See “Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters,” by Thomas Wright, M. A. London, 1838, vol. i. p. 69; and Tytler's History of Scotland, Edin. 1842, *note*, vol. vi. p. 230. “Yet,” says Secretary Cecil in his letter to Throgmorton of the 26th of August 1561, “the 19th of this present, early in the morning, the Scottish Queen arrived at Leith with her two galleys, her whole train not exceeding sixty persons of the meaner sort. The Queen's Majesty's ships, that were upon the seas to cleanse them from pirates, saw her, and saluted her galleys, and staying her ships, examined them of pirates, and dismissed them quietly.” Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. i. p. 176. “The fact is, as we know from the Treasurer's books, that the Queen's horses and mules were carried into England, and detained a month. We have now seen how Secretary Cecil could write deliberate falsehood for the good of the State.”—Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, *note*, p. 45. Farther, when the Countess of Lennox, the daughter of the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., by her second marriage to Archibald Earl

other vessels for carriage. In this town she remained the space of six days,¹ and then embarked in one of the galleys. All that day the Queen ceased not to direct her eyes toward the shore of France, until the darkness intercepted her view. At night she ordered a couch to be spread for her under the open air, and charged the pilot to awaken her how soon the morning light should advance, if the land of France were still in view. It chanced there was a calm in the night-time; so the ships having made but little way, her Majesty had the pleasure once more to behold the French coast; whereupon she sate up in the bed, and still looked to the land, often repeating these words—"Farewell, France, farewell! I shall never see you more!"² The wind afterward proving

of Angus, and mother of Lord Darnley, heard of the Queen's safe arrival at Leith, though she and her husband, Matthew Earl of Lennox, were then in exile in England, she fell down on her knees, and with uplifted hands, rendered thanks to God for the event. "When Cecil was informed of this, in conjunction with what he had learned of Lady Lennox's intrigues with Mary in France on behalf of Darnley, he committed her and her husband Lennox to the Tower. On this subject there are examinations remaining in the [State] Paper Office."—Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 44. Yet it is no less remarkable that when the Scottish Queen heard of this severity, she "approved of it, derided the practices of Lennox, and declared her resolution never to unite herself with any of that race."—MS. Letters, State Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 31st March 1562. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, Edin. edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 258.—E.]

¹ So says expressly Monsieur Brantome. But Bishop Leslie, who was likewise in the Queen's company, says her Majesty arrived at Calais on or about the 15th of August, in which event she must have embarked the same or next day after her arrival in that town.

² [The following beautiful lines, said to have been written by Mary on leaving France, are taken from an interesting volume published at London in 1825, entitled "*Specimens of the British Poetesses*," edited by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, A.B. The *chanson* may also be seen in the "*Anthologie Française*," tom. i. No. X.

" Adieu, plaisant pays de France.

O ma patrie !

La plus chérie !

Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance ?

Adieu, France ! adieu, mes beaux jours,

La nef qui de joint mes amours,

Na cy de moi que la mortie.

Une parte te reste ; elle est tienne,

Je la tie a ton amitie,

Pour que de l'autre il la souviennne."

Mary never forgot the youthful years she spent in France, and they were

favourable, and the weather foggy,¹ her Majesty had, by the Divine Providence,² the good fortune to escape the English ships, and to land safe at the port of Leith in Scotland, about seven o'clock in the morning on the — day³ of August

certainly the happiest of her unfortunate life. While she remained in France after the death of her husband Francis II., she was called by the French *la Reine Blanche*, because she mourned in *white*—a fashion which was altered at the funeral of Henry II. in 1559. Mary continued to wear her white mourning dress after her arrival in Scotland. Her grief for the death of Francis II. is evinced by the verses she wrote, which are preserved in the “*Anthologie Française*,” (tom. i. p. 35), translated by her strenuous defender Whittaker, and inserted by Chalmers in his “*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*,” 4to. London, 1818, vol. i. p. 45, 46, 47. “To a knowledge of the several tongues, and much other acquaintance of many affairs,” says Chalmers, “the Scottish Queen had a lively taste, and a distinguished talent for French poetry. See ‘*Les Memoires de Brantome, et les Anecdotes des Reines de France*.’ Mary was not only a poetess herself, but the cause of poetry in others. Many a *vaudeville* was written on her departure from France. There was an appropriate elegy on her leaving France printed at Lyons by Rigaud, 1561, 8vo. pp. 4. The original is in my library.” *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 47.—E.]

¹ Bishop Leslie and Monsieur Brantome, who were both in the ship with the Queen, affirm most expressly that there was a fog. Why, then, should Rapin Thoyras seem to make a doubt thereof? If his doubt be only concerning the Queen's escape by means of the fog; it may be said that conjecture is founded on very violent presumptions.

² Buchanan calls this mist an effect of God's providence, or *good fortune* at least; but Knox terms it the effects of God's displeasure. Men will never be of one mind.

³ Mr Knox fixes the Queen's arrival on the 19th, Buchanan on the 21st, Spottiswood and Calderwood on the 20th, and Bishop Leslie, I should reckon, places it likewise on the 20th; for his words are—“*Ad 18 Kal. Septemb. Caletum pervenit—ac prospera navigatione sexto die ad Lethi portum appulit.*” Castelnau says—“*Le huitieme jour apres son embarquement elle arriva.*” Perhaps this gentleman includes, and Bishop Leslie excludes, both the day of the Queen's embarkation and arrival. By Brantome's words one might construct that the Queen arrived on a Tuesday, which day of the week was certainly the 19th day of the month that year. He says—“*Faut noter qu'un jour avant, un Dimanche matin, que nous arrivames en Escosse, il s' eleva un si grand brouillard, que nous ne pouvions pas voir depuis la poupe jusques a la proue—ce brouillard dura tout le long d'un jour, et toute la nuit jusques au lendemain matin a huit heures—ayant donc reconnu et veu le matin de ce brouillard leve le terrain d'Escosse—nous allames entrer et prendre terre.*”—[Though our Historian leaves the date of Queen Mary's arrival at Leith blank in the text, there can be no doubt that it was on the 19th of August 1561; and in his Preface he proves the fact by an extract from the Privy Seal Register, Book xxx. fol. 42. She was five days on her passage, having embarked at Calais on the 14th. “The Scottish Queene passed by sea into Scotland the 19th of this month, and hath with her the Duke d'Aumale, Marquis d'Elbœuff, Grand Prior, and Monsieur

in the year 1561. One ship, however, in which was the Earl of Eglinton, was taken by the English ships, and carried into their ports; but was soon after set at liberty, because, as may be rationally supposed, they had failed of their principal aim.

d'Ampvile. These two retorne through this realme within thirty days. She hath no soldiers nor trayne, but a few household. She meaneth to committ herself to the trust of her owne." Cecil to the Earl of Sussex, 21st August 1561, dated Gosfield, in Essex, then a mansion of the Rich Family, where Queen Elizabeth was on the 19th and 20th of August, and who apparently left it on the 21st.—Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters*, London, 1838, vol. i. p. 71. Again—"Your Honour, as in the beginnunge of your laste letter, grieved that you had no knowledge from me of the Queen's arrival, but from Berwicke. I assure your Honour, if you had not two letters that bore date the 19th of August, both you and I are deceived, for I am assured that I wrote one in the morninge, upon the fyrste assurance that she was in the galleys, and one in the afternoone, two houres after she was landed, which I am sure came safely into Mr Valentine Browne's handes."—Randolph to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 7th September 1561, in Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. p. 72. The greater part of this letter is inserted by Bishop Keith in this Chapter, but our Historian omits the above, and some other passages at the commencement.—E.]

CHAPTER II.

A CONTINUATION OF STATE AFFAIRS, FROM THE QUEEN'S ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1561, TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1561-2.

THE ships that convoyed Mary Stewart, the Queen-Dowager of France, from that kingdom into her own hereditary kingdom of Scotland, being arrived in the Road of Leith, and having given the signal of the arrival of her Royal Person by a discharge of their guns, the people immediately flocked to the shore. The only persons of distinction that came along with her Majesty were three of her uncles, viz. the Duke d'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis d'Elbeuf; and besides these, Mons. Danville, son and heir to the great Constable Montmorency, and then a Marischal of France, Messieurs de Strossy, la Noue, la Guiche, and other gentlemen of inferior note. She brought along with her many precious jewels; and in the month of October arrived the hangings, and other furniture of her house. Such of the Nobility as were at Edinburgh repaired in all haste to kiss her Majesty's hands, and welcome her into her antient and hereditary kingdom.¹ The Queen reposed herself in the town of Leith till the evening of that day she arrived; and then her Majesty went up to her Palace of Holyroodhouse, where all demonstrations of joy did quickly appear. The people resorted thither immediately, and received her with bonfires, music, and dancing; and so universal a mirth was seen in the faces of all her subjects, that she appeared extremely satisfied with her reception.² Mr Buchanan makes

¹ Bishop Leslie mentions the Duke, the Earls of Huntly, Atholl, Crawford, Marischal, Rothes, and many other Barons and gentlemen; but these Noblemen were not all present at first.

² ["She was conducted by her Nobility," says Mr Tytler, "with rude state from Leith to her Palace of Holyrood. The pomp of the procession, if we may believe Brantome, an eye-witness, was far inferior to the brilliant pageants to which she had been accustomed. She could not repress a sigh when she beheld the sorry palfreys prepared for herself and her ladies, and when awakened on the morning after her arrival by the citizens singing psalms under her windows, the unwonted strains seemed dissonant to

hereupon a very handsome recapitulation of her Majesty's continued misfortunes from her youngest infancy, and these he looks upon to be sufficient grounds now for the joy of her people upon her arrival; and then he adds¹—"Furthermore, besides the variety of her dangers, the excellency of her mien, the delicacy of her beauty, the vigour of her blooming years, and the elegance of her wit, all these joined in her recommendation."² But this writer closes all these good words with such sarcastic reflections as do sufficiently discover both the temper and design of the man. He praised her much, that he might dispraise her the more.

On the 22d of August 1561, I find an Indenture entered into by the Wardens of the Western Marches at the respective kingdoms.³

Immediately after our Queen's arrival, her cousin the Queen of England omitted not to congratulate her Majesty, and to give her formal assurances that she had not in the

courtly ears." Mr Tytler adds in a note, after citing Brantome, vol. ii. p. 123, 124—"Mary arrived unexpectedly early, in the morning of the 19th of August, and the weather was so dark and stormy that the ships were not seen for the fog. This circumstance must have interrupted the preparations."—History of Scotland, Edin. 1842, vol. vi. p. 236, 237. Mary's landing at Leith Harbour is the subject of a splendid historical picture by Sir William Allan. The principal part of Holyrood Palace was then the north-west towers, and the north side of the present quadrangle next to the Chapel-Royal. The rooms occupied by the Queen are still known as *Queen Mary's Apartments*, but they are now in a very different condition, the interior having been consumed by fire when Cromwell's soldiers lay in the Palace after the battle of Dunbar in 1650. These Apartments are occupied by the Duke of Hamilton as Hereditary Keeper of the Palace of Holyroodhouse.—E.]

¹ [Historia Rerum Scoticarum, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 200. Translation, Edin. 1752, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 278.—E.]

² Mezeray, the French historian, says thus of her Majesty—"Nature had bestowed upon her every thing that is necessary to form a complete beauty. And besides this, she had a most agreeable turn of mind, a ready memory, and a very lively imagination. All these good natural qualities she took care likewise to embellish, by the study of the liberal arts and sciences, especially Painting, Music, and Poetry, insomuch that she appeared to be the most amiable Princess in Christendom." And Castelnau in his Memoirs tells—"That when he returned first into Scotland, to propose to our Queen a marriage with the Duke of Anjou, he found her Majesty in the flower of her age, esteemed and adored by her subjects; and that she was endowed with such excellencies, and with greater perfections of beauty than any other Princess of her time."

³ See Appendix, Number IV.

least attempted to intercept her passing into her own kingdom ; but forgot not, at the same time, to insist strongly on the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh. The Queen of England's letter was delivered by Mr Randolph, who had been in Scotland for some time before our Queen's arrival, probably since the time he was sent hither with the above mentioned Commission to the Estates, 20th March bypast. This gentleman received now a public character from his mistress to negotiate her affairs with our Queen, and in that character he did reside here in Scotland for a considerable space thereafter ; and a great many of his letters, transmitted from this kingdom to his own Queen and the Secretary of England, being still on record, I shall often take occasion to make use of them, not only as being a sure foundation of intervening facts, but moreover as containing sundry particulars relating to our Scottish affairs, which are nowhere else to be met with. Mr Buchanan has taken notice¹ that Mr Maitland of Lethington, the Scottish Secretary, was sent into England not long after our Queen's return ; and that he carried letters both from our Queen and from the Nobility of Scotland, the general contents whereof he describes exactly enough. But I may presume my readers will be better satisfied with a distinct knowledge of the public Transactions of that time from original Papers, so far as they are come to our hands.

*Queen of England to the Queen of Scotland.*²

“ ———for the refusall quhairof we——specially considering we covet nothing but that quhilk is in zour power as Quene of *Scotland* ; That quhilk zour self in wordis and speache dois confesse ; that quhilk zour——husbandis our gude brotheris ambassadoris and zouris concludit ; that quhairunto zour awin Nobilite and people war made privie ; That quhilkin dede maid the peax and quietnesse betwix us ; yea yat without quhilk na perfite amytie can continew betwix us, as giff it be indifferently weyed, we doubt nocht bot ze will perceive, allow, and accomplish. As for uther partes of the

¹ [Historia Rerum Scoticarum, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 200-204 ; Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 279-284.—E.]

² Shattered MS. a copy.

Treaty that concernit your late husband as *French* King, we regard nocht; only we require to have the Treaty ratified be you, and that to be taken of sik force as shall concerne you. Nevertheless perceaving be the report of the bringer, That ye mean furthwith upon your cumming hame to follow herein the adviss of your Counsell in *Scotland*,¹ and yairwith to proceede to the Ratification; we are content to suspend our conceit of all unkindnesses hitherto be yis delay offerd unto us, and ar resolvit, upon this being as it aucht to be permit, to leif in nychbourhead with you as quietly, friendly, zeal, as assuredly in the knot of freindschip, as we be already in the knot of nature and bloode; and herein we will sa determine with ourself, that the world shall see gif the contrary suld follow (quhilk God forbid) the verie occasioun to be in you, and nocht in us. Finalie, quhair it semis that report has bene maid unto you, That we had sent our Admirall to the seas with our Navy, to empesche your passage; both your servandis heir do welle understand how fals that report wes, considering for a trewth that we have nocht—no nor twa or thre small barkis upon the seyis to apprehend certaine pyrattis, being thairto intrettit and in a manner compellit be the earnest—of the ambassador of our gude bruther the King of Spaine,² maid to us of certaine your subjectis Scotchmen, hanting our seyis as pyrattis, under pretens of letters of marque. Of quhilk matir also we earnestlie require you now at your cummyng to your Realme, to have sune gude consideratioun; the rather for——”

*Another Letter from the Queen of England to the Queen of Scotland, 25th August.*³

“RICHT excellent, richt heich and michtie Princess, our richt deir and richt weil-belovit Cousin and Sister, we grete

¹ It would appear by this and other expressions in this letter, that perhaps it had been conveyed to our Queen by the hands of the Abbot of St Colm's Inch, who, according to Mr Holinshed, was sent into England to desire a safe-conduct, after it had been heard in France that some large ships were set forth to the sea; and by the tenor of it, this letter seems to have been written at a time when our Queen might be on her way homeward, but not yet actually arrived at home.

² Philip II., who married Queen Mary of England.—E.]

³ Shattered MS. a copy.

zow wele: Our gude brother the King of Spaine hes at sundrie tymis, now of lait advertist ws, That nocht onlie the subjectis of the King of Portingall,¹ bot also his awin alswele of Spaine as of his Laich Cuntreis, be from tyme to tyme sore spoylit upon the sey be certaine pyrattis, quhair of sum beir the name of Inglishmen, and the moir pert of Scotismen, hanting our seyis towertis baith the Sowth and the North. The same complaint wes also in this last moneth of July so earnestlie renewit be his ambassador heir resident with ws, yat he added yairto—Gif ovr seyis were nocht according to the Leagis betwene him and ws, bettir preservit from sic frequent rubberys and pyracys, his master must be forcit for the ayd of his subjectis to arme sum power to the seyis. Upon quhilk mattir so earnestlie set furth, altho we had be certaine new orderis newly publissit in all ovr portis providit——require zow to haif sum gude regairde thairto. And that the occasioun of the cullor of yaine in that cuntrie may be redressit, quhilk is a pretence of a letter of marque. And for that ovr servandis being now on the seyis inform ws, that amangis otheris of ovr subjectis being notable pyrattis, resyde thair in yat Realme; that is to say, one namit Marychurche, ane other namit John Quhitheid, a third callit Johnston, with thair complices: We earnestlie desyre zow, that ovr trusty and wele belovit servande Thomas Randulphe now being appointit to present yis ovr lettere to zowr handis, may sollicite the delivery of the saids pyrattis unto him in saiftie, and yat he may haif zour favour and ayd to procure thame to be sauffie without rescusse conductit to ovr toun of Berwick; and in this and ony uther thing quhilk we sall direct to zow be ovr said servande, we require zow to give him firme credyt on our behalf. And thus richt heich and michtie Princess, ovr deire Sister and Cousin, ovr Lord have zow in His blessit keping. Given under ovr Signet att ovr Manor of Leighes, in our cuntrie of Essex, the xxvth day of August, in the third zeir of ovr Reign.

“ Zour gude Sister and Cousin,

“ ELIZABETH R.”

¹ [Don Sebastian, who succeeded his father John III., when only three years of age, in June 1557.—E.]

*A Letter from Mr Randolph to the Queen of England,
6th September 1561.*¹

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE—The 1st of this instant, in the morning, I received your Majestie’s letters² unto the Queen’s Grace here. I gave knowledge incontinent thereof to the Lord James, and desir’d that I might know from his Lordship when her pleasure should be that I should attend upon her Majestie. I received answer, that her will was to speak with me that day at four of the clock. At the hour appointed I was sent for by the Laird of Pitarrow,³ and brought unto the Presence by the Lord James. After that I had presented your Majestie’s commendations, and something said as I thought fit for the time, wherein I would that her Grace should understand how happy that country was, that after so long absence had at length received their natural Prince, wishing her a prosperous reign, and of long continuance, with due obedience of her subjects, I delivered your Majestie’s letters, which she did read herself to the end, and in such places where she was not acquainted, either with the hand or terms, she used me.

“After she had considered the contents thereof, it pleased her thus to say—‘I must needs accept in very good part the Queen your mistress, my dear sister’s commendations, and am glad that she is in good health, as I trust she is of mine, which you see in what case it is. For that you rejoyce in my return, and wish me so well, I thank you heartily, and trust that I shall find none other occasion of my subjects but as loving and obedient, and I towards them a good Princess. Touching the Queen your mistress’s letters, because I am unacquainted with the matter, I will talk with my Council, and speak with you again.’ There were then present of her Majestie’s Council, the Earl of Huntly, the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Athole, and Lord James. After some conference had with them, she saith unto me again thus—‘I have heard the opinion of these whom you see present of my

¹ Cotton Library, an original.—[British Museum.—E.]

² That is the letter which is here above, dated the 25th August.

³ [Sir John Wishart of Pitarrow, brother of George Wishart called the “Martyr.”—E.]

Council, who tell me, That they have at other times done somewhat concerning the same matter that the Queen my sister writes of; and I, for my part, do promise, and will write the same unto the Queen your mistress, That they of whom she writes in her letter, nor no other pirates, shall have support or refuge within my Realm, but that I will do my endeavour, to the uttermost, to have such as are here to be apprehended, as well my own subjects as those of England, for that I know it my part so to do, and am willing thereunto.' And presently in my hearing gave commandment to the Justice-Clerk¹ to make inquisition through the whole Country for such offenders.²

"After that I had received this answer of her Majestie, she required me, within a day or two, to come again for her letters unto your Highness, which your Majestie shall herewith receive.³ She spake nothing to me at any time of my tarrying here, but after my departure told my Lord James she 'perceived that your mind was that I should remain here.' And after some words, both in earnest and mirth, had between them of my doings here in times past⁴—'Well,' saith

¹ [Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul, son of Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoul, whom he succeeded as Justice-Clerk in July 1547. He was implicated in the assassination of Rizzio, but was soon restored to Queen Mary's favour, and carried her commands to Mr John Craig, a preacher, to proclaim the banns between her and Bothwell, but he afterwards joined the association against her, and became one of the Regent Moray's Privy Council. He is said to have obtained the lands of Woodhouselee, in the county of Edinburgh, the property of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh in right of his wife, which induced that daring person, among other causes, to assassinate Moray in the public street of Linlithgow.—E.]

² On the 8th September, after her Majesty had settled a regular Council, the letters of marque, given by her most Noble Progenitors against the Portuguese, are called in.

³ The said letter shall be here likewise subjoined.

⁴ By the first words of this letter, as well as by these, we know for certain that Mr Randolph must have been in Scotland at the time the Queen arrived.—[Randolph was some time in Scotland before Queen Mary's arrival. See Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," Cecil to Randolph, dated Greenwich, 30th June 1561, vol. i. p. 61, 62. Randolph, in his letter to Cecil, dated 7th September 1561, subsequently inserted by Bishop Keith, expressly refers Cecil to Maitland, then in England. By the word *crafty*, Queen Mary meant a *skilful* or *ingenious* person. "Elizabeth," says Mr Tytler, "had congratulated her (Mary) on her happy return to her dominions, and she (Mary) soon after (1st September 1561), despatched Lethington, her chief Secretary, on a mission to England, to

she, 'I am content that he tarry, but I'll have another there as crafty as he.'¹ I threatened upon the Lord James, that these words were rather his than her Majestie's; but however it be, there is one presently of hers with your Majestic that can play his part with craft enough.

"The Thursday after, viz. the 4th of this month, I presented myself unto her Grace for her letters; she willed the Lord James to put her in remembrance of them, and me to return the morrow. At my being with her the next day, she saith unto me, that 'her Secretary shall bring you the letters unto your mistress; and I pray you let her know from me, that I desire heartily that we may live together like good friends and neighbours; and that for her part she desireth nothing but peace and amity, whereunto she seeth her people so inclined, that she is glad thereof.' I answered again—That I doubted not but when your Majesty should understand her good inclinations to so godly a purpose, as to seek amity where great and ancient debates have been, she should find your Majesty ready to condescend to any reason that might be offered. The ready way thereunto was, not lightly, nor at the first report, to give credit to every tale that should be brought unto her Majestie's ears, by such as had been ever and would ever be sowers of discord between the Princes of these two Realms, who for gain and lucre were content to betray the whole world. This I spake, because Sarlabas,² not two nights before, told her Grace, That there were above 50 of your Majestie's ships upon the seas, and that the Lord Gray³ was coming towards Berwick with 10,000 soldiers, and that it were good to take heed to Heymouth and Dunbar. She lik'd very well this motion, and willed to assure your Majestic that it should be well observed. I received also for myself good words, and also from her uncles. I shewed the Grand Prior and Monsieur Danville of their passports, as your Majestic commanded me. This was the effect of my doings with her Majestic for

express her earnest wishes for the continuance of peace."—History of Scotland, edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 242.—E.]

¹ Meaning Mr Maitland the Secretary.

² He was the chief Commander of the few French soldiers who were left in Scotland.

³ [Properly Lord Grey, one of the English Wardens of the Borders, who had been one of the commanders at the siege of Leith in 1559.—E.]

this present. Touching the Treaty,¹ I had no purpose with her Majestie, because of the L.² of Lidington's being with your Highness.³ With others I have somewhat talk'd; they doubt not but things will succeed unto your Majestie's contentation. I am given to believe that her meaning is as her words are.

"I trust that it shall be a sufficient declaration of my duty unto your Majestie, faithfully to set forth your Majestie's commandments, and truly to report of things as I do hear and find, leaving unto your Majestie's wisdom the judgment thereof. What other things there are presently to be known from hence, I will rather write unto Mr Secretary⁴ than trouble your Majestie any further. The Lord God preserve your Majestie long in health, to the increase of whatsoever will stand with His will to your joy, and comfort of your Majestie's subjects. At Edinburgh the 6th of September 1561.

"Your Highness's most humble

"and obedient servant,

"THO. RANDOLPHE."

*Letter, Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, 6th September 1561.*⁵

"RICHT excellent, richt heich and nichtie Princess, our richt deir and richt wele belovit Sister and Cousing, we grete zow hartlie: Wele belovit, we have ressavit zour lettere frae zowr servand Thomas Randolphe——daitit at zowr Mannor of Leighes the xxv. of August last——thatoure gude bruther the King of Spaine hes send zow sundrie advertisements, that nocht only the subjectis of Portugall——sa to conveneoure liegis under ane obedience, yet nane have just cause of yame to compleyn; and quhare as ye desire the apprehending of certain zowr subjectis, namyt Marychurch, ane Quhiteheid, and ane Johnston, as being heir, and delivering of thame——said servand Thomas Randolphe. We have givin strait charge to sherche and seke thame

¹ That is, the Treaty of Edinburgh.

² [Laird.—E.]

³ This shews that Secretary Maitland has been sent into England immediately after Mr Randolph had delivered his Queen's letters on the 1st day of September, according as our Queen had said, that *she would have a crafty person* in England.

⁴ [Sir William Cecil.—E.]

⁵ Shattered MS. a copy.

quhairver they can be fund within oure Realme ; and being apprehendit, sall satisfie zowr desyr in that behalf ; for we haif commandit, that na pyrattis, of quhatsumevir natioun thave be of, nocht avowit be yair awin Princee, sall be harbryt, reset, supportit or aydit within any our portis and havynis, or yat ony of oure subjectis be sa bald as to buy and sell with thame ; bot that thair schippis and gudis be with all spede arreistit, and yair personis presentit to our justice, to suffer for yair demerits. Assuring zow, deirest Sister, that likeas we meane in the presense of God nawiss to gif libertie to sic transgressouris to offend, evin sa be God's permission sall we mak demonstratioun of our just intentioun, be outward executioun and punischment of all sic rubberis, as heireftir sall happin to cum in our handis. Sa yat on our part nathing sall be permittit, that to the office of amytie and interteinyng of Cristian peax and publick tranquillitie apertenis, as fordir we have declarit unto zour said servand. Thus, richt excellent, richt heich and nichtie Princees, our richt deir and richt weil belowit Sister and Cousin, we commit zow to the protectioun of Almightie God. Gevin undir our Signet at our Palace of Halyrud-house the sext day of September, and of our Reigne the nyntene zeir."¹

*Instructions by the Queen of Scots to Mr William Maitland, younger of Lethington, her Secretary of State, when he was sent into England in the beginning of September 1561.*²

" — to extend hir benignite, favour and clemency — embrace yame as hir lovit subjectis, and sa to leif heirafter, that the memorie of thingis past (quhairas hir Majestie had occasioun to mislyke) being extinguishit, a gude and politik unioun of the heid and memberis may from this furth indure ; quhilk hir Hienes determination hes alreddy takin sic begynnning as culd be wyssit, and her hale people, als wele the Nobilitie, gentilmen, as the common sort, hes evin at the first ressavit her Hienes with sic gladness, devoir, and reverence, yat it hes wele apperit how anoyus her lang absence hes bene, and how glade and comfortable hir cumyng is unto thair hartis. Quhilk reciproque gudewill of hir

¹ This is the letter which Mr Randolph says he sent along with his of the same date.

² Shattered MS. a copy.

subjects, quhen hir Majestie consideris, sche doubtis not bot the end sall correspond to yis gude begynnyng.

“ He sall alsua declair, Yat hir Hienes wald not omit the mutuall offices of amytie accustomat to pas amangis Princis, frendis, allyas and gude nichboris, of quhom hir Majestie estemis the Quene of England, hir gude Sister and Cusen, ane of the maist speciall to hir, and yairfore hes purposlie directit her said Secretar¹ to visite hir upoun the behalf of hir Majestie, declair hir prosperous journey and saulf arrival in this Realme, communicat unto hir hir Majestie’s present gude Estait, and impart this joy quhilk hir Hienes hes consavit of this happy begynnyng.

“ He sall alsua declair, Yat hir Majestie is fully resolvit to leif in gude nychtborheid with the said Quene hir gude Sister and Cousin, to keip gude peax and amytie with hir Realme ; and for hir awn part interteny and increas frindschipp be all gude meanys possible, sa that hir Majestie’s gude ——”

*Instructions by the Nobility of Scotland to Secretary Maitland, at the same time.*²

“ —— had nocht onlie refusit passage unto Monsieur Doysell, being directit for gude purposis unto yame fra the Quenis Majestie thair Souveraine ; but alsua sic passport and saulf-conduct as on the behalf of hir Majestie wes requirit for hir sure passage in this Realme, with sic uther favouris as Princes, friendis, allyas, and gude nychboris accustomit to use for accomoding of utheris, fearing yat hir Majestie mycht tak the refusall yrof in sa evill part, yat being irritat yrby, she nicht be nocht onlie the les cairful to enterteny freindschipp, quhilk they for yair part wissis nicht lang indure, bot alsua myt consave sum sinistir opinioun of yame being hir subjectis, or suspect for the intelligence that hes of lait bene betwix the said Quene and yame ; that the said refusall had partlie cumit be yair meanys, or at the leist, that they had bene previe thairto, albeit God knawis they nevir understude it quhil³ lang eftir. And the necessitie that the haill Realme of Scotland had for the presence of thair Souverane was sic, that the thing in the

¹ [Maitland of Lethington.—E.] ² Shattered MS. a copy. ³ [Until.—E.]

world thay maist earnestlie wyssit with yair hart, wes to see hir Majestie sone amangis thame. Bot now quhen as it hes plesit God prousperouslie to convoy hir Majestie in this hir Realme, thay find hir Hienes mekell bettir disposit, and far fra ony sic evill consait of yair affectionis, as alsua to be wele satisfyit with the said Quene of Englandis meanyng, upoun consideratioun of sic thingis as hes past betwix yair saidis twa Majesties sen yat tyme, quhairby they are greit comfortit and deliverit of a greit doubt.

“ He sall alsua pray hir Hienes, upon yair behalfe, to interteny and increse freindschip with the Quene yair Souverane, be all gude meanys and—doying to have sum respect and consideratioun to yair conditioun, quhilk thay—will be maist blessit and happy, sa lang as thair twa Majesties sall increse—that the intelligence betuix the tua Realmes be—For gif it suld chance, as God forbid, yat the said Quene of England wald use any discourtessey towertis the Quene yair Souveraine, quhilk we will not suppose in sa humane ane Princes, or gif occasioun upoun hir part to violat the gude amytie and peax standing betwix yair tua Majesties; then may sho be wele assurit, that thay acknowledging thaimselfis to be subjectis, will nocht forzett thair dewite for mantenance of the Quene yair Souverane’s just querel, bot sa assist hir Hienes as becummis obedient and naturall subjectis to yair native Princes, and as she wald wyss hir awn subjectis suld do in hir awn querell.”

By perusal of the above Instructions, there does not appear to be the least mention of a request either by our Queen or the Nobility, that the Queen of England should, by Act of Parliament, declare the Queen of Scotland rightful heiress to the Kingdom of England, next after that Queen and her children, if ever she had any.¹ And though it be

¹ [Of Mary’s title to the throne of England, which seems to have been with her at that time an absorbing idea, Mr Tytler says—“ Her claim to the Crown, and her assumption of the Arms of this kingdom, had, as we have seen, been injudiciously published by her uncles when she was still Queen of France. Mary had indeed apologised for such conduct, and transferred the blame of so strange and premature a measure to her uncles the Guises, but it was still her earnest desire to have her title to the Crown of England recognised by that Princess, should she persevere in her vows of celibacy; and as the surest means to obtain this object,

true that there be some few breaches in the Manuscript from whence these Instructions are taken ; yet these breaches are so short, not above two or three lines together, that there is no ground at all left for supposing that any such request has ever been engrossed in the written Instructions. And therefore since both Cambden and Buchanan are positive that this request was made,¹ I should incline to think that Mr Maitland's Commission relating to this head has consisted only of a verbal message.² The Queen of England,

she committed the management of her affairs to Moray (then Lord James Stuart, her illegitimate brother), and Lethington, the great leaders of the Protestant party. Lethington had proposed this scheme to Cecil soon after the death of the French King, and when, anticipating the return of Mary to her dominions, he felt all the peril of his own situation. Should he be able to carry this point for the Scottish Queen, he knew he was safe ; if he failed—if she broke with Elizabeth, and threw herself into the interest of France—he looked upon it as certain ruin.”—Lethington to Cecil, MS. State Paper Office, 6th February 1560-1, quoted by Mr Tytler, vol. vi. p. 243, 244. “ So much has been said above of pretensions and of titles to the Crown (of England), that it may be proper here to add a few words on those perplexing topics. The two Roses, the symbols of the Families of York and Lancaster, were conjoined by the marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth of York. Of this marriage was born Henry VIII. and the Lady Margaret. Henry VIII. left three legitimate children—Edward VI., who succeeded him, and died in July 1553 ; Mary, who succeeded him, and died in November 1558 ; Elizabeth, who was born on the 7th September 1533, and succeeded her sister Mary. The pretensions of the Scottish Queen arose in this manner. The Lady Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII., married James IV., who died in 1513, leaving by her James V., who was the father of Mary by the Duchess of Longueville.”—Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, 4to, vol. i. p. 115. The Duchess of Longueville was another of the titles of the Queen-Dowager and Regent of Scotland, also called Mary of Lorraine and Mary of Guise.—E.]

¹ Mr Buchanan gives a very large detail of this affair ; but I shall not take upon me to affirm that every circumstance thereof has been real. Mr Cambden's account is more general.—[*Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, original edit. 1582, fol. 200-202. Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 279-284. Camden's *History and Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, 4to. 1625, p. 76.—E.]

² [Our Historian seems not to have been aware that Maitland's Commission was much more important than a mere “ verbal message.” “ In his mission to the English Court,” says Mr Tytler—“ Lethington urged upon Elizabeth the necessity of declaring Mary her successor. His public instructions, indeed, did not authorize him to enter upon this delicate subject, which has led Keith to question whether it was broached at all ; but we know from Throgmorton's letters not only that the proposal was made, but that Cecil was much embarrassed by it.”—*History of Scotland*, edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 248. Mr Tytler quotes from a letter of Throgmorton to Cecil, MS. French Correspondence, State-Paper Office,

it is said, stormed exceedingly at the proposal; truly, to speak impartially, not without good reason. And it may readily enough be suspected, that such of our Queen's subjects as were at present too much about her Majesty, and not friendly to her from the heart, have caused this unreasonable and precipitant overture to be made, on purpose to foment jealousy, not friendship, between the two Queens; and thereby pave the way for the utter overthrow of their Sovereign. For they could not be ignorant, that the best and surest method to beget and maintain friendship to their Queen from her Cousin of England, after so late and as yet unsopited jars, was to suffer the affair of succession to lie quiet and undisturbed, until such time as a mutual amity and confidence had been created, by kindly offices and intercourse of letters.¹ Mr Buchanan says, that after there had

9th October 1561. "For the matter," says Throgmorton to Cecil, "lately proposed to her Majesty by the Laird of Ledington, in which to deal one way or other you find difficulties, even so do I think that not to deal in it at all, no manner of way, is more dangerous, as well for the Queen's Majesty, as for the Realm, and specially if God should deal so unmercifully with us as to take the Queen from us without issue, which God forbid, considering the terms the State standeth in presently.—E.]

¹ This intercourse became very frequent in a short time, no less than a dozen of letters having been interchanged by the end of this year, as may appear by this shattered MS., and therefore Rapin Thoyras may even give some credit to what Sir James Melvill writes on this head. See Thoyr. vol. viii. p. 292.—[Lord James Stuart addressed the Queen of England on the political expediency of recognizing Mary's title to the English Crown. "You are tender cousins," said he, in his letter to Elizabeth, "both Queens, in the flower of your ages, much resembling each other in excellent and goodly qualities, on whom God hath bestowed most liberally the gifts of nature and fortune, whose sex will not permit that you should advance your glory by wars and bloodshed, but that the chief glory of both should stand in a peaceable reign." The only point which had occasioned jealousy between them was, he goes on to observe, the premature discussion of Queen Mary's title. "I wish to God," said he, "my Sovereign Lady had never, by any advice, taken in head to pretend interest or claim any title to your Majesty's Realm, for then I am fully persuaded you should have been and continued as dear friends as you be tender cousins; but now, since on her part something hath been thought of it, and first motioned when the two Realms were in war together, your Majesty knoweth, I fear, that unless that root may be removed, it shall ever breed unkindness between you. Your Majesty cannot yield; and she may, on the other part, think it hard, being so nigh of the blood of England, so to be made a stranger from it." Lord James Stuart then ventures on the dangerous subject of the succession. "If," says he, "any midway could be picked out to remove this difference to both your contentments, then it

been much discourse about the Treaty of Edinburgh, which the Queen of England had insisted should be ratified, before any new proposal had been made her relating to the succession, that Queen did agree with Mr Maitland, that Commissioners should be chosen on both sides to review the Treaty, and correct the same in this manner, viz.—“That the Queen of Scots should abstain from using the Arms and Titles of England and Ireland, as long as the Queen of England, or any of her children, were alive; and on the other hand, That the Queen of England should make an Act, restricting herself and her posterity from impairing the Queen of Scotland’s right of succession to the Crown of England.” But that this Agreement was not condescended on at this precise time, I do much suspect from what shall follow. Mr Cambden informs, that in the conclusion of the conference, the Queen of England dispatched Sir Peter Mewtas¹ into Scotland, for to sollicite the ratification of this

is like we should have a perpetual quietness. I have long thought of it, and never durst communicate it to the Queen my Sovereign, nor many of my countrymen, nor yet will hereafter follow it farther than shall seem good to your Majesty. The matter is higher than my capacity is able to compass, yet upon my simple venture your Highness can lay a larger foundation. What inconvenience were it if your Majesty’s title did remain untouched, as well for yourself as the issue of your body, to provide that to the Queen my Sovereign her own place were renewed in the succession to the Crown of England, which your Majesty will pardon me if I take to be next by the law of all nations, as she that is next in lawful descent of the right line of King Henry the Seventh, your grandfather, and in the meantime this isle to be united in a perpetual friendship? The succession of realms cometh by God’s appointment, according to His good pleasure, and no provision of man can alter that which He hath determined, but it must needs come to pass; yet is there appearance that, without injury of any party, this accord might breed us great quietness. Every thing must have some beginning. If I may receive answer from your Majesty that you will allow of any such agreement, I will travel with the Queen my Sovereign to do what I can to bring her to some conformity. If your Majesty dislike it, I will not farther meddle therewith.”—MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Edinburgh, 6th August 1561, the Lord James to Queen Elizabeth. “This sensible letter its author enclosed to Cecil, directing him to advise on it, and present it, or withdraw it, as he judged best. Whether it ever reached the Queen’s eye is uncertain, and as the Scottish Baron had fearlessly ventured on ground which the more wary Cecil scarcely dared to tread, it is probable he did not risk its delivery; but it proves that the Lord James was sincerely attached in this matter to the interests of his sister the Queen.”—History of Scotland, edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 244, 245, 246.—E.]

¹ [Sir Peter Mewtas was sent to Scotland by Queen Elizabeth chiefly to

Treaty;¹ and that the Queen of Scots did not give a direct refusal, but only signified, that the same could not conveniently be done, until her affairs were put into some tolerable good order. Concerning this Message, we have unquestionable assurance by some original letters, which shall be inserted by and by; and I make no doubt but these letters will likewise satisfy the readers, that the above Agreement, mentioned by Mr Buchanan, has not been made at the Scottish Secretary's first journey into England at the least.

On the 6th day of September, we find by the Register that our Queen constitutes a Privy-Council in the following manner:—

*Apud Palatium S. D. N. Reginae prope Edinburgh sexto Septembris, Anno Domini 1561.*²

“THE quhilk day the Quenis Majestie, for gude reull to be observit within hir Realme, and retenyng of the samyn in quietnes, to the weill of the liegis yairef, hes electit and chosin thir Noble men and mytie Lordis under written: that is to say, James Duke of Chattelarault, Erle of Arran, Lord Hamyltoun, &c.; George Erle of Huntlie, Lord Gordoun and Badzenoch, &c.; Archibald Erle of Argyle, Lord Campbel and Lorne, &c.; James Erle Bothwil, Lord Halis and Creichtoun; George Erle of Errol, Lord Hay; William Erle Marsheall, Lord Keyth; John Erle of Athole, James Erle of Mortoun, William Erle of Montrois, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, Lord James Commendatar of Saint Androis and Pittenweme, and John Lord Erskin; togidder with her Majestie's Thesaurar, Secretar, Clerk of Register, and Justice-Clerk, to be hir greit Counsale,³ to consult, conclude, and determe upoun all effairs concerning the commone weill

evade for a time the discussion of the succession, though ostensibly to request Queen Mary to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, which she well knew the Scottish Queen would decline. He is mentioned by Randolph in his letters to Cecil.—Wright's “Queen Elizabeth and her Times,” vol. i. p. 75.—E.]

¹ Mr Knox misplaces the time of Sir Peter's arrival.—[Knox's Historie of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, Edin. 1732, folio, p. 294.—E.]

² Register of Privy Council.

³ The readers will observe, that our Historians who have made mention of these Counsellors have not been exact in their several lists.

of the Realme, and lieges yairof; and ordanis yame to be sworne to giff yair afauld, leill and trew counsale in all thingis to be proponit befor yame, in forme and maner to be requirit in sik caisses, and to keip the samyns secreteit, unrevelit or oppynit ony way, as yai will answer to God and hir Majestie thairupoun.”

Next follow in the Register several Regulations to be observed by the Council, such as, that six of the Lords should be always with the Queen; That they should convene at eight in the morning, and sit in Council until ten; return again at one, and remain till three afternoon. But previous to these Regulations, this that follows is inserted in the Register, viz.—“In presence of the Quenis Majestie comperit George, Erle of Huntlie, &c.—¹, and being sworne, maid faith, and gaif yair aith to hir Grace leillie and trewlie to consult, conclude, and determe upoun all actionis to be proponit befor thaim, concerning the effairs and common weill of this Realme, and liegeis thairof, and to gif thair afauld, leill, and trew counsale thairin, and to keip the samyne secreteit and unrevelit be ony maner of way, as they will anser to God and hir Majestie thairupoun; and als Johne Johnstoun, Clerk of Counsale, sicklyk gaif his ayth to kep secreteit all thingis whilk he sall heir proponit in Counsale.”

Under this new Government Bishop Leslie observes, that the Queen's brother James, Prior of St Andrew's, was the sole favourite, and disposed of every thing at Court, and he adds—“It was the conjecture of several people that he had formed a design to possess himself of the Crown.” And this thing is not only related by that Author, who may however be lookt upon as too much prejudiced against the Prior; but the same thing is likewise taken notice of by the English resident Mr Randolph, by whose letters it hath already, and will afterwards very evidently appear, that the Lord James was deemed the principal person about the Queen.²

¹ The Duke, Earls of Bothwell, Montrose, and Glencairn, and the Lord Erskine, were not present at this first time; but there are added Mr Robert Richardson, Thesaurer, Mr James Macgill of Nether-Rankelore, Clerk of Register, and Sir John Ballenden of Auchnowl, Knight, Justice-Clerk, who did all take this oath.

² [“The Quene of Scotland, as I heare, is most governed by the Lord

*Letter from Mr Randolph to Mr Secretary Cecil,
7th September 1561.¹*

"I RECEIVED your Honour's letters the 1st of this instant, and such other as came in the same paquet. I delivered the same day the Q. Majestie's letters unto this Queen, and send her Grace's answer unto our Souverain herewith. I have written unto the Q. Majestie the effect.—

"Where your Honour exhorteth us to stoutness, I assure you the voice of one man is able in an hour to put more life in us, than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears.

"Mr Knox spoke upon Tuesday to the Queen;² he knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her to weep, as well you know there be some of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief, tho' in this the Lord James will disagree with me. She charged him with his Book,³ with his severe dealing with all men that disagreed with him in opinion; she willed him to use more meekness in his sermons. Some things he spake to her contentation in mitigating the rigour of his Book, and in some things he pleased her very little. In special, speaking against the Mass, he declared the grievous plagues of God that had fallen upon all Estates for committing of idolatry. He concluded so in the end with her, that he hath liberty to speak freely his conscience, to give unto her such reverence as becometh the ministers

James and the Lord of Ledyngton."—Cecil to the Earl of Sussex, dated St James', 7th October 1561. Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 80. "To the Lord James her brother, of whose warm attachment to the English interests we have already met with many proofs, the Scottish Queen extended so much favour, that his influence became the chief channel of success at Court."—Tytler's History of Scotland, edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 258.—E.]

¹ Calig. Book X. an Original.—[The entire letter is in Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. ii. p. 71-74.—E.]

² This shall be narrated at more length in the Church affairs. The man here intended is Mr Knox.—[Knox gives a very graphic account of his first interview with Queen Mary at Holyrood Palace, in the presence of Lord James Stuart, in his Historie, edit. 1732, p. 287-292.—E.]

³ i. e. His book against the Government of Women.—[This singular treatise by Knox is entitled "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment [*Regimen* or *Government*] of Women," in which he attacked with great vehemence the practice of admitting female Sovereigns. It was published in 1557.—E.]

of God unto the superior Powers. He prayeth, and hath daily prayed for her, as the preachers were wont to pray for Q. Mary.¹

“The brute that he hath talked with the Queen, maketh the Papists doubt what will become of the world. It liketh not them well, that I resort so often to the Court. I have been there thrice since Sunday; but of all they marvel most what traffique the L. of Lidington maketh with you. She herself hath found three points necessary to maintain her estate; first, To make peace with England; next, To be serv’d with the Protestants² (in the other, she findeth not that that she look’d for). The third is, To enrich her Crown with the abbay lands. Which if she do, what shall there lack in her (saving a good husband) to lead a happy life? Seeing your Honour hath one with you with whom you can consider these things better than I can write of them, I leave them to your judgments, and talk of some other matter.

“Upon Tuesday last³ she made her entry.⁴ She din’d

¹ Viz. The preachers in England for Mary Queen of England.

² [Randolph’s statement of this part of Queen Mary’s policy is important, and will be understood when it is recollected that the great object was to induce Queen Elizabeth to acknowledge the Scottish Queen as next in succession to the English Crown. “It is worthy of remark, also,” says Mr Tytler, “that in this grand design we are furnished with the key to the policy adopted by Mary during the first years of her government. Thus, the same reasons which induced her to favour the Protestants, led her to depress the Romanist party, at the head of whom was Huntly, one of the most powerful, crafty, and unscrupulous men in the country, against whom the Lord James placed himself in mortal opposition.” This is noticed by Randolph in the letter which immediately follows the above despatch to Cecil. “Without appearing to notice the plots of the Romanists with France,” continues Mr Tytler, “Mary steadily followed out her design of conciliating the Protestants, and of obtaining the friendship of England. She appointed a council of twelve, of whom seven were Reformers, and she continued to follow the advice of her brother the Lord James on all important points, and sent him at the head of a large force, and armed with almost absolute power, to reduce the Borders to obedience. 8th November 1561. MS. Letter, Lord James to Cecil, State-Paper Office.” History of Scotland, edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 246, 247, 248.—E.]

³ This shews the inaccuracy of Mr Knox, who makes this entry to have been in the beginning of October. The reader may see his ill-natured reflections on that occasion in his own Book.

⁴ It may perhaps satisfy some readers to know, that by the Registers of the Council of Edinburgh it appears, that on the 26th of August 1561, the “Provost, Baillies, and Counsall, and Dekynnis (Deacons of Crafts)

in the Castle. The first sight she saw, after she came out of the Castle, was a boy of six years of age, that came as it were from Heaven, out of a round hole,¹ that presented unto her a Bible, a Psalter, and the keys of the gates, and spake unto her the verses which I send you.² The rest were terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters; there were burnt Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, in the time of their sacrifice. They were minded to have had a priest burnt at the altar at the elevation: The Earl of Huntly stay'd that pageant; but hath play'd many as wicked as that since he came hither. He bare that day the sword. The occasions why the Duke and my Lord of Arran were absent, your Honour knoweth by the L. of Lidington. The Queen taketh a great suspicion of the fortifying of Dumbritton,³ and hath sent one to see it. I perswade what

findis gude, that for the plesour of our Soverane, and obteneing of hir Hienes' favours, thair be ane honorabil banquet maid to the Princes, hir Grace cousings, upoun Sunday nixt (last day of August): and sicklike, with all diligence, the triumphe to be maid of hir Grace entry within this town."—28th August 1561, "The Provost, Baillies, and Comsall, ordanis Louke Wilsoun, Thesaurer, to deliver to every ane of the twelfe servands, the javillour and gild servands, als mekle Franch blaber as will be every ane of thame ane coit, als mekle blak stemmyng as will be every ane of thame ane pair of hoiss, and every ane of thame a blak bonet agane the tyme of the triumphe.—Item, Ordanis (*here are set down the names of ten persons*) every ane of thame to have and mak ane gown of fyne blak velvet, syde to thair fute, lynit with pan velvet; ane coit of black velvet, ane doublat of crammosyne satyne, with velvet-bonet and hois efferand. And thir twelf to beyr the pale above the Queny's Grace heid, and nane utheris. And all the uthir nythburis that sall be sene upoun the gait, to have syde gownis of fyne Franch blak sytine, sicklyk with pan velvet, coittis of velvet, and doublotts of satyne; and every man to gang in his dew and gude ordour; and the servandis to ordour the calsay, and to make rowme for the Nobelytie and nythours foirsaid. And sicklyk, that the zoing men of the town devise for thaimselfis sum beauw abulzement of taffate, or uther silk, and mak the convoy befor the Court triumphant."

¹ [*Globe* in the original, printed in Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 74.—E.]

² The copy of verses mentioned to be inclosed in this letter are wanting.

³ Al. Dumbarton, viz., by the Duke, who had that fortress put into his hands when he demitted the Regency. The readers shall be let into an authentick knowledge of his Lordship's tenure of this fort within a very little.—[The Duke of Chatellherault is meant. He and his son the Earl of Arran, who, with the Earls of Huntly and Home, were in the Roman Catholic and French interest, and were threatening a faction against the Queen on account of her encouragement of the Protestants, avoided

I can both in word or writing, that they shou'd shew that obedience unto her that they wou'd look to have of others, if God put them in that place. I desire them so to use themselves, that their friends may think themselves worthy of their kindness: If they come to schaithe, it will be true that of old is said—*Nemo læditur nisi à seipso*.¹ What they are that are named counsellors, I refer to the L. of Lidington's report. James Stewart's admission to be Captain of the Guard stayeth upon the L. of Lidington's return, to certify whether he be sworn Englishman. Yesterday the Earl of Argile came to this town. I can as yet get no time to speak with him, as I shall within a day or two. The bruit is here going of an overthrow that divers of our men have had in Ireland. Thus most humbly I take my leave, desiring your Honour to have in mind what I wrote touching my return, were the time never so short. At Edinburgh, the 7th day of September 1561.²

“Your Honour's always bounden

“and ready to command,

“THO. RANDOLPHE.”

In the beginning of this month of September, the Duke d'Aumale returned into France by sea, with the galleys which had transported the Queen's Majesty hither, and the Grand Prior and Monsieur Danville took their journey over land through England; only the Marquis d'Elbeuf remained all winter in Scotland with the Queen. About the 15th of September³ her Majesty began a progress into a part of the neighbouring country, visiting the towns of Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, St Andrews, &c., in all which she was received with much honour and respect to her own

the Court, and fortified Dunbarton Castle, of which the Duke was Governor.—E.]

¹ May it not be reasonably concluded from these expressions, that Mr Randolph has already perceived some deportment towards the Queen, which he could not in conscience well applaud?

² Some things in this letter are omitted, which were only about private affairs.

³ By the following letter her Majesty was probably still at Holyrood-house on the 14th September, since the Earl of Argile and the Lord James were close about the Queen in her progress. They sit at Perth in Council on the 19th September.

person,¹ though the same cannot be said as to her religion. Mr Knox says—"Fire followed the Court very closely in that journey."² The foundation of this ridiculous remark the reader will see in the following letter.

¹ [This royal progress of Queen Mary is noticed by Randolph in his letter to Cecil which follows. The Queen was accompanied by her uncles the Marquis d'Elbœuf and the Grand Prior, by Monsieur D'Anville, and a number of ladies. As her horses and mules were at the time detained in England, ten horses were purchased for her at Stirling preparatory to her progress, to accommodate her household. No wheeled carriages were in use in those times, and the Queen set out from Holyrood Palace on horseback after dinner on the *eleventh* of September 1561, which seems to be the correct date, and not the *fifteenth*, as given by our Historian. Queen Mary rode that afternoon to Linlithgow Palace, 17 miles from Edinburgh. In this the Palace of her birth she remained on the 12th, and on the 13th she rode to Stirling Castle, 18 miles distant. While there the Queen was nearly burnt, as Randolph relates. She proceeded from Stirling Castle on the 15th, by Alloa, Culross, and Inverkeithing, or probably passing through Dunfermline, to Leslie Castle, the seat of the Earl of Rothes, in the parish of Leslie, county of Fife, which occupied the site of the present Leslie House at the east end of the village of Leslie, built by the first and only Duke of Rothes in the reign of Charles II. If Queen Mary accomplished this in one day, it was a ride of at least thirty miles. She slept in Leslie Castle, and proceeded on the 16th to Perth, which is nearly twenty miles distant. On the 17th, while riding through the "Fair City," the Queen was taken suddenly ill, and was carried from her horse to her lodgings. This indisposition seems to have been caused by insults she received on account of her religion, and though she was presented by the civic authorities with a "heart of gold full of gold," she "liked not the pageants." On the 18th the Queen journeyed to Dundee, 22 miles distant, riding through the Carse of Gowrie. She remained in Dundee two days, and on the 20th she crossed the Tay, and rode to St Andrews, 13 miles distant. On the 21st, which was Sunday, another insult was offered to her religion, yet she resided at St Andrews a few days, apparently the guest of Lord James Stuart, the Commendator or Prior. Mary afterwards visited Falkland Palace, where her father James V. died, and returned to Holyroodhouse on the 29th of September 1561. Life of Mary Queen of Scots, by George Chalmers. London, 4to. 1818, vol. i. p. 53, 54, 55.—E.]

² [Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, folio, p. 292. He insolently adds that the Queen "polluted" all the towns she visited "with her idolatry"—"the towns propyned her very liberally, and thereof were the French enriched." "What prejudice!" justly exclaims Chalmers—"every thing is supernatural with Knox. Multitudes followed the Queen through those towns, which, as they were covered with thatch, were easily fired. Had one of the French Nobles received all the gifts which were given as presents to the Queen, he would not have enriched France by his opulence." Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 56.—E.]

*Letter from Mr Randolph to Secretary Cecil, 24th
September 1561.¹*

“ MY purpose was not to have written unto your Honour before my man’s return from the Court,² whom I willed to be with me within five days after his departure from me. Since I understand that he is stayed there by the Lord James, about the pursuit of a Scotsman that dwelt 15 years with Mr Rowland, late of Yorkshire, who rob’d him of above L.400 Sterling, being taken for an Englishman, and for Douglas took the name of Dudley: he is now apprehended, and in prison. This man of mine writeth unto me, and I perceive it confirmed by the constant report of diverse, That at Stirling the Queen lying in her bed, having a candle burning by her, being asleep, the curtains and tester took fire, and so was like to have smothered her as she lay. Such as speak much of propheties say, that this is now fulfilled that of old hath been spoken, That a Queen should be burnt at Stirling. Upon Sunday was eight days, viz. the 14th of this instant, her Grace’s devout chaplains in the Chapel Royal would, by the good advice of her trusty servant, Alexander Areskine,³ have sung a high Mass. The Earl of Argle and the Lord James so disturbed the quire,⁴ that some,

¹ Calig. Book X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

² Viz. the Court of the Queen of Scots.

³ [This was probably Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, fourth son of John fourth Lord Erskine, and brother of John Earl of Mar, Regent of Scotland. He was the father of Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, who killed Alexander Ruthven, brother of the Earl of Gowrie, at the explosion of the celebrated Gowrie Conspiracy in August 1600. This Sir Thomas Erskine was created Viscount Fenton in 1606, and Earl of Kellie in 1619. Alexander Erskine is called *Arthur* Erskine by Chalmers (Life of Queen Mary, vol. i. p. 54), who quotes this very letter; but it is apparently an error of the author in the transcription, as he is also designated Arthur Erskine by Knox (Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, folio, p. 292), who describes him as “the most pestilent Papist within the realm.”—E.]

⁴ [“It is a singular fact, which the historians of the Scottish Reformation seem not to have noticed, that the first who began reformation by violence was the *Governor Arran*, who employed his soldiers to deface the religious houses and to expel the monks. But it was reserved for the *Prime Minister* (Lord James Stuart) and the *Justice-General* (the Earl of Argyll) to make a riot in the house which had been dedicated to the service of God, in the Queen’s presence, as we learn from Randolph’s intimations. It does not require any additional proof to show how little

both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears. It was a sport alone for some that were there to behold it. Others there were that shed a tear or two, and made no more of the matter. She lay one night at the Earl of Rothes's. I know not whether it be spoken of truth or malice, but it is said he lost both plate, and something else that was easy to be conveyed.¹ But it is very true, that in those places where they have been, saving in this town, they have paid little for their meat. At St Johnston's she was well received, and presented with a heart of gold full of gold, I know not to what value. She lik'd nothing the pageants there; they did too plainly condemn the errors of the world. As she rode in the street she fell sick,² and was borne from her horse into her lodging, not being far off, with such sudden passions as I hear that she is often troubled with, after any great unkindness or grief of mind. At St Andrews she was upon Sunday; from whence as yet I have not heard: but that I judge to be a lie, that there was a priest slain; this day I lookt to know the truth thereof. It is said that the Earl of Huntly and Lord James greatly discord.³ Some allege the cause to be that the Earl said, If the Queen would command him, he would set up the Mass in three shires. The other answered, That it was past his power; and that he should find, whensoever he gave the

religion, how little morals, how little honour, any men could have who acted thus in the house of God." Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 54.—E.]

¹ ["Yet he (Randolph) does not say, whatever he may insinuate, whether it were the servants, reformed or unreformed, who pilfered his Lordship's plate." Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 54, 55. This Earl of Rothes, whose guest Queen Mary was at Leslie Castle one night, was Andrew fourth Earl, half brother of Norman Leslie called Master of Rothes, one of the murderers of Cardinal Beaton.—E.]

² ["What he (Randolph) did not tell cannot now be told; but it is sufficiently plain that there was something in the pageants that gave the Queen a fit of illness. This, then, is the second example, which shows that the good men of Edinburgh and of Perth, when they wished to do honour to the Queen, studiously offered her an affront." Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 55.—E.]

³ Of this discord our own historians make mention.—[Soon after the Queen's arrival, the Earl of Huntly and Lord James Stuart became mortal enemies. We have numerous instances of their mutual hatred, exclusive of the one mentioned by Randolph to Cecil, in the subsequent history of that time.—E.]

first mint thereunto, to approve the Queen's Proclamation.¹ Upon the 14th of this instant Mr Willock² was admitted Superintendant of Glasgow; the Duke, my Lord of Arran, the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Ruthven, Lord Boyd, and Lord Ochiltree, being present; little I assure you to the contentation of such as thought not to have left either Mr Knox or him in Scotland. In Clidsdale,³ hard under the Duke's nose, one Robert Stewart received the Earl of Montgomery⁴ with a Mass. The Duke saith, he will put him out of that room, or take shame. This is express against the Proclamation. Order is taken by the Queen's direction for payment of the preachers' stipends, and proclamation thereupon. The men-at-arms keep the possession of Montross against the Earl Bothwell and all his friends. Now are they all there taking up of their tithes, both well arm'd and hors'd. Within ten days the Provosts and Baillies of all the burghs in Scotland shall be chosen. The election of the Provosts is the Queen's; the Baillies the Commons.⁵ Of this there is great expectation. Upon Sunday next Mr Knox declareth the duty of

¹ This was a Proclamation by the Queen for continuing the state of religion as she found it at her return.

² [John Willock, or Willox, was originally a Dominican Friar in the town of Ayr, and after his appointment as Reformed Superintendent of Glasgow, he took possession of the Dean's residence in that city, and received L.1000 Scots per annum out of the revenues of the Archbishopric. The facility with which Mr Superintendent Willox received a considerable portion of those revenues is accounted for by the fact, that after Archbishop James Beaton, Cardinal Beaton's nephew, expatriated himself to Paris at the outbreak of the Reformation, the victorious insurgents instituted a legal process against him, and sequestered the whole rental of his Sec.—(History of the Episcopal Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution, by the Editor, Edin. 8vo. 1844, p. 50.) Willox was denounced rebel, for preaching the doctrines of the Reformation at Ayr, on the 10th of May 1559, and Robert Campbell of Kinzeaneleuch, his cautioner, was "at same time amerced." Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. 4to. Edin. 1833, p. 407. This, however, did not deter him from holding a public disputation with John Black, another Dominican Friar, which was keenly maintained for two days in the summer of 1561. Sir James Balfour's Annals, vol. i. p. 325, Lesley, p. 295.—E.]

³ [Now the county of Lanark, but in this case the part of the county in the vicinity of Cadzow Castle and the town of Hamilton.—E.]

⁴ [This must be Hugh Montgomery, third Earl of Eglinton, who succeeded his father the second Earl in 1546, when a minor.—E.]

⁵ Mr Randolph is here in a mistake, for the election of the Provosts was not lodged in the Crown.

all kind of magistrates in a good reformed commonwealth. He hath received your letter sent by the Laird of Lidington, and purposeth to write unto your Honour again by the next.¹

“ I spoke with the L. of Lidington as he passed to the Court :² I know as well be him as otherwise, how much I am beholding unto your Honour ; whensoever I fail to acknowledge the same, I would my life might end. He was as greedy to hear news of this country, as I was desirous to hear of mine. I find that his absence has nothing hindred his credit : He standeth notwithstanding in ticklish terms ; for either must he be reclaimed from the Mass, or his credit with her will hinder his reputation with all others that are honest. This is as well spoken of him that is nearest about her³ as the other. God knoweth what bruits these two sustain of that that they are little guilty of, no less than if her whole power and will rested in their hands. It is suspected that the Lord James seeketh too much his own advancement,⁴ which hitherto little appeareth for any thing that ever he received worth a groat.⁵ It is thought that Lidington is too politick ; and take me these two out of Scotland, and those that love their country shall soon find the want of them.⁶ The Papists bruit them to favour England too well ;⁷ others, that they are too well affectioned to their own ; some judge them too far off from that they would have them at : So that these two alone bear the bruit and brunt of whatsoever is either done, thought or spoken.

“ Other tales there are here a thousand, as, That the Lord of Arran is now in England : Scotsmen’s ships kept both in England and Flanders for the spoils that we made upon Portugal’s. Yesterday there came a Scotsman from

¹ By this we perceive that Secretary Cecil still kept up a correspondence with Mr Knox, not much, it is to be presumed, for the benefit of the Queen.

² I. e. Where the Queen was at the time in her progress. Mr Maitland has made but a short stay in England.

³ I. e. Prior of St Andrews.

⁴ Compare this with Bishop Leslie’s report.

⁵ We shall quickly see how long this holds true.

⁶ They were certainly two men of great parts. But probity and parts are distinct accomplishments.

⁷ Events are the best interpreters of men’s minds. Common bruit is not always groundless.

Tinmouth, that passed to the Court, who reported at Barwick and in this town, That the Queen's horses are stayed that landed there ; how true this is, I know not. It is now said, that all Ireland is lost, and can only tell that Sir James Crofts¹ is slain, who I think is not there. The Secretary to the Portugal Ambassadors hath sped mightily well in his sute ; the letter of marque is called in upon an account, and the Queen hath for her part 8000 ducats. He is returned by sea, because it was put into his head that there was danger by land : He had once my letters unto your Honour, and gave me them again. So soon as I can get the tract of the Inhibition, your Honour shall be further informed of the circumstances thereof. Great inquisition is made for one William Cawte, that spoil'd the Spaniards. The L. of Bargenny appeareth before the Council the 3d day of the next month, because he adjudged it lawful prize. My countryman that was sent from Mr John Baptista is very diligent in the pursuit.—most humbly I take my leave. At Edinburgh, the 24th of September 1561.

“ I am earnestly required to let your Honour understand from Mr Knox, that he hath received your letter sent by the Laird of Lidington, to the which he will make answer at the next——

“ Your Honour's,

“ THO. RANDOLPHE.”

Mr Knox and Buchanan² do both give a very untrue account of an affair they mention in the end of this month, relating to a proclamation against priests, whoremongers, &c. I shall here lay before the readers a more authentic account hereof, from the Register of the Town-Council of Edinburgh.

¹ [This gentleman is repeatedly mentioned by our Historian in his First Book as the correspondent of John Knox. Sir James Crofts, or a-Croft, of Croft Castle in Herefordshire, was a valiant Knight much employed on the English Borders in the reign of Queen Mary of England, who, however, imprisoned him on a charge of being implicated in Wyatt's treason. Queen Elizabeth made him Governor of Berwick and Comptroller of her Household.—E.]

² [See Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, folio, p. 292, 293 ; Buchanan's *Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 202 ; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 284.—E.]

Secundo Octobris 1561.

“THE quhillk day the Provost, Baillies, Counsale, and hale Deekynis,¹ persaving the preistis, monks, freris, and utheris of the wikit rable of the Antechrist the Paip, to resort to this toune, incontrare the tenour of the Proclamatioun maid in the contrair; thairfor ordanis the said Proclamatioun to be proclaymt of new, chargeing all monkis, freris, preistis, nunnys, adulteraris, fornicatouris, and all sic filthy personis, to remove thameselfis of this toun, and bounds thairoff, within 24 hours, under the pane of carting through the toun, byrning on the cheik, and banissing the samyn for evir.”

Perhaps the readers may not be displeased to know concerning the Proclamation here referred to. On the 20th day of September 1560, proclamation was made in the town of Edinburgh, of the Act of the pretended Parliament in the month of August before, bearing this title—“Anent the Messe abolished, and punishing of all that hearis or sayis the samyn,”² as may be seen in the printed Acts of Parliament.³

And on the 24th day of March 1560-1, we find the following Proclamation made in the town of Edinburgh, viz.—“I command and charge in our Soverane Ladie’s name, and in name and behalf of the Lordis of Secreit Counsale, Provost and Baillies of this burgh, that within 18 houreis nixt heireftir, all priestis, monkis, freris, chanonis, nunnis, and utheris of the ungodlie seidis and opinionis, quhillkis hereto-

¹ [The Lord Provost of Edinburgh mentioned was Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, son of Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, in 1520 Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, son of Archibald fifth Earl of Angus, surnamed *Bell-the-Cat*, by his second Countess Catherine, daughter of Sir William Stirling of Keir. Douglas of Kilspindie was again Lord Provost in 1562. Knox mentions the names of two of the Bailies—Edward Hope and Adam Fullerton, but this is at variance with the list printed by Bishop Keith.—E.]

² Perhaps it is from the proclaiming of this Act in the year 1560, that the fore-mentioned two historians would infer the practice to have been customary. But that pretext will not answer the purpose, since besides that here was only the instance of one single year; the Proclamation in the year 1561, adds, “*adulterars, fornicators, and such filly persons*,” of whom nevertheless there is not the least mention in the Act of Parliament; and consequently there was no yearly practice to be pleaded for such a Proclamation.

³ [See Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 335.—E.]

fore hes joisit the prevelege and libertie abovewritten, and hes nocht gevin ther repentance of their former iniquiteis and opinionis; as alsua, all mess-sayaris, and mess-mantenaris, huremongaris, adulteraris and fornicatouris, depesche thame of this toun, fredome, libertie, boundis and suburbis therof, and that thai nathyr hante, resorte, nor frequent sa lang as thai remane obstinat——”

In consequence of the Proclamation emitted by the Magistrates of Edinburgh the 2d day of October 1561, we see the following record of the Town-Council, viz.—“Quinto Octobris, The quhilk day, in presens of the Baillies and Counsale, comperit William Bryse, maser, and presentit the Quenis Grace writing; of the quhilk the tenour follows:—

“REGINA—Weunderstanding that the Provost and Baillies of the burgh of Edinburgh, upoun Friday last bepast, the third day of October instant, sett furth proclamatioun at the merket-croce of oure said burgh, express contrair oure commandment, not makand us privie therto, nor seikand to knaw oure plesoure in sic behalfis: Therfor we ordane and will, commands and charges the Counsale and comunitie of oure said burgh, to convene incontinent within the Tolbuith of oure said burgh, and depryve the Provost and Baillies quha presentlie beirs office therein, of all forthyr bering of office for this instant zeir,¹ and to cheis uthyr qualifeid

¹ The next year we find this record in the Town Council Books, viz. 25th September 1562—“Provost, Baillies, Counsale and Deacons of our burgh of Edinburgh, We greet you weill: Forsameikle as our lovit Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie was Provost of our said burgh of before, quha knawes how to rule your said toun, haveand experience thereof, and to do us service therein, and is able and meit to bruick the said office this next year: Our will is herefore, and we charge you, that yee make the said Archibald one of the Lytis to be chosen Provost to you at Michaelmas nixt to come; and then that yee elect and choise him to be your Provost the said year, conforme to your order observed in sic caises. This yee do, for our will and mind is that the samen be done. Subscrivit with our hand at Couper in Angus the xxi. day of August, and of our Reigne the twenty year. *Sic subscribitur*, MARIE. And after avisement with the said writing, the Provost, Baillies, Council and Assessors foresaids, all in one voce continuut their answer while (*until*) that day viij dayis: Whilk being reported to the said Archibald, askit instruments as said is.” *Note*, This was the Provost whom the Queen caused to be removed the preceding year. Her Majesty has done this, to shew that she bore no ill-will against the man.

personis in thair rowme, as thai will answer to us ther-upoun.

“ *Sequitur subscriptio,*

“ MARIE.”

Octavo Octobris 1561.

“ THE quhilk day the Counsale and Dekyns being within the Tolbuith of this burth, and at the command of our Soveranis writing before writtin, dischargit Archibald Douglas Provest ; and David Forster, Robert Kar, Alexander Home, and Allane Dikerstoun, Baillies, ar dischargit of thair offices : and in thair places, Maister Thomas Makecalzeane¹ Provest ; James Thomsoun, Jhonne Adamsone, Mr Jhonne Marjoribankis, Alexander Achesoun, ar electit and chosin be moniest votes for the zeir to cum.”

“ The samyn day David Somer, in name and behalf of the Counsale and communitie of this burgh, protestit this deprivation, as alswa the new election of the officers above writtin, be not prejudiciall to the fredome and libertie of this burt, and auld ordour of the samyn, grantit be our Soveranis maist noble Progenitours, in electing and chosing of officers, nor stand for preparative in tymes cuming by the plesour of the Prince.”

“ The samyn day the Provost and Baillies foresaid being electit and chosin, Neill Layng, writer, producit ane tiket, direct to the Counsale be the Lard of Lethingtoun, Secreter, as he allegeit, contenyng the names of the Lord Seytoun,² Alexander Arskin,³ and the Laird of Craigmillar,⁴ schewing that wes the Quenis Grace mynd, that ane of thai thre sould be chosin Provost : Quhilk being producit befor the said Counsall, all in ane vote, in respect this ticket contenit bot

¹ [Thomas Maccalzean of Cliftonhall.—E.]

² [George fifth Lord Seton, a determined follower of Queen Mary in all her misfortunes, father of the first Earl of Winton and the first Earl of Dunfermline, and grandfather of the sixth Earl of Eglinton.—E.]

³ [The same mentioned by Randolph to Cecil in his letter of the 24th September 1561. See the preceding note, p. 85 of this volume.—E.]

⁴ [Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, a castle now in ruins three miles south of Edinburgh, near the road to Dalkeith. He was Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1565 to 1569.—E.]

thre names without onye subscription, and that thai had electit thair officeurs before the presenting of the said ticket, according to our Soveranis writing of before ; thought gude to pass to hir Grace incontinent, and declair quhat thai had done alreedy, and quhat hir Grace wald forthyr command thame tuiching the saids names, in case the officears ellis chosin plesit not hir Grace, that thai wald obey."

" The samyn day David Kinloch Dekyn, of the Baxtaris,¹ askit instruments, that he wald obey the Quenis Grace mynd towart the thre names in the tiket before writtin. And Thomas Hog, cordner,² askit instrumentis, that he wald do as the gude man David Kinloch did."

From this authentick account of this whole proceeding, the readers can't fail to be surprised with the unfair representation thereof by the two forementioned historians ; seeing it was not true that it was *customary* to make such a proclamation at this time of the year ; it was not true that the Magistrates were put in prison, or so much as desired by the Queen to be put in prison ;³ it was not true that there was resistance made to the Queen's desire of making a new election, and consequently that she had no room left for a charge upon charge to command a new election ; it was not true, by all we can see, either in the Registers of the Privy-Council, or Town-Council of Edinburgh, that the Queen emitted at this time any proclamation at all. But besides the untruth of their representations, the virulence wherewith they adorn their narration cannot miss to be offensive to all unprejudiced readers. If either of

¹ [Or Bakers, one of the fourteen Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh.—E.]

² [Or Shoemaker. The Cordiners are also one of the fourteen Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh.—E.]

³ [Knox's story, which Bishop Keith most properly contradicts, is, that " without farther cognition of the cause, were the said Provost (Douglas of Kilspindie) and Bailyes charged to ward in the Castle." Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, folio, p. 293. Buchanan pretends that when Queen Mary was informed of the obnoxious proclamation of the civic authorities, she " committed the Magistrates to prison without hearing them." Historia Rerum Scotticarum, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 202 ; Translation, edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 284.—E.]

these two thought that the *wicked* and the *devil* were only to be found among the Papists at that time, and that the novel Professors were all *angelical* persons. I am suspicious they have laboured under a huge mistake; witness the scandalous enormities of some leading men both in the Church and State. The Queen therefore had very good reason to be displeased with the Magistrates, for enumerating in the list of whoremongers, adulterers, &c. those that were priests and nuns; because they plainly thereby instigated the minds of the populace against herself, and those that adhered to the ancient forms; as if for that very thing alone, they had been vicious and profligate persons. Some of those whom Mr Knox is pleased to dignify by the appellation of *Professors* and *godly, chosen* and *elect*, were men of as bad lives as had ever been before. The *new opinions* did not introduce a *new life*. This practice, however, was not peculiar to that period only; for nothing has been more ordinary since that time, than to jumble together the names of such persons as must be rendered odious, with Devils, Atheists, Papists, Malignants, and other godless wretches. Such expressions have been found to be of great use, by their influence upon the thoughtless part of mankind.

*A Letter from Mr Randolph to Sir William Cecil, 24th
October 1561.¹*

"I TRUST that your Honour—Two days past I was desired by Mr Knox to write unto your Honour in the favour of two merchant-men of this town, for the Q. Majestie's passport into Flanders, by whom your Honour shall be informed by mouth from him, what is judged like to ensue of the progress of the doings here. These I have commended unto your Honour as my friends. The occasion of the change of the Provost and Baillies of this town, they can report (for that their part was therein) better than I can write—

"So soon as I had received your Honour's letters, I advertised the Lord James, that somewhat I had to say unto his Lordship before that I would desire audience of the Q. Majestie his Sovereign: My purpose was to know of him, whether that the Q. would take it in no evil part, if I

¹ Calig. Book X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

presented to her Grace, at my next coming unto her, the Accord at the Assembly at Poissy in the controversy upon the Sacrament. He encouraged me boldly to it, thereunto assuring me that she would accept it well. The Oration of Beza¹ that I gave unto her Grace before, she read (as he saith) to the end. I concluded thus with him, lest that I should seem of purpose to tempt her, or too boldly to behave myself in matters that were above my charge, and so dash my credit at the first; I thought best to give his Lordship the copy to use as he thought good. That night after

¹ [This appears to have been "An Oration made by Master Theodore de Beze, Minister of the Word of God, accompanied with xi. other Ministers, and xx. Deputies of the Reformed Churches of the Realme of Fraunce, in the presence of the King, the Queen-Mother, the King of Nauarre, the Princes of Conde and of La Roche-sur-yon, Monsieur de Guise, the Constable, and other great Princes and Lordes of the King's Counsel; being alsoe present vi. Cardinales, xxxvi. Archbishops and Bishops, besides a great number of Abbots, Priours, Doctors, and the Sorbone, and other Schooles, Tuesday the ix. Sept. 1561, in the Noonny of Poissi. Truly gathered and set forth in such sorte, as it was spoken by the said de Beze." It was published at London in 1561, 8vo. A copy was sent to Randolph at Edinburgh, and presented by him to Queen Mary, and in his letter to Cecil we find him stating, on the authority of Lord James Stuart, that she had read the work. Beza conformed to the Calvinistic doctrines in 1548, when he fled to Geneva, and publicly solemnized his marriage with a woman of birth inferior to his own, but possessed, he declares, of such virtue that he never found reason to repent of the connection. He had previously either privately married this lady, or was engaged to marry her publicly as soon as certain obstacles were removed, and in the meantime he refused in consequence to enter into holy orders in the Church of Rome. Beza became a preacher in 1559, and at Calvin's request was admitted a citizen of Geneva, after a residence of ten years at Lausanne, whither he had retired after his first visit to the former city. In 1559 or 1560, Beza undertook a journey to Nerac at the request of some of the leading French Protestant Nobility, in the hope of gaining over to their opinions the King of Navarre, or of inducing him to interfere in mitigating the persecution to which the French Protestants were then exposed. He remained at Nerac till the beginning of 1561, and at the request of the King of Navarre he attended the Conference of Poissy, opened in August that year to effect a reconciliation between the Church of Rome and the French Protestants. Beza was the chief speaker, and though some of his opinions and expressions were violently controverted, he conducted himself with ability and moderation, making a favourable impression on Catherine de Medici and the Cardinal of Lorraine. He remained some time in France at the request of the former, who entreated him to return to his native country. His "Second Oration at Poissy, in the presence of the Quene-Mother," &c. was published in 8vo. in 1563. —E.]

supper he presented it unto her. She doubted first of the sincerity thereof; I was alledged to have received it from your Honour. Many disputes, I heard say, rose that night upon it. The Q. said, she could not reason, but that she knew what she ought to believe. The Marquis (Elbeuf) affirm'd, that he never thought Christ to be otherwise in the Sacrament than it was there written; but yet doubteth not but the Mass is good. Against that much was said, but little good done.

“The next day I was sent for into the council-chamber, where she herself ordinarily sitteth the most part of the time, sowing some work or other. She saith unto me thus—‘These three days I have done nothing else but devised with my Council how to daunt the thieves and robbers upon the Borders. I have charged the Lord Home¹ to do your countrymen justice: if he do otherwise, I will be ill contented therewith, and see it reformed. You know,’ saith she, ‘that I am now in hand to send the Lord James, and some other Lords, to the Borders, or that purpose. Wherefore I pray you report well of my mind, and find the means that proclamation may be made as I spake unto you, that no thieves be received within England; for otherwise it will be in vain whatever I purpose against them. You have also the bill of complaint of the Master of Maxwell,² which I pray you procure to be answered.’ After these purposes, the Council being dissolved, I offered myself, as she was departing out of the chamber, to speak to her Grace: ‘I will,’ saith she, ‘talk with you apart in the garden.’ So soon as she came there, she saith to me—‘How like you this country? you have been in it a good space, and know it well enough.’ My answer was, That the country was good, and the policy might be made much

¹ [Alexander Home, fifth Lord Home, father of Alexander first Earl of Home. His Lordship was Warden of the East Marches, and was one of the Scottish Commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Upsettlington in May 1559.—E.]

² [This appears to have been Sir John Maxwell, second son of Robert fourth Lord Maxwell. He was Guardian of the West Marches, and was one of the ambassadors sent from the Lords of the Congregation to arrange a treaty with the Duke of Norfolk on the part of Queen Elizabeth. Sir John Maxwell makes a prominent figure in Scottish history as Lord Herries, and was most loyally devoted to Queen Mary.—E.]

better. ‘The absence,’ saith she, ‘of a Prince hath caused it to be worse, but yet is it not like unto England.’ I answered, That there were many in the world worse than her Grace’s, that were thought right good; but I judged few better than England, which I trusted that sometime after her Grace should witness. ‘I would be content therewith,’ said she, ‘if my sister, your mistress, so like.’¹ I said, That it was the thing that many of her Grace’s subjects did desire, and, as I judged, would also well content my mistress. Of this purpose we had long talk. Many honourable words she spake of the Q. Majestie, in receiving and entertaining of all noble States. She remembred her mother’s passage through England, and commended again the good reception that her uncle the Grand-Prior and Mons. d’Anville had at Barwick. From this we entred in communing of the occasion of the stay of her horses. She said herself—‘That she took it no fault; and if any were, she was assured that it proceeded not from the Q. Majestie my mistress, but rather that the Warden who stayed them did it to avoid blame, seeing they had no passport. And though,’ saith she, ‘it is daily told me, that the Queen my sister intendeth not to deal with me but under colour; yet I assure you, I believe it not, and give no thanks unto them for their reports.’ I commended her Majestie for the judgment that she had of such men; I desir’d her to conceive of the Q. my mistress as in all her life she had had shewed herself in word and deed, as well to her Grace as all others that ever she had to do with. She saith—‘That there shall be no such thing in her, that the reports of any shall move her to take other thoughts, than that the Q. Majestie is determined to live in peace and amity, as she for her part doth heartily desire.’ This purpose fell in upon the report of Livingston, Master of her Horses, who said, That Sir John Forster would not deliver them; but the Grand-Prior and Mons. d’Anville must be bound for them *corps et biens*, which in my conscience is falsly reported, and yet am I sure that he spake it. He also bruited, that there were to come 300 soldiers to Barwick out of hand. I durst not for that present, for

¹ This, I believe, is the first time that an interview betwixt the two Queens was motion’d.—[Our Historian is here in error, for we have seen, in a preceding Chapter, that interviews between the two Queens had been repeatedly projected.—E.]

fear of disclosing of my author, say what I thought ; my heart burnt to leave it unspoken. I said, that of such reports she should have good store ; but the more she believed, the greater should be her own pain to live in suspicion, and grief in the end to find how many false reporters and flatterers her Grace had about her. I hear also, that the Earl of Huntley tickleth her in the ear with some untruths.

“ She asked me after this—‘ What news I heard of late out of France ?’ I confirmed that, that the Lord James had shewed her of the Accord. I find no great liking in her that way. In long purpose of this matter, and other like, she saith—‘ That she trusteth that the Q. her sister will not take the worse with her, that she is not resolved in conscience in those matters that are in controversy, seeing it is neither of will nor obstinacy against God and His Word.’ I said, That I was glad to hear that of her Grace, that she was not wilfully disposed, and trusted that I should see both her Grace and the Q. Grace my mistress in one mind and accord, as well in that as other matters. I guess that she spoke that upon this occasion some have of late reasoned, whether a Princee that professeth Christ may enter in league with one of a contrary belief and religion. This is but my conjecture.

“ I told her Grace also of the kindness that had been of late shewed by her uncles the Duke and Cardinal to the Q. Majestie. She was very glad to hear thereof, and promised that she would be a means to continue it. ‘ Next,’ saith she, ‘ unto the King their sovereign and master, I would that my uncles should bear good-will unto the Q. your mistress : You know how sibb we are, and our kindness must be increased.’ I gave her good words to the answer hereof—I receive of her Grace at all times very good words. I am born in hand by such as are nearest about her, as the L. James and the L. of Lidington, that they are meant as they are spoken : I see them above all others in credit, and find in them no alteration, tho’ there be that complain, that they yeild too much unto her appetite ; which yet I see not. The Lord James dealeth according to his nature, rudely, homely, and bluntly ; the L. of Lidington more delicately and finely, yet nothing swerveth from the other in mind and effect. She is patient to hear,

and beareth much.¹ The Earl Marischal is wary, but speaketh sometimes to good purpose; his daughter² is lately come to this town: We look shortly what shall become of the long love (betwixt the Lord James and that lady). The Lord John of Coldingham hath not least favour with his leaping and dancing; he is like to marry the Lord Bothwell's sister.³ The Lord Robert consumeth with love of the Earl of Cassil's sister.⁴ The Earl Bothwell hath given unto him old lands of his father's in Teviendale,⁵ and the Abbay of Melross. The Duke's Grace is come to Kinneill,⁶ and purposeth not to come near unto the Court, except that he be sent for. I hear of nothing that is purposed against him; it is thought that he may be well enough spared. My Lord Arran purposeth not to be at Court so long as the Mass remaineth:⁷ There came few to

¹ Mr Knox, nor Mr Buchanan, never said so much to her Majesty's advantage. If she had had a friendly Council about her, she might have prov'd an excellent Princess.

² [Lady Anne Keith, eldest daughter of William fourth Earl Marischal, married in 1561 to Lord James Stuart, and after his assassination, when Regent Moray, at Linlithgow, to Colin sixth Earl of Argyll.—E.]

³ [Lord John Stuart, Prior of Coldingham, was one of the illegitimate sons of James V. by Elizabeth daughter of John Lord Carmichael, and brother of Lady Janet Stuart, the wife of Archibald fifth Earl of Argyll, an illegitimate daughter of that monarch by the same mother. Lord John Stuart married Lady Jean Hepburn, only daughter of Patrick third Earl of Bothwell, and father of the notorious Earl. The marriage was solemnized at Seton on the 4th of January 1561-2, in presence of Queen Mary. The offspring was Francis Stuart, the turbulent Earl of Bothwell in the reign of James VI.—E.]

⁴ [Lord Robert Stuart, an illegitimate son of James V. by Euphemia second daughter of Alexander first Lord Elphinstone, who was killed at the battle of Flodden. Lord Robert was appointed Abbot of Holyroodhouse. He married Lady Jane or Janet Kennedy, elder daughter of Gilbert third Earl of Cassillis, the pupil of Buchanan, celebrated by him in an epitaph, and by Johnston in his *Heroes*. Lord Robert Stuart, who became a zealous Reformer in 1559, exchanged the Abbey of Holyroodhouse for the temporalities of the Bishopric of Orkney with Adam Bothwell, the renegade Bishop of that See, in 1569, and was created Earl of Orkney by James VI. in 1581.—E.]

⁵ [The part of Roxburghshire forming the vale of the Teviot, which rises on the confines of Dumfriesshire, and joins the Tweed at Kelso.—E.]

⁶ [Kinneil House, near Borrowstowness in Linlithgowshire, on the south shore of the Frith of Forth. By the "Duke's Grace" is meant the Duke of Chatellherault, the only Duke then in Scotland, father of James third Earl of Arran immediately mentioned.—E.]

⁷ [James third Earl of Arran, eldest son of James second Earl and first

it, but herself, her uncle and train. Three causes, I perceive, there are that move my Lord Arran to absent himself; the one is, the Mass; the other, the presence of his enemy;¹ the third, lack wherewith to maintain a port. By the first, he maintaineth his credit with the precise Protestants; the other argueth less courage in him than many men thought, that his enemy is yet alive to have that place which he is unworthy of; the third manifesteth unto the world the beastliness of his father, that more than money hath neither faith nor God.

"The Lords now begin to return to the Court; the Bishops flock apace: The Metropolitan of St Andrews arrived here on Munday last with 80 horses in train; and to be seen, he rode half a mile out of his way, and rode through the whole High Street of Edinburgh. We know not yet what mischief he and his associates come for; he had with him only two Hamiltons: The Abbot of Kilwinning² met him here the first night, but came not with him. I have given the book that your Honour sent me,³ to have more printed. The Accord of the Sacrament is also

Duke of Chatelherault and his Duchess-Countess, Lady Margaret Douglas, eldest daughter of James third Earl of Morton. He succeeded his father in the title of Arran, which he previously held by courtesy in 1575, but the Dukedom of Chatelherault was resumed by the Crown of France, and he was consequently denuded of it. In 1560, he was recommended by the Lords of the Congregation to Queen Elizabeth as a suitable husband. The "Commission of the Estates to move Queen Elizabeth to take the Earl of Arran to her husband," and the "Queen's Majestic's Answer," declared to her Counsell, concerninge the Requests of the Lords of Scotland," are inserted by our Historian in the first Chapter of the present volume. After the arrival of Queen Mary the Earl of Arran aspired to her hand, and yet, while professing the strongest and most ardent attachment to her, he most absurdly and imprudently alienated her favour by refusing to allow her the conscientious exercise of her religion. He was the only person of distinction who acted in this manner, and by his public protestation he entirely forfeited the Queen's favour. The parsimony of his father, who refused to allow him a sum adequate to support his dignity as the next heir to the throne, and his disappointed love, rendered him at last insane, in which state he was declared to be by a Chancery Brief. He died without issue in 1609. See Tytler's History of Scotland, Edin. 1842, small edit. vol. vi. p. 255.—E.]

¹ [Apparently the Earl of Huntly is indicated.—E.]

² Gavin Hamilton.

³ [Probably Beza's Oration. See the previous note in this Chapter, p. 95.—E.]

translated, and copies given to divers. The Q. herself saw that you sent me, she read it in the garden walking in the sight of many; she said, that it was a *French* hand, and I affirmed it to be that that came from thence unto your Honour, to give it the more authority. She ask'd whether her uncle the Cardinal's Oration was printed: I said, that I lookt daily for it—I am now more uncertain than before when St Colme¹ taketh his journey towards France: It is said here, that there cometh shortly an Ambassador from thence, hither. The Marquis² hath his table allowed 50 shill. sterl. the day; he offendeth many by his liberal talk. Mr Knox cannot be otherwise perswaded but many men are deceived in this woman; he feareth yet that *posteriora erunt pejora primis*; his severity keepeth us in marvellous order. I commend better the success of his doings and preachings than the manner thereof,³ tho' I acknowledge his doctrine to be sound: His prayer is daily for her—'That God will turn her obstinate heart against God and His truth; or, if the Holy Will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hands of His chosen and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants,' &c., in words terrible

¹ This was James Stewart, a descendent of the Family of Ochiltree, and created afterwards Lord Doun.—[Sir James Stewart of Doune, eldest son of Sir James Stewart of Beath, third son of Andrew Lord Avondale and Margaret eldest daughter of John third Lord Lindsay of Byres, was Commendator of St Colm, a monastery on the island so called in the Frith of Forth opposite Aberdour. He was served heir to his father in 1560, and was created Lord Doune in November 1561. His eldest son James, by his wife Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter of Archibald fourth Earl of Argyll, was appointed by James VI. ward of the two daughters, the only children of the Regent Moray, and in 1580 married Lady Elizabeth Stuart, the elder daughter, by which matrimonial connection he assumed the title of Earl of Moray. He is known in history by the sobriquet of the *Bonnie Earl of Moray*, and the gossip of the age asserts that he was a peculiar favourite of Anne of Denmark, the Queen of James VI. He was murdered among the rocks near Donibristle House in Fife, on the night of the 7th or 8th of February 1591-2, by George sixth Earl of Huntly, his declared enemy, on the pretence that he was a confederate of Francis the turbulent Earl of Bothwell, against whom and his associates James VI. had issued a commission. The *Bonnie Earl of Moray* had two sons and three daughters by Lady Elizabeth Stuart, and the elder of the former succeeded as Earl of Moray, from whom the subsequent Earls are lineally descended.—E.]

² [The Marquis D'Elbœuf, Queen Mary's uncle.—E.]

³ The unmannerliness of Mr Knox could be agreeable to no body.

enough——Most humbly I take my leave, the 24th of October 1561.

“Your Honour’s always bounden,

“THO. RANDOLPHE.”

In this preceding letter we are given to understand the Queen’s intention to chastise the thieves and robbers, who infested the more southern parts of the kingdom. The want of a regular government had mightily increased the insults and depredations of those loose and dissolute rogues, and now it was found absolutely necessary to take some legal and severe course by them. And our Queen did very wisely desire of the Queen of England that her Majesty would take care not to allow these robbers to get shelter within her kingdom, because otherwise it was an easy matter for them to fly into the next Borders of *England*, and so escape the punishment of the *Scottish* laws. The Queen and Council had determined to have a very solemn Court of Justice holden at Jedburgh for trying the robbers, and the Queen’s brother, Lord James, the tow’ring favourite, was pitched upon to be the Lord Justice.¹ Our two historians of that time take care, after their usual manner, to impose their own malicious

¹ [Lord James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews, was created Earl of Mar by Queen Mary previous to his marriage to Lady Anne Keith, daughter of the Earl Marischal. It will be recollected that the Prior’s mother, afterwards Lady Margaret Douglas of Lochleven, was the younger daughter of John fourth Lord Erskine, properly fifth Earl of Mar of the surname of Erskine. The Earldom of Mar was at this time in abeyance, and indeed, the Family of Erskine had been kept out of it for one hundred and thirty years. The Prior retained the Earldom only a short period, and it was at last restored to its rightful proprietor, John fifth Lord Erskine, in 1563. Previous to this Queen Mary rewarded the services of her illegitimate brother in his Border crusade by granting him a charter of the Earldom, he being maternally descended from the Family of Erskine, on the 7th of February 1561-2. Mr Tytler thus describes his first official expedition to the Borders :—“The Lord James exhibited an example of prompt and severe justice upon the Borders. Proceeding to Jedburgh and Dumfries, with an army which rendered opposition useless, he pursued the thieves into their strongholds, razed their towns to the ground, hanged twenty of the most notorious offenders, sent fifty more in chains to Edinburgh, and in a meeting with the English Wardens, Lord Grey and Sir John Foster, restored order and good government to the Marches. MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Lord James to Cecil, 8th Nov. 1561.” Tytler’s History of Scotland, Edin. edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 248, 249. See

constructions upon the Queen's intentions herein ; and that they may put it in the most plausible dress (though indeed there can hardly appear any foundation for their reflections), they both tell the story in such sort, as if that gentleman, instead of being sent to sit as judge in a court, and represent his royal sovereign, had been by her devoted to destruction, by exposing his person, unguarded, to a merciless set of murderers. And Mr Buchanan, in order to magnify the danger into which he pretends his patron was now thrown, calls these robbers, *inhabitants of the English Borders*, than which nothing could be more false. And he says, the Queen's Court was at this time immers'd in vice ; upon which account her brother's innocent behaviour was distasteful to her, and therefore she sent him upon this errand, to get herself rid of him. But this author's assertion had passed better in the eyes of other people, if the English Resident, who was at bottom no friend to our Queen, had given any ground for this aspersion in his letters.¹ To

also the Letter, Randolph to Cecil, 7th December 1561, in the following Chapter.—E.]

¹ Mr Knox tells frankly, that masking began at Lord James's marriage, which from year to year hath continued since ; and Mr Buchanan himself owns, that there was at that marriage *immoderate luxury*. Yet the first of these authors says of that Lord, that "the image of God was in him ;" and the other, that "he could not endure the Queen's loose way of *living*." Strange ! that this man should have been such a restraint upon the Queen in her luxury, and yet tolerate the same in himself.—[Lord James Stuart, the newly created Earl of Mar, was married to Lady Agnes Keith in St Giles' church at Edinburgh in February 1561-2. We are told by Knox (Historie, Edin. edit. folio, 1732, p. 302), that after the ceremony was performed, the person who officiated—probably Knox himself—gave them both "ane admonitioun to behave themselves moderately in all things ;" and the bridegroom was thus addressed—"Unto this day has the Kirk of God resaved comfort by you, and by your labours ; in the quhilk, if hereafter ye shall be fund fainter than that ye were before, it will be said that your wife has changed your nature." The marriage was celebrated with such splendour that the apprehensions of the preachers were roused. "The greatness of the banquet," says Knox, "and the vanity used thereat, offended many godly ; there began the masking, quhilk from year to year has continued since." The utmost clamour was excited against the riotous feasting and banquets on this occasion, but the virulence of the preachers was particularly directed against the masquerades, till then unknown in Scotland, with which such a pious personage as Lord James Stuart was reputed to have amused his friends. "At this notable marriage," says Randolph to Cecil, "one thing there was which I must

give a true insight in this whole affair, and to remove the unjust representation thereof, I shall think myself obliged to set down here the Acts of Privy Council relating thereunto; and by these the reader will be able to form a proper judgment of it from the first to the last.

*Apud Palatium Reginae prope Edinburgum, 13. Octobris,
Anno 1561.*

*SEDERUNT Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Willelmus Marescallus
Comes, Jacobus Comes de Bothuell, Jacobus Commendatarius
perpetuus Prioratum, Sti Andreæ et Pittenweime.*

“IT is statute and ordanit be the Quenis and Lordis of hir Seceit-Counsale aboue writtin, That ane Justice-Court be set and haldin in Jedburgh, and ane other in Dumfreis, als haistalie as can be possible; and the Justice-Court of Jedburgh to be haldin the 15th day of November nixttocum, and the Justice-Clerk to ordoure the samyn as becummis him of his office: And als, That Letters be direct to charge all the Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Gentilmen, Landitmen, and Frehaldaris within the boundis of Edinburgh principale, and within the Constabularie of Hadingtoun, Linlythgow, Strivilling, Clackmannane, Kynross, Fyfe, Berwick, Peblis, Selkirk, and Roxburgh, that thai with their substancious housaldis, weil bodin in feir of weir, in thair maist substancious maner, meit James Commendator of Saint-androis and Pittenweim, Lieutenant, at Lauder, the 13th day of November nixttocum, and pass fordwart with him to Jedburgh, for the effaris concernyng the commone-weill of the Realme, and thair to remaine for the space of 20 dayis eftir thair cuming to Jedburgh, under the pane of tinsale of lyfe, landis, and gudis.

“Forsamekle as the Quenis Majestie having, at hir hame-

testify with my own hand, which is, that upon Shrove Tuesday, at night, sitting among the Lords at supper in sight of the Queen, and placed for that purpose, she drank unto the Queen's Majesty, and sent me the cup of gold. After supper, in giving her Majesty thanks, she uttered, in many affectionate words, her desire of amity and perpetual kindness with the Queen, and returned and talked long with me thereof in the hearing of the Duke and the Earl of Huntly.” MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 12th Feb. 1561-2. Tytler's History of Scotland, Edin. edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 258.—E.]

cuming, fundin hir Realme in gude peax with all hir nytboris, is of mynd to interteny the samyn be all meanes, and thair-withall to conserve the liegis of hir Realme in quietnes; Nottheless ane pairt of hir subjectis duelland neir the Bordouris being, as weill apperis be thair proceedingis, impacient of all gude ordoure, be brekking of the cuntrie, intendis to disturb the commone tranquillite, making continuale heirschippis, stowthis, and reiffis upoun uther peaceable subjectis dwelland in the incuntrie; quhillkis disordouris hir Majestie cannot suffer unpunissit: For repressing of the quhilks enormiteis, hir Hienes hes commandit ane Justice-Court to be affixit and holdin in the Tolbuith of Jedburgh the 15th day of November nixttocum, and quhairunto hir Hienes will direct —— with hir commissioun and power: And finding, be avyss of the Lordis of hir Secreit-Counsale, necessarie for executioun of hir Hienes commandement and service in yat behalf, yat hir Justice be weill accompanyit, and hir autoritie sufficiently fortifeit be concurrence of ane gude power of hir faithfull subjectis: Thairfoir hir Majestie, be advyss foirsaid, ordanis letteris to be direct to the shireffis of Edinburgh principale, and within the Constabularie of Hadingtoun, Linlythgow, Striviling, Clakmannan, Kinroschyre, Fyfe, Berwik, Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peblis, and yair deputis, and to officiaris of the Quenis shireffis in yat part, chargeing yame to pass to the mercat-croces of the heid-burrowis of the schiris foirsaidis, and utheris places neidfull, and yair be oppin proclamatioun in oure Soverane Ladeis name and autorite, command and charge all and sundrie, Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Frehaldaris, Landitmen, and utheris Gentilmen duelland within the saids schirefdomes, That thai, and ilk ane of yame, with yair kin, freindis, servandis and houshaldmen, weill bodin in feir of weir, in yair maist substancious maner, with 20 dayis vittalis and provisioun, meit said at Lauder, ye day of November nixt to cum; and fra thyns, to pass fordward with him in cumpany to the burgh of Jedburgh, yair to remaine during the said space of 20 dayis, and to ressave sik directioun and command as sal be gevin be him to yame in oure Soverane Ladeis name, for quietnes of the cuntre, and put the samyn to executioun, under the pane of tinsale of lyfe, landis, and gudis.”

Apud dictum Palatium, 12th Novembris, Anno 1561.

Followis the Instructionis gevin be the Quenis Majestie to my Lord James, to be usit be him, and as he thinkis expedient, be the adleyss of the Counsale present with him, in the Proceedingis at the Justice-Court, now to be haldin by continuatioun, to the 15th day of this instant month of November 1561, at Jedburgh.

“ IN the first, —

“ Item, Gif it be thoct expedient be the said Lord James, be the adyuss of the Counsale being present with him in ony part yairof the tyme of his remaning in Jedburgh, yat ony persone or personis dissobedient within the boundis of the myddil Mercheis, or utheris partis, be riddin on and invadit be fyre and swerd, the samyn to be als lauchfullie done as gif speciale Commissioun wer gevin under the Quenis Majesties Greit Seill, to do the samyn upoun every particular, yair partakeris, assistaris or adheraris: And to asage houses, and gif yai be haldin, to east down the samyn, as sal be thoct gude be him; and quhatsumever thing yat happynis to be done by fyre, slachter, taking of gudes, presonaris, or uttherwyss in yat behalf, na persone nor personis subjectis of this Realme to have action yairfoir nowther criminalie nor civilie, bot ye said Lord James, or quhatsumever utheris being with him, or at his command doand the premissis, to be fre of all the actionis fairsaids, with power to him to direct letteris in oure said Soveranis name, to charge all and sundry ye inhabitantis of the said mydil Merchis, and utheris partis adjacent yairto, to concur with him, to the effect fairsaid, under the pane of deid: And ordanis the Signet to answer letteris upoun his deliverance, and twa of the Counsallis hand-writtis, to the effect fairsaid, or any uyer effaris concernyng the weill of the cuntre durenng his residence yair.

“ Item, Gif it sal be thoct gude to the said Lord James to wryt to the Wardanis of England, or any utheris havand Commissioun of the Quene of England, for the weill of this Realme, and kepyng of the samyn, and liegis yairof in quietness, that he——wryt to yat effect, as he sal think expedient: And als, with power to the said Lord James to

charge the Wardanis of all the Merchis of this Realme, and utheris havand charge within ye samyn, to do in all thingis, for the suppressing of malefactoris as he sal charge yame, and as thai will answer to oure said Soverane upoun yair allegiance and particular bandis; with certificatioun to yame, and yai falze, yai sal be accusit yairfoir, as gif yai wer chargit be oure said Soverane in particular.

“ Item, Gif ony persone or personis happynis to be conviet at the said Justice-Court for quhatsumevir cryme, giff the said Lord James thinkis yame to be replaitit, and ye executioun yairof to be continewit, for the better executioun of justice, That he continew the samyn, and transport, and causs the personis foirsaidis to be transportit to the burgh of Edinburgh, or sik uthir place he pleissis, quhile oure Soveranis mynd be knawin thairintill.

“ Item, Gif ony persone or personis being at the horne, or fugitive fra the lawis, with quhome he may not, without danger, intercommune with yame; That he speik and intercommone, and causs utheris quhome he pleissis name, intercommone with thame, for the weill of the countre, and furtherance of the executioun of justice, als oft as he sal think expedient, for the quhilk yai sal incur na skayth nor danger in tyme to cum.

“ Item, Quhatsumevir uther thingis the said Lord James, be ye avyss of the maist part of the Lordis of ye Secrete Counsale being with him, happynis to do, and put to executioun, for the weill of ye countre, ye samyn sal be haldin als lauchfullie done as gif speciale Commissioun wer gevin to him or yame, upoun every point and partiele yairof, in the maist ample form under the Greit Seill.

“ Quhilkis Instructionis the Quenis Majestie ordanis to be insert in the Bukis of Privie Counsale, and to have the strenth of ane Act yairof, and to remane yairin *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*.”

Now, by these original Records we perceive, that the Lord James was one of the Council who appointed this Justice-Court: He was not therefore put into the Commission against his own inclination, nor did the Queen, by her sovereign authority, send him away. We see likewise the great force and pomp wherewith he was surrounded; even

so great, that perhaps, had it not been to do him the more honour, one half thereof might have been spar'd. And I may with great confidence affirm, that there was not *then*, nor is *now*, any subject within the limits of Scotland, that would be afraid of his life, to go in company of, and be guarded by so many attendants, all in arms. And in general, the readers will easily observe, by the corrections which I have made from original Records, of almost all the facts hitherto touched by Mr Buchanan and Mr Knox, which bear any relation to their Sovereign the Queen, how grossly, if not maliciously, they have deborded from the truth, and how little ground posterity has to rely upon their representations in other facts, when supported by no better authority than theirs.¹

¹ [The charge of profligacy, which Knox and Buchanan repeatedly bring against Queen Mary's Court without any sufficient reason, must be received with great caution, when we consider that both were her avowed enemies. As to the preachers generally, though honourable exceptions might be produced, "all," says a writer, "were deep politicians. If one preached sedition, he quoted authorities from Scripture. If he interfered in the privacy of families, he maintained his privilege of checking vice. Causes too trifling for repetition they debated as earnestly as matters of the highest importance. Punishment, and the mode of inflicting it, occupied more attention than the manner of repressing crimes." In a letter from Randolph to Cecil, which is inserted in the following Chapter, we have a remarkable instance of the inconsistency of the preachers, in allowing the Earl of Arran, one of their greatest champions, to live in a state of open and unchallenged incontinence, merely because he was a determined enemy to the celebration of the Roman Catholic ritual, which was still the established religion of the Kingdom. Knox records, without the slightest censure on Arran, the clamours they raised about the nocturnal rambles of three Noblemen, who "played the riot" at a house of questionable repute in St Mary's Wynd, where they had at a previous visit been cordially received, simply because the amorous dalliance of the Earl had been interrupted.—E.]

CHAPTER III.

A CONTINUATION OF STATE AFFAIRS UNTILL THE END OF
THIS YEAR.

As on the one hand the scarcity of matter afforded by our historians, and on the other by the misrepresentations imposed by them, have obliged me to make use of a great many original Papers, to supply the first, and rectify the second, by which means the contents of this period are extended to a very great bulk, I have therefore made here a new break besides what I intended, with purpose to contribute thereby in some sort to the relaxation of my readers.

Here follow some original letters which discover unto us the remaining transactions of this year.

A Letter from Mr Randolph to Sir William Cecil,
11th November 1561.¹

“ IN such matters as of late I have had to do before this Queen and her Council, I have informed my Lords of the Q. Majestie’s Honourable Council; whereof your Honour, for the place you are in, cannot be ignorant——The absence of the Duke’s Grace from this Court caused here such bruit and rumors among the people, of his misliking of the Queen’s proceedings, with somewhat else that they unadvisedly reported, that was meant towards him, that he was advised by his friends to repair unto this town, and by his presence make void all such vain talk, as was here in many men’s mouths. Upon Tuesday last, the 4th of this instant, he came into this town; upon Wednesday he saw the Queen, and was well received, and, as he confesseth himself unto me, no manner of occasion offered unto him by the Queen of misliking. Since that time he hath been daily in Court and Council; howbeit his purpose is not to remain here above 6 or 7 days more. He doubteth greatly that the Queen intendeth to take from him Dumbritton; and so thinketh himself void of all place of succour, if this Queen

¹ Calig. Book X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

intend at any time to take quarrel against him: ‘For,’ saith he, ‘whenever she has *that* out of my hands, I know that her mind towards me and my House cannot be good: I will therefore assure myself, by all means that I can, to keep *that*; which,’ saith he, ‘I shall not be able to do, except your mistress at that time stand a gracious Princess unto me, who hath promised me, by letters, never to see me nor my House wreck’d.’¹ Tho’ I know that he doubteth more than he hath occasion, yet would I no manner of way condemn his purpose; nor thought it good any way to discourage him of the Q. Majestie’s favour, so long as he perseveres in the maintaining of God’s truth, obedience to his Sovereign, and affection towards my mistress according to her demerits² upon him and his son. In this behalf he spake enough; he required me very earnestly to advertise your Honour hereof, and, if it seem good unto you, to open the same unto the Q. Majestie, to know what her Grace will do for him, if he be brought into that necessity to take the place³ for his refuge; and therefore desireth your Honour’s answer, and favourable word unto her Majestie. I enquired of him, What right he had to have that place? or pretence to refuse the delivery, if it were demanded? He answered me, That his right was none;⁴ but that he took it from the Earl of Lenox, and that he had a promise by mouth made unto him by this Queen’s mother, to have it in farm for 19 years. My Lord of Arran remaineth at St Andrew’s; he knoweth not himself, and I cannot conjecture, what he meaneth by his abode there: He wrote of late unto the Council, that he might be answered of the revenues of St Andrew’s, Dumfermling, and Melross, by the Queen’s authority, as they had put him in possession; adding this clause, That otherwise he would complain unto his brethren, who from the beginning had been of the Congregation. This manner of doing was found very strange; his Bill was rejected, and nothing was said thereunto. It is now called in

¹ Whether this was the resolution of a dutiful subject let impartial men judge. The Queen of England could not fail to see herself the umpire in all *Scottish* affairs.

² i. e. Merits—the word *demerits* being at that time taken in the sense of the Latin *demeritor*.

³ i. e. Secure himself within the Castle of Dumbarton.

⁴ Here is an authentick account of the Duke’s tenure of this Castle.

question, whether that the Princess being an idolater, may be obeyed in all civil and politick actions. I think marvelously of the Wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, unconstant, and cumbersome people, no more substance nor power than they have, for then would they run wild.¹ Now they imagine that the Lord James groweth cold, that he aspireth to great matters; he is now Lieutenant upon the Borders, commander (that is, sole minion) of the Queen, like shortly to be Earl of Murray, and Treasurer of Scotland;² Lidington ambitious, and too full of policy. So there is no remedy, say they, it must yet come to a new day. To the contrary of this I perswade by all means that I can, with such as I may most assuredly have to do; and in my conscience they are in the wrong to the Lord James: And whensoever Lidington is taken out of this place, they shall not find among themselves so fit a man to serve in this Realm. My Lord of Arran hath been oft perswaded with, to conform himself to this estate and time: My sayings have been always unto him, That the greater tokens of

¹ This reflection from this stranger was a severe reproof on the sticklers in those days, and may serve for a memorial to their posterity.—[But Randolph had more effectual resources than the turbulent disposition of the Scottish people at that period. Exactly two months before he wrote the above letter, viz.—on the 12th of September, he thus urges Cecil—“I have not further for thys tyme to trouble your Honour, but that yt wyll please you to have in remembrance the Queen’s Majestie my Sovereayne’s warrant unto Mr Treasurer, that my allowance may be monethlye advanced, for that *Scotlande is no place where I can lyve withoute monye in my purse.* He will, I truste, upon your Honour’s letter shewe me some frendeshyppe therein. *Great meanes is made bothe unto hym and me by Scottisshmen for English monye.* Though of hym I dowte not, and assure your Honor of myself, yet I feare muche will goe that waye.” Wright’s Queen Elizabeth and her Times, 1838, vol. i. p. 78.—E.]

² [Lord James Stuart never was Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. He seems to have been soon dissatisfied with the Earldom of Mar, and he was probably annoyed by his relative Lord Erskine, who was pressing his claims. The truth is, the Earldom of Moray, then in the possession of the powerful Roman Catholic Earl of Huntly, had been for some time the great object of his ambition. We have seen that when Prior of St Andrews he solicited from Queen Mary, after her marriage to the Dauphin, the Earldom of Moray while he was in France, and was refused, with the advice to enter the Church, and the promise of a Bishopric either in France or Scotland. He was even subsequently offered a Cardinal’s hat, and the highest advancement, if he would conform to the Church of Rome, and prefer an ecclesiastical to a civil career. Tytler’s History of Scotland, edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 220.—E.]

obedience that he shews now unto his Sovereign, the better shall he be able to govern, and the people to know their duty, if God send him unto that place. I find my words better allowed than followed of him.

“ I wrote unto your Honour, that the Provost and Baillies of this town were deposed ; we look now daily to have them restored, and the self same confirmed that they were put out of their office for. Upon All-hallow Day the Queen had a sung Mass. That night one of the Priests was well beaten for his reward by a servant of the Lord Robert's. We look to have it proclaimed again, That no man under pain of confiscation of goods and lands here say or come unto her own Mass, saving her own houshold that came out of France. The ministers shall have their livings appointed by her authority.

“ As I thought thus to have ended, there were sent unto me your letters brought by La Croc,¹ who, as the Lord of Lidington giveth me to understand, hath made very honourable report of Q. Majestie my Sovereign. The Lord James also confirmeth the same with many merry words, that the Queen wished that one of the two [viz. one of the two Queens] were man, to make an end of all debates. This I trow was spoken in her merry mood. Yesterday I sought occasion to have spoken with her Grace myself, but she was busy about St Come's despatch into France, who within two days taketh his journey. Her Grace purposeth to write unto the Q. Majestie herself in her own hand. St Come's errand into France is to understand the state of things there, to fashion as near as she may all things accordingly here, to entertain amity by kind words, and to fetch new instructions how matters shall be governed here. To speak of himself ; he is gentle, and honest enough ; but not without suspieion of over great ambition, which may move him by all ways that he can to serve her appetite.² We retain our old familiarity, and accordingly I must needs commend him unto your Honour. This Queen longeth greatly to hear of the Q. Majestie's resolution

¹ He was sent from France. Mention has formerly been made of him.

² The Queen has been imposed upon in the choice of this man, for he was entirely of the Lord James's side. He was no proper person for the Queen to trust in France.

touching Sir Peter Mewtas' legation. I have made both the Lord James and Lord of Lidington privy of my Lord of Bedford's entertainment and courtesy towards the Grand-Prior and Mons. d'Anville; they leave nothing unspoken thereof to the Queen in as good words as they can. I hear that the news that she hath of the Cardinal, and Duke's leaving of the Court, pleaseth her but little. All men here judge the time of the year past for the King of Sweden's coming,¹ tho' of late the bruit was great that he was arrived at Dunkirk. Such of the Lords as have their hostages at Newcastle, propose shortly to write unto the Q. Majestie for the deliverance of them, forasmuch as the year is now near expired. I perswaded with the Lord James to let the year first run out before any such thing were moved. Others thought it best out of hand, to avoid charges. Tomorrow I shall know their resolution.—Most humbly I take my leave. At Edinburgh the 11th of November 1561.²

“ Your Honour's bounden and

“ always ready to command,

“ THO. RANDOLPHE.”

*A Letter from Mr Randolph to Secretary Cecil, 7th December 1561.*³

“ I DOUBT not but before this time your Honour hath lookt

¹ [Eric XIV. King of Sweden, in 1560 offered his hand to Queen Elizabeth, and even in that year was believed to be on his way to England. John, Duke of Finland, Eric's brother, had been sent by their father, King Gustavus, to negotiate the marriage.—Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. p. 40. The expectation of the King of Sweden's arrival was so great, that on the 25th of September 1561, an order was issued for the manner of his reception. Cecil writes to the Earl of Sussex, dated St James', 7th October 1561—“ The King of Sweden was on the seas, and abowte the 8th of September blown homeward. They saye he is so earnest that he will come by land. Some of his treasur and horses be come to London.” Ibid. vol. i. p. 79.—E.]

² [This letter is dated the *fourth* of November in the reprint of it in Wright's “*Queen Elizabeth and her Times*,” vol. i. p. 81-84. Our Historian omits some passages in it, such as Lord James Stuart's projected first expedition against the Borderers, to be accompanied by the Earls of Morton and Bothwell, Lords Erskine, Seton, and Leveson, by whom Randolph means *Livingston*—the acknowledgment of Cecil's letters of the 26th of November, evidently a misprint of the proper month—his “humble thanks for your favourable remembrance of my licence for horses and the augmentation of my dietts here”—and other personal matters.—E.]

³ Calig. Book X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

to hear somewhat out of these parts. I have the longer stay'd my letters, that I might accompany them with the L. of Lethington's unto your Honour. By that he hath promised to me to write unto your Honour, you shall understand his opinion touching the perpetuating of the Amity, that is upon this side of the most part of men so earnestly desired, and also his full mind (as near as he can conceive) of the sincere meaning of his mistress in that behalf. How much more privy that he is unto all her doings than it is possible for me to be, the better is he able to inform your Honour of the depths of her thoughts in that matter; and I assure myself, that there lacketh no good-will in him thereunto: For so much as I am able myself to conjecture, she meaneth no less than hath been spoke often both by herself and others, to do what she can to unite the two Realms in so perfect an amity, as the like hath not been. I never have access unto her Grace upon any occasion, but our purpose endeth in that matter: I never heard better words, nor more affectionately spoken, as of the last talk I had with her Grace. Your Honour shall hear as the same cometh in place to be spoken of, having first advertis'd you of other things that have pass'd since my last letters; in the which I told you of the arrival of the Duke's Grace, after the long absenting of himself from this Court, and of the occasion thereof. Since that time this befell.

The next day after the L. James' departure out of this town towards Jedburgh, there came hither the Bp. of St Andrews:¹ Within 2 or 3 days after came the Bps. of Dumblane² and Cathness.³ The Bp. of Ross⁴ was here before, made one of the Privy-Council, and⁵ Lord President of the

¹ [John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews.—E.]

² [William Chisholm, uncle of his coadjutor and successor William Chisholm.—E.]

³ [Robert Stewart, brother of Matthew Earl of Lennox, and uncle of Lord Darnley. In 1576 he became Earl of Lennox, and in 1579 he was created Earl of March when he resigned the Earldom of Lennox in favour of his grandnephew, Esme Stewart, Lord Aubigny. He never was in holy orders, and was merely titular Bishop of Caithness.—E.]

⁴ [Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, the immediate predecessor of Bishop John Lesley.—E.]

⁵ In the Records of Privy-Council, on the 13th day of November 1561, besides the ordinary Counsellors, is adjected, "*Presente Sinclair Decano Glasguen.*" This gentleman's Christian name was Henry, a man exceedingly learned in the laws. And on the 14th November 1561, "*Presentibus etiam Episcopo Rossen. Episcopo Dunblanen.*"

Session. By reason of these and their company, within 6 days this whole town was pack'd and pester'd with Papists ; all others in whom the hope of good is were with the Lord James. The Sunday at night after his departure, being the 16th of November, about 9 of the clock, the Queen's Grace being yet out of her bed, all men being ready to depart, there cometh among them so suddenly a fray, without either news of men, horses or armour, that scarcely any man wist where to bestow himself. Where men are thus bold, being some of them reputed old and valiant soldiers, what doth your Honour think of the poor damsels that were left alone, whilst others sought corners to put their heads in ? These come to themselves ; counsel is taken what is to be done : Every man took his armour ; the watch was appointed ; the scouts put forth ; nothing seen nor heard. Of this there riseth next morning I know not what evil and unlucky bruit, without any certain author, that the Earl of Arran was come over the water with a stark company, to take away the Queen, and that he had his friends and servants quietly in this town to take his part. This bruit runneth fast ; the repair of Papists waxeth great ; the watch continueth ; and being before rais'd of the sudden, was then appointed with good deliberation and advisement, that every Lord that lodgeth within the Court should watch his night about, with jack and spear :¹ The places were visited where any entry might be ; divers passages to the Queen's chamber stopped, and new ones made.² In the meantime the Duke cometh to the town ; and being greatly offended with this

Roberto Carnegie de Kynard Milite, Magistro Joanne Stevinson Præcentore Glasguen. Magistro Abrahamo Creichtoun Præposito de Dunglass, Magistro Willielmo Baillie Domino Provand, Magistro Jacob Balfour Rectore de Flisk, Magistro Joanne Gledstanis juris utriusque licentiato, et Magistro Joanne Spens S. D. N. Regine Advocato."

¹ This is far from levying men to serve as a *continual* Body Guard, according as our writers would fain make the world believe. See this story told by them.

² [It was probably the fear of such attempts on Queen Mary's person which caused the windows of the Palace of Holyroodhouse to be stanchelled, or externally secured by iron bars, like those of a prison. The marks of those iron bars still remain. The Earl of Arran was at this time evidently insane, and though he was a zealous enemy of the Roman Catholics, and a great leader in his way among his opponents, he led a very profligate and licentious life.—E.]

report, complaineth to the Queen of the injury done unto him and his son, that such a slander should be risen upon him, whereof he himself could not be guiltless, if it were true : He desireth punishment of those that were the authors of it, as sowers of sedition and movers of discord between the Princess and her subjects, and bringeth forth an old statute (whereof I send your Honour a copy) and desireth, that according unto that, he may have right and justice at her Grace's hands. Nothing could be done to his contentation. Excuses divers alleged ; other occasions shew'd that mov'd her so to do : She purg'd herself of all suspicion towards him and his. Many good words were given unto him, but he being nothing satisfied, returned the 25th of the last into his house Kinneil, from thence he will to Hamilton, where he purposeth to remain this whole winter. I am not yet certain whether he will be here, at the Convention the 15th of this instant. Thus your Honour heareth the simple verity of this great hurly-burly, without either reason or great occasion for her to stand so greatly in doubt of any subject of her own, or so highly to give credit unto any report, that she should so manifestly disclose what mind she did bear unto the whole race. To know what likelihood there might be, that the Earl of Arran had any such purpose in his head, I have done what I can ; he himself was never fewer in company, never worse furnished of all things fit for such an enterprize, without horses, men, or money. He came, say they, over the water to Kinneil, the night before. True it is that he brought with him but two men and a page ; the rest he left at St Andrew's.¹ He wish'd all the Papists in Scotland hang'd. So do many moe besides him. And in my opinion, if at any time she had occasion to fear, yet never less than then, having so many Papists as were in this town at that time ; who tho' I am sure there is not one of them that will die for *Christ*, yet to save their Queen from stealing, I trow would not stick to strike a stroke or two. The hatred that I perceive in this Queen toward my Lord of Arran is marvellous great ; and he himself too slack in doing of his duty,

¹ All this might be very true, and yet this Nobleman's unexpected arrival on this side the river Forth, might chance to raise a noise, especially when it is considered what Mr Randolph says of him all along.

tho' I am sure far enough from danger, saving in his own perswasion. In all this time he rather giveth ear unto these bruits, than stirreth at the hearing of them: He rejoiceth more (as he sent me word) in his innoceny, and to behold their follies, than if he were able to do as much as they suspect he would.

"The Bishops, as many as were in this town, have now retired themselves, saving Ross, and Caithness the Earl of Lenox's brother,¹ who cometh daily to the sermons, and is reputed honest enough: There is here presently with him the Earl of Sutherland,² who married his sister; whatsoever they seek, it is presently applied. I know yet nothing but common bruit, and that not worth the credit. The Bishops sought to be restored; that matter is to be considered at this Convention; they offer large contribution to be put into possession: She saith, that 'that which is done by an order and good advice may longest continue;' but good as yet they have gotten none: They know not yet, for all their Mass, what they may well think of her. The Lord James, say they, beareth too much rule; Lidington hath a crafty head and fell³ tongue. The worst that they like is, the Accord that they hear is like to be between the Q. Majestie and this Queen; if that be, they think themselves quite overthrown; they say plainly, that she can't then return⁴ a true Christian woman. And before God, neither the L. of Lidington, nor I, can be perswaded that she will give over

¹ This was Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, and brother to Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lenox. Mention was already made of him in the foregoing Book.—[See also the third note, p. 114.—E.]

² [John tenth Earl of Sutherland, known as the *Good Earl*. He married as his second Countess, Lady Helen Stewart, daughter of John third Earl of Lennox, and widow of William fifth Earl of Erroll. This Earl of Sutherland and his Countess died at Dunrobin Castle in July 1567, from poison administered to them at supper five days before in Helmsdale Castle, by the contrivance of Isobel Sinclair, wife of Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, the Earl's uncle, in order to secure the Earldom for her son, who was nearest heir after the Earl's son by the above mentioned Lady Helen Stewart. Alexander, Master of Sutherland, was then fifteen years of age, and narrowly escaped poisoning through the prudence of his father, who, feeling himself poisoned, did not allow his son to partake of the repast, and sent him that night to Dunrobin Castle, whence he was conveyed to Skibo Castle. The unfortunate Countess of Sutherland was pregnant at the time.—E.]

³ i. e. clever.

⁴ This must respect the interview with Queen Elizabeth.

her Mass, till she have spoke with the Q. Majestie, that it might seem rather that she doth it on such reasons and perswasions as the Q. Majestie will use unto her, than to be forced thereunto by her people, which I do best allow, and most heartily wish. The bruit of her good-will to go into England is far spread abroad in this country, and the purpose well commended of all honest men; but hereof are there diverse judgments. Some, as all other things, measure it by gain and profit, either that they may get there; or, by reason of the quietness in both the countries, may enrich themselves at home. Others by zeal and affection both unto the one country and the other. The third having chiefly their respect unto the honour of God, weigh all things as near as they can unto the rule prescrib'd by Him; wherein we ought to consider how far the will of God is, that we should proceed in making our alliances, amities, and friendships, and with whom. They fear also, that in giving this Princess too great assurance and security, she may with the more boldness discharge her choler upon those that she disliketh, or exercise any kind of severity that she will upon the ministers and true professors of Christ—Of the Lord James's doings at Jedburgh,¹ and of the meeting at Kelso with the Lord Gray and Sir John Foster, I doubt not but your Honour hath been advertis'd; he burnt many houses, he hanged 22 or 23, and brought unto this town 40 or 50, of which there are 23 in the Castle of Edinburgh. The chieftest of all the Clans in the Borders are come in, to take what order it pleaseth the Queen to appoint, to stay theft in time to come. The first night of the L. James' arrival the watch was discharged.

“The first night that Mons. de Foix, the French Ambassador came she talked with him a while: The next day

¹ [See the previous note, p. 102 of this volume. Several partial writers allege that “Lord James” was sent upon this expedition by the Queen, in the hope that he would fall a sacrifice. Buchanan, in particular (vol. ii. p. 285), pretends that because the Court was so much “immersed in vice,” and the Queen was annoyed by the reproofs of his patron Lord James, she took the opportunity of the Border tumults to despatch him thither, “not so much with an intention to honour him, as many people imagined, as with a design to expose him to danger.” It may be simply stated in reply that these statements are unworthy of the slightest credit.—E.]

after dinner she communed with him very long; in which time I being sent for by her commandment, was brought unto her presence, they two yet talking together. After that she had made countenance unto us, she saith—‘ Here is Mons. de Foix come out of France unto me, who hath seen my good sister your mistress, who is in health; and marry whereof I am very glad: You must bid him welcome into Scotland.’ I shew’d myself very willing thereunto, and so did. He desir’d me in her hearing, that we should not be strange one to another; which she seem’d to allow well enough, and I much better. After this they return to their purpose. Incontinent the Marquis¹ (who never before, save in ordinary salutations, gave token unto me of kindness) cometh towards me. I had moe caresses than I lik’d, for the novelty of them, seeing that many opportunities had been offered before, and nothing done: He saith unto me, standing in the sight of the Ambassador—‘ Monsieur Randolph, you deserve well of the Q. Majestie, and of us all, for the good report you have made unto the Q. Majestie your mistress of her [the Queen’s] doings, and of us all; we are her Majestie’s most affectionate servants, and ready to be employed at her commandment.’ I answered, That it was my part and my honour to report of all Princes honourably, and of this Queen in special; knowing her doings so honourable, and her meaning so upright. Like words unto these I had many. ‘ It is pity,’ said he, ‘ that ever there should be discord between these two Princesses.’ I affirmed the same. He saith, that he wou’d be glad to see her Majestie and her country: I assur’d him that he should find that it would well content his sight both in the one and the other. From this purpose we fell in talk of the pastimes that were the Sunday before, where the Lord Robert, the Lord John, and others ran at the ring, six against six, disguised and apparelled, the one half like women, the other like strangers, in strange masking garments.² The Marquis

¹ The Marquis of Elbeuf, uncle to our Queen.

² [This aggravated profanity on a Sunday by two “ Abbots,” so called, the one of Holyroodhouse, the other of Coldingham, in the presence of Queen Mary, cannot be sufficiently condemned. The Marquis immediately mentioned by Randolph as having done that day “ very well,” was the French Marquis D’Elbœuff, repeatedly mentioned as an uncle of the Queen. It ought to be recollected, however, that the morals

that day did very well ; but the women, whose part the Lord Robert did sustain, won the ring. The Queen herself beheld it, and as many others as listed. Of this and like matter our talk continued till the Ambassador took his leave. The Queen's Grace then called me unto her, and saith—‘ I am much indebted unto the Queen my sister ; I perceive by this gentleman how well she thinketh of me. I have not yet received the letters this gentleman brought me from your mistress, but know her good will unto me, both by his report and otherwise. I have heard of the good treatment she hath made unto my uncle the Grand Prior and Mons. d'Anville. I will be right glad at all times to acknowledge her kindness, and do what lieth in me that we shall be good friends for ever. I find also her good will towards me by the good report that the Lord Gray,¹ and other her officers upon the Borders, have kept with the Lord James at this time against the thieves ; which I purpose so to handle, that there shall be no further cause of trouble between her and me. You must do me that pleasure,’ saith she, ‘ when you write unto your mistress, to report unto her what my good mind is towards her, and how willing I am that we may live in perpetual peace and amity, and that above all other things I do desire to see and speak with her.’ I told her Grace, That I was glad to hear that spoken of her Grace ; and that I would not fail to signify it unto the Queen's Majestie my sovereign. I remembred her Grace of that that was purposed by her father, and did let her know that there are yet some of them alive, and of that mind that then they were, who would travel with her Grace, as at that time they did with him, to stay and alter her mind from any such purpose. She saith again—‘ It shall pass their power, if it shall seem good unto your mistress ; for something is reserved for us that was not then : Well,’ saith she, ‘ as you are a good servant unto your mistress, so must you be a good friend to

of the Scottish nation were most corrupt long after this period, as appears from the notices and records of the General Assemblies printed in the “*Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*” (BANSATYNE CLUB, Edin. 4to. 1839, Part I.), and a number of years elapsed before the baneful and desecrating practice of holding weekly markets on Sundays was finally suppressed.—E.]

¹ [Properly the English Nobleman Lord Grey.— E.]

me, to report the best. Ye know the state of my country, you know my people, and you shall know me better than you do.' To this I answered, That I was assured there could nothing please her Majestie whom I serv'd better, than truth in all things that ever I shall be charg'd with ; and if I should fail therein so far, as when I see two such Princesses inclined by all godly and honourable means to peace and amity, and I, by false reports, should be author of discord and debate ; tho' I could so shift with the world, that never man got knowledge thereof, yet God would not suffer that unplagued in me. She saith—' I will myself write unto my sister, and will speak with you again. Remember what I have said unto you.'

" Out of the countenances of Princes he that is able to judge may pick out sometimes great likelihoods of their thoughts, or find how they are disposed. The time of her talk with Mons. de Foix, it was mark'd by others before I came in, and after I saw myself many alterations in her face ; her colour better that day than ever I saw it. When I talked with her she was very merry, and spake with such affection as I think came from the heart.

" After this I communed with the Lord James of all these purposes ; he lik'd them well, and is of that opinion that the Lord of Lethington is, That she will never come to God¹ before the Q. Majestie draw her. I went from this to Mons. de Foix ; he speaketh honourably of the Q. Majestie ; he commendeth the religion, and thereof entreth first in purpose ; he lamented the contrary in divers Realms, and doubted the dangers that were imminent. I commended his zeal and good mind : I spoke what men thought of him, for that that he had endured for Christ's sake, and desired him that he would so deal with the Queen's Grace in those matters, as the world might be judge of his earnest mind and upright conscience. The next day after, notwithstanding, he was with the Queen at the Mass. There came that night, the 3d of this instant, Mons. Moret ; they din'd the next day both with the Lord James ; and then had Mons. Moret audience. Of both their affairs and doings the

¹ i. e. Would not turn Protestant. Such was the cant of those times, and remains among some to this day.

Q. Majestie shall have better information, and more assur'd from this Queen herself than I can report them.

“I have not yet seen Mons. Moret, nor know not herein the Q. Majestie's pleasure; but at a venture, I purpose some way or other to make a way unto him, tho' like enough to little effect, or better undone. Yet I trust no evil shall ensue thereof.

“Yesterday, the 6th of this month, I received word that the Queen would speak with me; at my coming to her, I found there Mons. de Foix. After all purposes ended with him, she saith unto me—‘I have received my sister, your mistress's letters;¹ and for that kindness I find in her, I will make her privy of all my news. You shall also say somewhat in your letters from me unto her, with good assurance that I will perform it to the uttermost of my power.’ I have written her mind, and send her Grace's letter, which I commit unto your Honour. From thence I went again to Mons. de Foix; he made me privy of his departure upon Tuesday next. We entred in long talk of the fact of Mons. Nemours; he is loath, but under covert terms, to touch the other Duke, or his brother;² tho' there be matter sufficient to bring them in suspicion, as he saith, of great matters. He pitieth the troubles that are like to ensue; and in the Princess findeth so much inclination to amity and concord, and readiness between all Princes to do what she can, that he is very glad thereof. We talked again of religion; I was not so uncourteous as to tell him that he had been at the Mass, tho' for his reputation it had been worth him 1000 crowns not to have been; he repented himself afterwards, being admonished by some friend, and came not unto the Dirige or Mass upon Friday and Saturday last, to the great misliking of the Queen. Moret was there at both. She observed the old manner in all her doings; she could not perswade, nor get one Lord of her own to wear the deule for that day, nor so much as the Earl Bothwell. Immediately after the service was done, she caused a

¹ Queen Elizabeth's letter which came by de Foix, is dated the 20th November 1561 from St James's. It contains nothing but pure compliment. It is in the shattered MS. as is likewise our Queen's letter back to Queen Elizabeth by the same gentleman, but the date is lost.

² This respects the affairs of France.

Proclamation to be made at the Cross, by a Heralld of Arms, his coat-armour on his back—‘ That no man, on pain of his life, should trouble, or do injury to any of her chaplains that were at the Mass; and that all men should answer them their livings in time to come, as before.’ This was done without the consent of the Council; and the people greatly offended thereat, because it was against the Proclamation that was made before, that all things should remain in the old state.¹ I see not yet such security, but she hath good cause to take heed how she proceedeth in matters of religion, and now especially where her uncle’s authority and credit hangeth in ballance.

“ This is another day of mirth and pastime upon the Sands of Leith, where the Queen will be herself, to signify the sorrow of her heart after her Soul-Mass.² I am now

¹ [It was not likely that the Queen would obtain the consent of the Privy-Council, and the people were inflamed by the discourses of the Reformed preachers. They would not allow their sovereign that liberty of conscience for which they had themselves contended against the Papal Hierarchy. That Mary had good reason to attempt to protect her chaplains is evident from the facts recorded by Randolph and others. On the very first Sunday after her arrival at Holyroodhouse from France a riot was excited in the Chapel-Royal. That Sunday happened to be St Bartholomew’s Day, as is noticed by our Historian at the commencement of the Second Chapter of his Third Book, and due preparations were made for observing the commemoration. Numbers of whom Knox calls the “ godly ” rushed towards the Chapel-Royal, fiercely exclaiming—“ Shall the idol be again erected in the land ? ” Lord Lindsay, with some gentlemen of Fife, were conspicuous in this disorder, furiously threatening—“ The idolatrous priests shall die the death.” The Queen in the utmost alarm entreated her brother Lord James to quell the tumult, which he did with great difficulty by placing himself at the door of the Chapel, and restraining the rage of the populace, but the tumult recommenced after the service was concluded. At the Queen’s visit to Edinburgh Castle, she was compelled to witness a rude picture of the incremation of three “ idolators ” when she came out of the fortress, and, if we are to believe Randolph, it was only the interposition of the Earl of Huntly which prevented the burning of a priest in effigy on the altar at the elevation. We have it stated by the same Randolph to Cecil that a domestic of one of the other illegitimate brothers of the Queen—Lord Robert Stuart, Abbot of Holyroodhouse, cruelly beat one of the priests who had officiated in the Chapel-Royal on Hallowmass, or All Saints’ Day, and it was intended to allow none to attend the Queen at Divine Service, under “ pain of confiscation of goods and lands,” except those who came with her from France. These were merely a few of the annoyances which the unfortunate Queen Mary encountered.—E.]

² Perhaps some certainty of the day of the Queen’s birth may be got from these late solemn Masses.

asham'd to trouble your Honour any longer, nor know not what to write; but of the shameful life of the Bishop of St Andrew's,¹ your Honour shall know by this letter inclos'd; I assure your Honour, spoken without malice, and no less reported unto the Queen than it is of it. Thus, with humble recommendation of my service, I take my leave. At Edinburgh the 7th of December 1561.

“Your Honour's to command.

“By the next you shall receive the Lords' request for the hostages. The Lord James desireth me to present unto your Honour his hearty commendations, under these words, ‘*That he is not yet grown so great as he should misken you.*’

“THO. RANDOLPHE.”

“*P. S.*—I reserve the pastime that hath been between the ministers and the Queen's Doctor of Sorboune,² untill a time that I think your Honour more at leisure than at this present; or, untill I may have more time to write thereof”——

*A Letter from Mr Randolph to Sir William Cecil,
17th December 1561.*³

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR—The 11th of this instant I received your letters of the 30th of November, with letters also from the Queen's Majestie unto this Queen, which I presented unto her next day; and within two days after, by her own commandment, repaired unto her for an answer, which at that time was deferred, partly for the great affairs that were then in hand (being the first day of the Convention), partly also (as I could perceiv), for that she wrote of late unto the Q. Majestie, of the receipt of which she is very desirous to be advertis'd. I had of herself at both times very good words, and perceiv by the Lord James and L. of Lidington, that she liketh very well the contents of the

¹ [Archbishop Hamilton, at the time he was inhumanly and illegally executed on the old bridge over the Forth at Stirling on the 5th of April 1571, left at least one son, who was subsequently legitimated. In what other respects his life was “shameful” does not appear.—E.]

² [This evidently refers to some controversial dispute.—E.]

³ Calig Book X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

Q. Majestie's letter, which she purposeth to use most secretly, as time and occasion serveth. I will make means to know her own mind.

"By my last letters unto your Honour, I doubt not but you understand the very true occasion of the watch, whereof now we have no more talk. Since that time nothing hath ensued of great importance. The Duke arrived here the 15th; my Lord of Arran remaineth in Dunfermling. The Earl Bothwell sent unto the Duke an assurance for the time of this Convention. The Duke refus'd it, and sent him word, that it became him little to send assurance unto him that was his better; he rejected his writing, and would not subscribe it. I see no likelihood of further to do between them. The Duke is not quarrelous; and the other standeth in doubt enough of himself. The Proclamation also inhibiteth all such debates for this time.

"Yesterday Mons. de Moret departed out of this town to Seton to his bed.¹ Our first meeting was upon the Sands of Leith, beholding the running at the ring: Our acquaintance was soon made: We talked long of diverse common purposes. In the praise of the Q. Majestie, Court and Country² he spake right well. Of all his doings here, either this was the effect, or else the counsel is marvellous secret from all men of this nation: He was sent only from the Duke of Savoy³ to congratulate her safe return, to signify unto her of the ingrossment of the Duke's wife, and to confirm her what he could in her opinion touching religion; which he did both in word and deed, more to his shame and discredit than ever he shall get honour of his voyage. I lamented and pitied to see such a Princess of such years unmarried, and merrily asked of him, What good news he had brought her Grace from some Noble Prince or other, of marriage?—(the bruit was then common, that he came to

¹ [Seton House, ten miles east from Edinburgh, on the shore of the Frith of Forth, the seat of the Lords Seton and their descendants the Earls of Winton, now Eglington and Winton.—E.]

² i. e. The Queen and Country of England.

³ [Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy. See the note, p. 42 of this volume. The Duchy of Savoy is included in the Sardinian States and Monarchy, although forming part of the mountainous region of the Alps and of the basin of the Rhone, and geographically annexed to South-Western Switzerland.—E.]

prefer the Duke Nemours¹ cause unto her, others the Duke of Florence;² I know not whether he be married or not)—He answered, That he was no fit man to treat of so weighty affairs: And by his talk I perceived he had not seen the Duke Nemours, long before his departure out of France; always he shews himself well affectioned unto him, and wisheth him no less honour than a Queen to his wife. I perceive that he was well taken with by the Queen, very welcome to the Marquis, better lik'd than Mons. de Foix among all the French. There accompanied him always Mons. de Croc. He lodged at the Lord Robert's house beside the Court.³ He had given him at his departure a chain of 30 ounces, as I hear, and 3 geldings. Bonart is also departed with him; he trusteth also to have a gelding or two in England. I have written unto your Honour by him to no such purpose or effect, as I care what become of my letters, nor that I would your Honour should weigh above that that he hath deserved. The Queen hath written in her own hand to the Dutchess of Savoy: If any matter be of Mons. Nemours, it is rather in credit than in writing.

¹ [See the fifth note, p. 42, and also p. 59 of the present volume.—E.]

² [Cosmo I., Duke of Florence, afterwards Grand Duke of Tuscany, the son of Giovanni de Medici, who was descended in a direct line from Lorenzo de Medici, younger brother of Cosmo. Both were the sons of Giovanni de Medici, the founder of the greatness and distinction which his posterity, particularly his great-grandson Lorenzo the Magnificent, enjoyed. The career of Cosmo I. evinced him to have been an active and able though unprincipled Sovereign. He refused the Crown of Corsica in 1564. The supposition of Randolph that he was proposed as the husband of the young Queen was most absurd, as he was not only then married, and had a family, but was nearly thirty years older than Mary. All Tuscany in his reign was united under one government for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire.—E.]

³ [As lay Abbot or Commendator of Holyrood, Lord Robert Stuart's residence was in the immediate vicinity of the Palace of Holyroodhouse. When Queen Mary arrived from France on the 19th of August 1561, Lord Robert Stuart was the only person of distinction waiting in the Palace to receive her, and she went to his house, and there remained, issuing orders to assemble the Nobility with speed.—Hardwicke's Miscellaneous State Papers, 4to. Lond. 1778, vol. i. p. 176. Cecil to Throgmorton, August 26, 1561. The Nobility had been previously summoned to meet on the last day of that month. Probably her brother Lord Robert's house was the only one suitable for her reception, for, though the Queen brought her jewels with her, her tapestry and other furniture for the Palace arrived afterwards.—E.]

When any purpose falleth in of marriage, she saith that 'she will none other husband but the Queen of England.' He is right near about her that hath often times heard her speak it. I desire that it may be in perfect neighbourhood, seeing it cannot be in perfect marriage.

"I press'd this day to have had access unto the Lords of Council, touching the Lord Dacres¹ and the Master of Maxwell. He is willing himself that the matter shall be heard; and offereth to be taken for a traitor, if that narration of the Lord Dacres of him be true. So soon as conveniently may be, the cause will be heard.

"I should have had this day a letter unto your Honour from the L. of Lidington, it shall now come with the next; and also a letter unto the Queen's Majestie from the Lords, touching the return of the hostages.² I think it not out of purpose to write one word or two touching the Earl of Glencairn and Earl of Menteith,³ whose necessities I know presently to be so great, that they have not wherewith to pay the charges of their sons, whensoever licence is granted them to return: The L. of Lidington, I know not upon what assurance, promised that their charge should be born, which at that time was a great perswasion to make them granted. Tho' this be not plainly spoken unto me, yet I hear it mutter'd amongst them. The rest are well able; but these, I assure your Honour, are most to be pitied, as both godly, friendly, honest, above many that I know.⁴

¹ [Sir William Dacre succeeded his father Sir Thomas third Lord in 1525, and died in 1563. He was Warden of the English Marches, Governor of Carlisle, and Captain of its Castle. This Peerage became extinct in 1569 by the death of his grandson George fifth Baron, occasioned by falling from a wooden horse, when practising to leap.—E.]

² These were the hostages delivered to the Queen of England, according to the Treaty of Berwick.—[See vol. i. p. 258-262. "Such of the Lords as have their hostages at Newcastle purpose shortly to wryte unto the Quene's Majestie for the deliverance of them, forasmuche as the yere is now nere expired."—Randolph to Cecil, 4th November 1561. They were the hostages given by the Scottish Lords when the English army entered Scotland to assist the so-called "Congregation" in 1560. Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 85.—E.]

³ [William Graham, fifth Earl of Menteith, son of John fourth Earl, killed in a scuffle with the Tutor of Appin in 1547, and his Countess Marion, daughter of George fifth Lord Seton.—E.]

⁴ i. e. friendly and honest to the Queen of England, and staunch promoters of the new doctrines.

“ Where it pleased your Honour to write, That the Q. Majestie had granted licence unto this Queen for 6 or 7 geldings; the L. of Lidington heartily prayeth your Honour to be a mean that they may be 15 or 16 at the least; in as much as he deduceth 4 of those that I was desir’d to write for, in consideration that this was her first request since her home coming, and entrance of an amity.

“ I delivered your oration unto the L. of Lidington, who very thankfully accepteth it, as shortly you shall know by his own letters. Thus, with humble recommendation of my service, I take my leave. At Edinburgh the 17th of December late, 1561.

“ Your Honour’s ever ready to serve,
“ THO. RANDOLPHE.”

*A Letter from Mr Randolph to Sir William Cecil,
27th December 1561.*¹

“ I THOUGHT, by reason of this Convention, to have been able to inform your Honour, of some notable matters that should have been concluded in so frequent an Assembly of all States together at this time.² Among diverse matters that were proponed, there was only one resolved on. The 22d of this instant, the Church³ offered unto the Lords of the Council a Supplication,⁴ containing a humble suit unto this Queen, to put away her Mass, as well from herself as from her whole Realm. The 2d Petition was to establish, so far as she might at that time, the Book of Reformation and Discipline. 3dly, That Order might be taken for the Sustentation of the Ministers. The 4th, That such as were known to be open and manifest Papists, enemies to religion, might be removed from the Session. These being considered, weighed, and divers reasons given of either side; of them all, the

¹ Calig. B. 10, an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

² This Convention of the Nobility was intended for Church affairs, and I shall take notice of it when I treat of *those*.

³ [This must not be understood as the *Church*, properly, but merely the Reformed preachers, or the “ professors of the true Evangel,” as they designated themselves.—E.]

⁴ [This “ Supplication ” was the one concocted by the second General Assembly held in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on the 26th of May 1561. See “ Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland,” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1839, Part I. p. 8, 9.—E.]

request for the ministers was thought most reasonable, notwithstanding they would travel with her Grace for the rest.

“ After many days consultation, it was accorded, *invitis et repugnantibus Episcopis*, that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, &c. should depart yearly from seven parts of their livings,¹ whereof four shall be employed to the maintenance of preachers, finding of schools, and supporting of the poor; and the other three to the increase of the Crown, *or more, if need be* (for these are the words). There is a day (the 24th² of this month) appointed ’em to bring in their rent-rolls, under pain of imprisonment.³ This Act is subscribed by all the Lords Temporal that were present, and ratified by the Queen. The Convention is now dissolved,⁴ and the most part return’d to their houses. The Papists storm; now they think there resteth nothing but the meeting of the two Queens to overthrow the Mass and all, which at this time she keepeth as solemn as ever she did, not sparing so much as her Mass upon Christmas Day, in the morning before day.

“ There was of late in this town some disorder. The occasion was this: The Earl of Arran is known to have had company of a good handsome wench, a merchant’s daughter of this town; whether he was suspected to be privily in this town, as some say he was, which was not true at that time; or whether the Marquis (d’Elbeuf) hearing of this woman, desired to see her, cometh accompanied with the Earl Bothwell and Lord John in a mask unto that house, where the first night they were received; the next night would have done the like, but were not admitted. These in despite

¹ How unwilling soever the Prelates might be in their own minds, yet it is plain by the Act itself that they themselves freely made the offer. What this gentleman means by seven parts, is too obscure, unless he had marked the number of parts into which the *integer* was divided. If it was into twenty-one, in that case his account agrees well enough with the authentic Act.—[Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 606, 607.—E.]

² It should be of next month.—[The 24th January 1561-2. Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 606.—E.]

³ The Act bears only—“To be proceeded against here as the matter requires.”—[Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 606, 607.—E.]

⁴ [This Convention of Estates met on the 22d of December 1561, and was attended by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and by the Bishops of Dunkeld, Moray, and Ross.—E.]

of that, broke open the doors, and used some other discourtesies in the house. The complaint was made the next day unto the Queen, who in words sharp enough reprov'd the doers.¹ The Earl of Bothwell and Lord John hearing this, in very contemptuous words swore, that the next night they would do the like, in despite of any that was friend to that house, that would say *nay*. These words were extended far, and were thought to be meant of better men than themselves. Diverse of the Duke's servants at nine a'clock at night assembled themselves in jack and spear in the market-place. The Earl Bothwell being in his lodging, gathereth his friends about him. The number of either party encreaseth; the Duke's company groweth great; the town assembleth at the sound of the common bell: News flyeth to the Court that the Duke was upon the street, and that the Earl Bothwell should be pulled out of his house: From them cometh the Lord James, Argile, and Huntly. Proclamation being made that all men should depart on pain of death, within half an hour after there was never a man seen: so that of so likely a matter of evil, I never saw less hurt.

This courtesy I found first of these that were upon the street, coming then from the Court, they convoyed me to my lodging; the Provost sendeth twenty honest men of the town to keep my house. Whatsoever it might be, I thought it as much wisdom for me to behold them out of a window, as to be in their company. The next day both the Duke and Earl Bothwell were sent for to the Court; the Duke that day was conveyed with all the Protestants that were in this town; the other with the Papists. It was concluded, that for avoiding of cumber, the Earl Bothwell should leave the town till the 8th of January; since that time we have liv'd in good rest and peace, and like enough to do, except these Bishops are able to work any mischiefs to save their livings. I have in some of my other letters written unto your Honour, that the Lords were determin'd to write to the Q. Majestie for the delivery of their hostages; here presently I send you their letter: Their hope is through

¹ (See Knox's account of this disgraceful riot, inserted by our Historian in the Second Chapter of his Third Book.—E.)

your good means, to receive some speedy answer. The most of them say unto me—That albeit that their sons do return, their hearts do and shall all remain in place.¹ Their charges have not been great; yet somewhat more than diverse are able long to sustain. These desire your Honour, that their doings may be interpreted unto the best, and that their lawfull service may be accepted unto the Q. Majestie, of whose honour and worthiness they can neither say nor think sufficient. The Duke in special recommendeth his humble service unto the Q. Majestie; he hath at this time received good words of the Queen his Sovereign, and returneth now home full of hope to enjoy her favour, without further suspicion of any evil mind towards him. The Queen would willingly take up the controversy between the Earl Bothwell and the Earl of Arran; it is now in talk: I know not what will ensue; but as far as I can perceive, the Earl Bothwell standeth in more doubt of the Laird of Ormiston and his friends, than he doth of the other.

“It hath been told me in great counsel, that the Earl of Arran maketh his way again into France, and that he spake secretly with Mons. de Foix at his being here; your Honour can well consider, if it be so, what may ensue thereof. It is told me for certain, that he was this last night in this town very secret; I know not upon what purpose, except it were to speak to some friends that might not come openly to him.

“Touching the last letters that the Queen’s Majestie wrote unto this Queen, some part of her mind your Honour shall know by the L. of Lidington’s writings, which herewith I send your Honour; as also a letter from the Lord James to yourself, and one to the Lord Robert.² I send also unto your Honour a letter from the Master of Maxwell; and also another to the Master of the Rolls, containing his defence against the Lord Dacre’s accusation.

“The Lord Robert³ was married on Sunday was eight

¹ The event made proof of their sincerity herein.

² i. e. the Lord Robert Dudley of England, Q. Elizabeth’s toping favourite.—[Afterwards the celebrated Earl of Leicester.—E.]

³ This was Robert Stuart, natural son to K. James V. by a daughter of the Lord Elphinston. He was now Abbot of Holyroodhouse, and was afterwards created Earl of Orkney.—[See the notes, p. 99, 119, 126 of this volume.—E.]

days to the Earl of Cassil's sister; and my Lord John¹ upon Sunday next to the Earl Bothwell's sister:² I mean not here, in the Court, but where the women are in their friend's houses. At Edinburgh, 27th December 1561.

“ Your Honour's bounden at commandment,

“ THO. RANDOLPHE.”

The proposition relating to the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh, as it was contained in the message by Sir Peter Mewtas, having been toss'd by the two Queens within this compass of time; here follow their Majesties' letters thereupon,

*Letter from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, 7th October 1561.*³

“ RIGHT excellent, &c.—Quhairas it plesit zow purposlie to direct this berair S^r Peter Mewetas, Knycht, to vesite ws on zowr behalf, and to declair the contentment ze had of owr prosperous jorney, and saif arrivall in this owr Realme, We give zow maist hartie thankis. In making the report quhairof, with sic utheris thingis as he had in charge on zowr part, to be communicate unto ws, he hes sa wyslie and discretlie utterit and expressit the sinceritie of zowr affectioun towart ws, that as he hes declarit him to be a fit messenger for sic a purpos, sa have we gude caus to allow wele of him, and haif sa answerit his message proponit unto ws in everie poynt, as thairby it sall weill appeir we meane nathing mair earnestlie than continewance of tendir amytye and gude intelligence betwix ws, sa yat we doubt nocht ze sall haif occasioun to be wele satisfyit yairwith: The report quhairof we refer to his sufficieneye. And sa, right excellent, &c. Att our Palaece of Halyrudhous the seven day of Octobir, and of our Regne the xix. zeir.”

¹ He was another natural son to K. James V. and was Abbot of Col-dingham. They both join'd the new Discipline. The Lord James did likewise marry a daughter of the Earl Marischal in the month of February following, after he had been made Earl of Moray.—[See the note, p. 99 of this volume.—E.]

² [Knox most ungallantly and sarcastically remarks—“ A sufficient woman for sic a man.” Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 303.—E.]

³ Shatter'd M.S. a Copy.

*Letter from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary,
23d November 1561.*¹

“ RICHT excellent, richt heich and michtie Princess, our derest sister and cousine, we grete zow wele : Quhairby zowr letters brocht to ws the last moneth be our servand Sr Petir Mewtas, it appears yat ze did verie hartlie accept our gude will in sending our said servand to visite zow on our part ; and farther, did refer to his report the answer maid be zow to the message proponit be him on our behalf ; we be glade to see our gude will sa wele interpreted and allowed, be which meanys amytie principallie encreasseth betwix friendis. And to the answer, as he reporteth it, we see na caus to be sa wele satisfied thairin as we luikit for. And zet considering we trust, that zowr meaning is as ouris is, sincere, just and direct, towerdis the reparation of all former strange accidentis, and to make a perpetuall amytie betwix ws, we have thocht mete nocht to permit so gude a mattir for our amytie to remane unperfected ; and thairfore quhair we only require the ratification of a Treaty passed by zowr Commissioneris authorized thairto with zowr hand and sele, and zow stay therein, for that many thingis be contenit in the same appertening to zowr late husband——this mattir, quhairin ze mak stay, to some resolutioun——bettir eyther probably to our trustie servand Thomas Randulphe——rather be zowr awn letteris to ws, quhat be the very just causes which move zow thus to stay in the ratificatioun ; and gif the same be to be allowed unto zow in reason, zow sall wele persave we will require nothing bot that quhilk honour, justice, and reason, sall allow us to ask, and that quhilk in like honour, justice, and reason, zow ought to grant : And thus salloure affairis be more secretlie, more directlie, and as speedilie resolved, as by Ambassadoris. And so, richt excellent, richt heich and michtie Princess, our derest sister and cousine, we commit zow to the tuition of the Almichtie. Givin under our Signet att our Mannor of St James, the xxij. of Novembir, the fourth zeir of our Reigne, 1561.

“ Your gude sister and loving cousing,

“ ELIZABETH R.”

¹ Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

*Letter from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth,
5th January 1561-2.¹*

“RICHT excellent, &c. Quhairas by zowr letter of the twenty third of Novembir, we understand that for our answer gevin to Sr Petir Mewetas, as he hes reportit it, ze see na caus to be thairin sa wele satisfied as ze luikit for, we cannot wele ymagine quhat lack culd be fund yairin : For as our meanyng in the self is, and hes bene sincere, just and upright ; sa in the uttering of our mynd to him, we sa temperat our answer as we thoct nicht wele stand with zowr contentment and quietnes of ws baith ; and for yat end wissit that the Treatie quhilk ze require to be ratifyit, mycht be reviewed be some Commissioneris sufficientlie——and presentlie meane sa panielie to utter our mynd unto zow, as ze sall wele persave the memorie of all former strange accidentis is elene extinguisst upon our part ; and that now without ony reservatioun, we deale franklie with zow in sic sort as is convenient for twa sisteris, professing sic firme amytie, to treate togidder. We leif at this tyme to tweeche in quhat tyme that the Treaty wes past, be quhais commandment, be quhat ministeris, how thay were authorizat, or particularlie to examyne the sufficiency of thair Commission ; quhilk heidis are not so sklen-dir, bot the leist of thame is worthy of sume consideration : Onlie will we presentlie tweche that heid quhilk is mete for ws to provide, and yat quhilk on zowr part is not inconvenient, bot sic as in honor, justice, and reason, ze may wele allow. How prejudiciall that Treaty is to sic title and interes as be birth and naturall discent of zowr awn lineage may fall to ws, be verry inspection of the Treaty itself ze may easilie persave, and how slenderlie a mattir of sa greit consequence is wrappit up in obscure termys : We know how neir we ar discendit of the blude of Ingland, and quhat devisis hes bene attemptit to mak us as it wer a strangear from it ; we trust being sa neir zowr cousine, ze wald be laith we suld resave sa manifest an injury as alluterly to be debarrit from yat title quhilk in possibilitie may fall unto us. We will deale franklie with zow, and wyss yat ze deale

¹ Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

friendlie with ws. We will have at this present no jage of the equitie of our demand bot zour self. Gif we had sic a mattir to treate with ony uther Prince, thair is na persone quhais avise we wald rather follow; sa greit account do we mak of zour amytie towert us, and sic a opinioun have we consavit of zour uprightness and jugement, that altho the mattir partlie twche zour self, we dare adventure to put mekill in zowr——warld as greit and firme amytie as be——bene at any tyme betwix quhatsumevir cupple of——mentionat in thame, lat be to surpassse the present——of our awn aige, to the greit comfort of our subjectis, and perpetuall quietnes of baith the Realmes, quhilkis we are bound in the sight of God be all gude meanys to procure. We leif to zour awn consideratioun quhat reasonis we nicht alledge to confirm the equity of our demand, and quhat is probable yat utheris nicht alledge, gif thay wer in our place, quhilks we pas ower with silence. Ze see quhat abundance of luif nature hes wrocht in our heart towerdis zow, quhairby we are movit rather to admit sumthing that utheris perchance wald esteme to be ane inconvenient, than leif ony rute of brache, and to set aside the manner of treating accustomat amangis utheris Princes; leving all ceremonys, to propone and utter the boddum of our mynd nakytlie, without ony circumstances; quhilk fassioun of deling, in our opinioun, deservis to be answerit with the like franknes; gif God will grant ane gude occasioun yat we may meit togidder, quhilk we wyss may be sone, we trust ze sall mair clarlie persave the synceritie of our meanyng, than we can expres be writing. In the mean season we desire zow hartlie, as ze terme ws zowr gude sister, so ymagine with zour self that we are in effect, and yat ze may luke for na less assurit and firme amytie att our handis, than we war zour naturall sister in dede; quhairof ze sall from tyme to tyme have gude experience, sa lang as it sall pleis zow to continew on zowr part the gude intelligence begun betwix ws. And thus, richt excellent, &c. Att Edinburgh the fift day of Januar, and of our Regne the xx. zeir.”¹

¹ [This firm and pithy letter from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth was not likely to allay the feelings of the latter on the dangerous and vexatious dispute of the succession to the English Crown.—E.]

*Letter from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary.*¹

“RICHT excellent, richt heich and michtie Princesse, our derest sister and cousine, we grete zow wele : The berair heirop St Colme, upoun his cumming out of France, undirstanding be Montignac, and uther zour servandis quhom he fand heir come from zow, how lang ze thoecht to heir of his returne, desirit to pass in sa greit haist towerdis zow, quhilk we also wele allow in him, that presentlie we had na convenient lesure to mak answer to the letter quhilk zistirday we resavit from zow by intelligence, tweching the answere of the negociation of Sr Peter Mewtas with zow : Neither can we presentlie send zow our picture, quhilk it plesit zow to require ; for that the partie that ought to draw it in portrature is at this tyme sicklie, and thairby as zit unable to set it out. Bot for bothe these, we assure zow, sall nocht be forgettin alsone as thay may be dispatched. As to the uther privat letter writtin with zowr awin hand, for the quhilk we thank zow, we have tweching the contents yairof, and that with richt gude will, gevin to Montignac our speciall letter to oure Ambassador in France ; as we think, by Montignac’s nixt letter, zow sall perceyve oure earnest gude will, and how we continew in oure gude meanyng to exercise freindship with zow as we have begun ; meanyng also to proceed in all synceritie as occasioun sall require, not doubting to find the lyke in zow oure derest sistir and cousine, quhom we commit to the tuitioun of the Almichtie. Gevin undir”——

What other letters might have pass’d between the two Queens, concerning the negociation by Sir Peter Mewtas,² we have no farther intelligence ; but by these here produced, we are rendred certain, that the Conference Secretary Maitland had with Queen Elizabeth, at his first journey into England, has not center’d in the conclusion related by

¹ Shatter’d MS. a Copy. This letter wants the date.

² [Sir Peter Mewtas was sent by Elizabeth to Scotland to request that Mary would ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, which she well knew the Scottish Queen would decline. In reality, however, the mission of Sir Peter Mewtas was to evade what Maitland of Lethington strongly advised Queen Elizabeth, and which greatly embarrassed Cecil, viz. the policy and necessity of at once declaring the Scottish Queen her successor.—E.]

Mr Buchanan.¹ The Queen of Scots does indeed make a proposal here, of reviewing the Treaty of Edinburgh; but the issue of things demonstrates that the Queen of England has not thought fit to accept the proposal.

¹ [Buchanan's "conclusion" is that ambassadors were to be chosen on the part of England and Scotland to review the league—that the Scottish Queen was to abstain from using the Arms and Titles of England and Ireland during the life of Queen Elizabeth or any of her children, if she married and had issue—and that Queen Elizabeth was to do nothing either by herself or posterity to impair the right of succession of the Scottish Queen. History, Translation, vol. ii. Edin. 1752, p. 284.—E.]

CHAPTER IV.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF AFFAIRS OF STATE, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1561-2, UNTIL MIDSUMMER THE SAME YEAR.

By the Registers of the Privy-Council we are assured, that much of the publick consultations, in the beginning of the year 1561-2, was taken up about regulating the Benefices, &c. of the new Church ministry;¹ and this will come under my consideration afterwards, when I come to treat of these Ecclesiastical Matters.

As to Affairs of State. The two contemporary historians² of the time, so often mentioned, entertain us with a large detail of a private quarrel betwixt some of the Nobility;³ such as,

¹ [The new religious association of Superintendents, Ministers, and Readers, set up by the Protestant Reformers on the ruins of the Catholic Hierarchy.—E.]

² [John Knox and George Buchanan.—E.]

³ [This was a much more serious affair than Bishop Keith has thought proper to notice. In the midst of the negociations carrying on by Maitland of Lethington with Cecil to secure a good understanding between the English and Scottish Queens, and also amid the inflammatory addresses of John Knox from the pulpit, the Earl of Arran, who had been leading a licentious and dissipated life, became at last insane. He accused himself, the Duke of Chatelherault his father, the Earl of Bothwell, and Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, of a conspiracy to seize the Queen, murder Lord James Stuart, newly created Earl of Mar, and possess themselves of the Government. Arran insisted that Bothwell contrived the plot, and the profligate character of that Nobleman induced many to give it credit, in connection with the former rumour that Arran himself, shortly after the Queen's arrival from France, intended to invade the Palace of Holyrood, and carry her off. Though Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning were imprisoned on account of some suspicious circumstances in their conduct, it was discovered from the incoherent ravings of Arran that there was no truth in his story. His father, the aged Duke of Chatelherault, with tears protested his innocence, and was received with the greatest kindness by Queen Mary. Randolph wrote a long letter to Queen Elizabeth on the subject, to contradict any notion which she might entertain, that as Arran had violently opposed himself to Queen Mary, she would be disposed to believe any reports against him and his Family. MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 9th April 1562, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 256, 257. As to Arran himself, he subsequently denied the accusation, "to the great unliking of all men who saw his misconduct,"

the Earls of Arran, Bothwell, Mar,¹ &c. tho' it is easily observable that Mr Knox's account has the better foundation and air of truth. But forasmuch as this writer seems likewise willing to diminish the rancour subsisting betwixt the Hamiltons and Earl of Bothwell, and to resolve the malice both of the one and other into secret attempts upon the life of the Earl of Mar,² it may perhaps afford some certainty of this matter to see the following Record of Privy-Council.

Apud Edinburgh 20 Februarij, Anno Domini 1561.

“ IN presence of the Quenis Majestie, and Lordis of Secreit Counsale, comperit James Erle of Arrane; and being inquirit, Gif he wald keip the Treatie maid and takin betuix the Quenis Majestie and umquhile hir deirest spous the maist Christian Kingis Commissionaris on yat ane part, and the Nobilitie of this Realme on yat uther part; and specialie yat point and part yairof, berand, yat it sall nocht be lesum to thame that hes bene callit of the Congregationun, and thai yat were nocht callit of the same, to reproche one ane uther, for quhatsumevir thingis yet hes bene done sen the 6th day of Marche, the zeir of God 1558 zeiris; and namelie, to James Erle Bothuile, in respect of the variance and debait standand betuix thame: Declarit yat he wald keip the said Treatie in all pointis to all the liegis of this Realme; and albeit he belevit the said Treatie extendit nocht to the said variance standand betuix him and the said Erle Bothuile, zit becaus the saidis Lordis of Secreit Counsale declarit yat the said variance was comprehendit under the said Treatie, and yat the Quenis Majestie commandit the said Erle of Arrane to keip the samyn in all pointis; he willing to schaw him an obedient subject, in presence of her Majestie promissit

and was soon afterwards declared in a state of insanity. “Such was the sad fate of the earliest lover of Mary, and of the proffered husband of Elizabeth.” Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 62.—E.]

¹ This was the Prior of St Andrews, who was created Earl of Mar, on one of the days betwixt the 6th and 12th of February 1561-2; for on the 6th day of this month he sits in the Privy Council, by his ordinary designation, *Jacobus Commendatarius Prioratum Sti Andrea et Pittenweyne*. But on the 12th day he is designed *Jacobus Comes de Mar*. The industrious Author of the *Scottish Peerage* has, through inadvertency, marked the 10th of February for his Lordship's creation as Earl of Moray, instead of Mar.

² [Lord James Stuart. See the note p. 22 of this volume.—E.]

to keip the samyn Treatie, and specialie to the said Erle Bothuile, and to mak nor gif na occasioun of brek yairof, sua yat hir Majesties syrvyce suld na wyis be stayit, nor commone quietnes troublit. And sicklyke, the Quenis Majestie, and Lordis of Seceit Counsale foirsaidis, hes promittit, yat the said Treatie, and all pointis contenit yairin, sall be observit and kept to the said Erle of Arrane and his friendis, be all the liegis of this Realme."

From the last day of February there is no session of Privy-Council until the 19th of May following, in which interval of time the Queen has been taking some diversion in the large fields about Falkland and St Andrews, where Mr Knox takes notice her Majesty was,¹ during the time the Earl of Arran made the pretended discovery against the Earl of Bothwell. That writer says, that "on the 18th day of April 1562,² the whole Council was assembled at St Andrews,

¹ [Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, folio, p. 308. Among the amusements of Queen Mary, that of *hawking* was a favourite one, and she often enjoyed this diversion on the south side of the Frith of Forth, and in Fife. The Queen had also gardens at all her Palaces and residences, and some old trees are still pointed out near Holyroodhouse, Moray House in the Canongate of Edinburgh, Craigmillar Castle near that city, Crookstone Castle near Paisley, and other places, which are traditionally alleged to have been planted by her. As it respects the allusions in the text, Queen Mary had a garden and deer-park at Falkland Palace in Fife; and she seems to have had a residence and garden at St Andrews, unless we are to assume that she occupied the edifice in the Priory of that city to which her father James V. conveyed her mother Mary of Guise, when she first landed near Crail, the property of her illegitimate brother Lord James Stuart, Earl of Mar, as lay Prior or Commendator. Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 71, 72.—E.]

² That the Queen was at St Andrews the 20th day of April, appears undoubtedly, by an order signed by her there, to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, requiring them to prohibite the chusing of *Robin Hood*, *Little John*, nor *Abbot of Unreason*, within that burgh, which her Majesty had heard was intended, in the beginning of May, as had been sometimes done, on purpose to raise sedition and tumult. And a Proclamation was accordingly made through the city, conformable to the Queen's command and former Acts of Parliament. See the Town-Council Register.—[*Robin Hood*, *Little John*, and the *Abbot of Unreason*, were well known pastimes of the people long before the Reformation. Sir Walter Scott gives a splendid description of the last mentioned in THE ABBOT, A SEQUEL TO THE MONASTERY. In the Parliament held at Edinburgh, 20th June 1555, it was enacted that no persons were to be chosen "Robert Hude, nor Lyttill Johne, Abbot of Unreason, Queenes of May, nor otherwyse, nouthier in

in which it was concluded, That in consideration of the former suspicion, the Duke should render to the Queen the Castle of Dumbarton, the custody whereof was granted unto him by appointment, till that lawful succession should be seen of the Queen's body. But *will* prevailed against *reason* and *promise*; and so was the Castle delivered to Captain Anstruther, as having power from the Queen and Council to receive it." But how untrue this representation is, appears by the Duke's own acknowledgment to Mr Randolph, in this gentleman's letter of the 11th of November last year, to which the reader may be pleased to cast back his eye. And tho' it had been true, that the Duke had received that fortress in keeping under the provision here alledged; yet if the Duke should be found to be acting in any thing contrary to the interest of the Queen and kingdom, why should Mr Knox have made any doubt, but that the Queen and Council had good and sufficient right to demand back the Castle, when they saw it expedient for the safety of the State?

It will be remembred, that in the English Resident's letters some discourse had casually intervened concerning an interview between the two Queens: It seems this hint had been improved into a formal proposition; whereupon we find the following record in the Registers of the Privy Council:—

Apud Edinburgh, 19 Maij, Anno Dom. 1562.

SEDERUNT Jacobus Dux de Chattelarault; Archibaldus Ergadiæ Comes; Jacobus Comes de Mar; Willelmus Marescal. Comes; Joannes Atholiæ Comes; Jacobus Comes de Mortoun; Joannes Dominus Erskin; Joannes Bellenden de Auchnowle, Miles, Clericus Justiciariæ; Magister Jacobus Makgill de Nether-Rankelor, Clericus Registri; Magister Robertus Richardson, Thesaurarius; Willelmus Maitland de Lethingtoun junior, Secretarius.

"THE quhilk day, in presence of the Quenis Majestie and Lordis foirsaid, being assemblit, and the estait of the tua Realmes of Scotland and England considerit, how neidfull

burgh nor to landwart in ony tyme to cum," under certain severe penalties specified. *Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 500.—E.]*

it is yat ye amitie and friendschip standand, continew betwix the Quene oure Soverane and ye Quene of Ingland yair subjectis and yair Realmes : And it being inquirit be the Quenis Majestie at the saidis Lordis to declair yair counsale, gif it be necessar yat hir Majestie meit the Quene of Ingland for intertenyng of the amitie : Declarit yat gif hir Grace thoecht hir awin person to be ony way in suritie, upoun ony promise or uyer condition to be maid be the Quene of Ingland to hir Hienes, quhilk yai remittit to hir awin part and good will, that nathing is mair necessar for intertenyng of yis amitie, nor yat hir Grace meit with the said Quene at sik tyme as may be appointit yairto."

In conformity with this Declaration by the Lords of Council, our Queen caused Instructions be drawn up, to be committed to Mr Maitland, her Secretary, whom she sent immediately into England. A part of these Instructions is preserved in the ruinous MS. and are as follow :—

" — greit affectioun we beir to oure derest sister, movis — in hir handis nocht onlie a greit part of oure Nobilitie, but als wa oure awin persone, having nathing behind mair deir — and doutis nocht bot oure said gude sister will sa sincerlie, uprichtlie, and justlie deill with ws, that the hail world sall yairby persave the like gude affectioun on hir part ; and in speciall, yat in oure passing, returning, or ony tyme of oure remanyng within the boundis of Ingland and hir power, we, nor nane in oure cumpany, sall not be pressit with ony thing yat may be prejudiciall to oure self, oure Realme, the liberte and commoun weale yairof in ony wyss ; nor ony sic thingis desyrit of ws, nor zit ony purpos brokin to ws, quhilk — just occasioun to myslike : And for the bettir surtie of yis, and uthir thingis to be providit before the meting, ze sall entir in an contract with sic as it sall pleis the Quene of Ingland to authorize be hir commissioun on the uthir part, upoun the heidis following :

" *Item*, First, yat we sall mete oure said derest sister at sic a day and place as ze sall agre on according to zowr Instructionis.

" *Item*, Lat it be providit in the said Contract, for the part of oure said derest sister, That in oure passing, remaning

in England, and returning thairfra within our Realme, we sall nocht be pressit with ony thing yat may be prejudiciall to oure self, oure Realme, the liberte and commoun weale yairof in ony wise ; nor ony sic thing desyrit of ws, nor na persone or personis being with ws, nor zit ony purpos brokin unto ws quhilk we may mislike ; and that we nor the personis being with ws in cumpany sall nocht be challengit, arreistit, chargeit, nor troublit, for ony caus, promis, or deid bygane—to the qualitie of the offens—may cum in yat Realme accompaned—quhatsumevir qualitie, stait, or degre thai be—coffenis, bulzettis, fardellis, money, jewellis,—uncunzeit, letteris clois and patent, and all uther necessars quhilkis thay sall bring with yame thair—as it sall pleis ws, and to return again within this—quhat tyme, and how sone we sall think gude and expedient—power, licence, and fredome to quhatsumevir persone or personis being with ws, or yat sall happin to cum to us furth of oure Realme, or uther partis within the nowmer foirsaid, to repair towert ws with paequetis and letteris, pas and repas als oft as we sall think expedient, during oure remanyng within the Realme of England, bot trouble, strife, arrest, stop, or impediment of oure said derest sister, her officieris, ministeris, or subjectis, sicklike, and als frelie as gif thai and everie ane of yame had speciall saulfeconduct grantit to yame by oure said derest sister, to the effect foresaid, in the maist ample forme yat could be divisit. And als yat oure said derest sister sall caus ws, accompanyit as said is, to be ressavit at the Merchies of yat Realme, with sum noble men, for convoying of ws to the appoyntit place of meting, sa that we may be honourably enterntenyt in all partis upoun oure expens ; and eftir we entir in yat Realme, that we and oure tryne to the nowmer foresaid, or within, sall frelie use the religion quhilk we or thai presentlie profes and usis within this oure Realme.

“ *Item*, That it sall be providit in the said Contract, yat oure said derest sister for hir part, and we for ours, sall ratifie and appreive undir oure subscriptionis and Greit Selis the said Contract, and every poynt yairin contenit, for the bettir authorizing yairof—the like ratificatioun—oure part—the labour to get the copie of the Conduct grantit to oure—moder be King Eduard, for hir passing

throw Ingland; and likewis to get the sicht or copie of the Contract past betwix King Franceys and Hary the Aucht, for yair metings in France; and quhat ze find in yame, or ony of yame mete for this purpos, extend the samin in the Contract to be maid of oure metingis and Conduct, quhilk Conduct ze sall get past twa dais of latar dait nor the Contract, but mentioun of the Contract, or referring yairto, sua yat nane of yame be relative to the uther: And als, ze sall first of all preis the Quene of Ingland, and hir Counsale, to put in forme that surtie of yair awin offir, quhilk thai are willing to mak to ws and oure tryne; and gif ze find the same further extendit nor oure Instructionis, that ze tak it, and utherwis to do as ze are instructit, and further as zowr awin wysdom findis gude.

“*Item*, Ze sall, besyde all uther Instructionis gevin to zow, sound and try be all meanys and wysdom ze can best, whether the Quene of Ingland will desyr the Treaty maid of before to be ratifyt as it standis; or gif she will be satisfyt with an qualificatioun and limitatioun, and in quhat maner; or gif she will desyr any new Treatie to be maid: And in yir last twa poyntis, that ze consider and try quhat proffite and eis we may haif yairthrow, to the effect, that att zour returning, we may knaw sa far as ze may lerne or undirstand; bot allwayes yat na eis be able to be obtenit of the former Treatie, bot yat thay will require the ratificatioun yairof rigoruslie as it standis, without ony limitatioun or qualificatioun, than wer the meting na thing profitable for ws, bot rather to——may fall unto ws and the——failzieing of hir and the——ze sall agre to the meting. And——qualificatioun, nor this may be obtenit——rather to be accordit. Or gif thay think it——in a new Contract of the like substance of the last——at yat Article prejudiciall be omittit in the new——leist, limite, and qualifyt, as is before said, ze sall in likewis mak na difficultie to aggre to the meting.”¹

Together with those Instructions, the Queen sent likewise these two letters, by which it may appear how solicitous her Majesty was for the success of this negotiation.

¹ See here our Queen's steady intention to have a limitation put upon the Treaty of Edinburgh.

*Letter from Queen Mary to Lord Robert Dudley.*¹

—— “at oure gude sister the Quene——handes, to nuris the gude intelligence betwix ws and her——we wyss may lang indure, sa is the procuring yairof the——plesure ze can do unto ws; and therefore having presentlie occasioun to direct unto oure said gude sister, oure trusty and weilbelovit counselour the L. of Lethingtoun, oure Secretarie principall, we have gevin him command to thank zow hartilie upoun oure behalf; and forder, to communicate unto zow oure mynde at length in sic thingis as ar committit to his charge; the report quhairof we remitt unto his sufficieneye, desyring zow to gif him firme credence as to oure self. Thus we commit zou to the protectioun of Almighty God. At oure Palace of Halyrudhous, the xxv. day of May 1562.”

*Letter from Queen Mary to (Sir William Cecil.)*²

“RICHT trusty and weilbelovit, we grete zow wele: Oure trusty and weilbelovit Counsalar the Laird of Lethingtoun, oure principall Secretar, will report unto zou quhat he hes in charge from ws, towerd oure derest sister the Quene zour maistres, quhairin we desyre zou for the place of credite ze occupie, to procure him be zour gude meanys favourable and haistie depesche; nocht doubting bot ze will gif him firm crydett in sic thingis as he will declair unto zou upoun oure behalf, being a man of a lang tyme weil knawin unto zow, and ane quhome we speciallie trust; quhilk nochtheless——”

The Scottish Secretary met with so gracious a reception, and had so good success in England, that the matter of the interview seemed to go smoothly enough forward, several things relating to the same having been very speedily adjusted; though, indeed, it be to me still a matter of much doubtfulness, whether the Queen of England was at bottom, really willing that the Scottish Queen should at all come into her kingdom,³ in which there were so many persons

¹ Shatter'd MS. a Copy.² Ibid.³ [“Cecil had earnestly advised (Maitland of) Lethington to encourage a meeting between the two Queens, and although the Scottish Secretary

who secretly favoured our Queen's title to that Crown, and who, by her own blooming years, her graceful appearance, and agreeable conversation, might still augment the number of her favourers. But however, be that matter as it will, Queen Elizabeth, in a very short space, caught an opportunity of putting an end to that project for this year,¹ and

felt the danger of negotiating in such a case, observing, that if any thing should frame amiss, it would be his utter ruin, the ardent feelings of Mary relieved him of the difficulty, by herself proposing the interview in a letter which she addressed to Elizabeth. France, also, and the Cardinal her uncle, encouraged the overture, and even Randolph, whose judgment when in favour of Mary none can suspect of bias, expressed his opinion of the sincerity, upright dealing, and affection of that Princess. Early in the spring (May 23, 1562), her anxiety upon this subject induced her to despatch Secretary Lethington to the English Court that he might arrange the preliminaries ; and the Lord James, her chief minister, who had lately, upon the occasion of his marriage, received from the Queen the Earldom of Mar, requested leave, when the meeting took place, to bring Christopher Goodman along with him as the minister of the Protestants."—Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 253, and the references to the above facts are MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 15th January 1561-2, Maitland of Lethington to Cecil, 29th January 1561-2, Randolph to Cecil, 30th January 1561-2, and 26th May 1562.—E.]

¹ [Knox says—"The interview and meting of the two Quenis delayed till the next yeir, our Soverane tuke purpose to visit the North." Historie, Edin. edit. p. 315. Queen Mary had commenced her preparations for the interview with Queen Elizabeth, to whom she sent her picture, with many expressions of affection and anxiety for the amity between the two kingdoms. "This present day," says Randolph to Cecil, dated 15th July 1562, "she hath directed her letters again to all the Noblemen of her realm, to be with all convenient speed at Edinburgh, and for this cause departeth herself hitherward to-morrow, as the most convenient place to take resolution in all things she hath to do. It pleased her Grace, immediately after she had conferred with the Lord of Ledington (Maitland), and had received my sovereign's picture, to send for me. After she had rehearsed many such purposes, as by the Lord of Ledington's report unto her Grace had been spoken of her by my sovereign, touching her sisterly affection towards her, her good-will and earnest desire to continue in peace and amity, and, in special, that they might see each other, she sheweth unto me my said sovereign's picture, and asketh me how like that was unto her lively face? I answered unto her, that I trusted that her Grace should shortly be judge thereof herself, and find much more perfection than could be set forth by the art of man. 'That,' saith she, 'is the thing that I have most desired, ever since I was in hope thereof, and she shall well assure herself there shall be no stay in me, though it were to take any pains, or to do more than I may well say ; and I trust by that time that we have spoken together, our hearts will be so eased, that the greatest grief that ever after shall be between us will be when we shall take leave the one of the other. And let God be my witness,

so for ever thereafter, as will best appear by these original Papers.

*Letter from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary.*¹

“RICHT excellent, richt heich and michtie Princess, our derest sister and cousine, we grete zow wele : We have sent to zow oure trustie and welcbelovit servand Sir Henry Sidney,² Knyt, President of oure Counsale in Wales, whome we require that ze will credit in such maters as he hes in charge

I honour her in my heart, and love her as my dear and natural sister. Let me be believed of you, that I do not feign.’ * * ‘Since, therefore,’ concludes Randolph, ‘the Princesses’ hearts are so wedded together, as divers ways it is manifest that they are—seeing the purpose is so godly, without other respect but to live in love, I doubt not but, how much soever the world rage thereat, the greater will be the glory unto them both, and the success of the enterprise the happier. To resolve, therefore, with your Honour herein, I find in this Queen so much good-will as can be possible ; in many of her subjects no less desire than in herself ; the rest not such that any such account is to be made of, that either they can hinder the purpose, or do great good, whatsomever they become.”
Tytler’s History of Scotland, Edin. 1842, vol. vi. p. 260, 261.—E.]

¹ Shatter’d MS. a Copy.

² This gentleman came into Scotland in the year 1562. See Camden.—[Sir Henry Sydney was the elder son of Sir William Sydney, lineally descended from Sir William Sydney, Chamberlain to King Henry II., with whom he came from Anjou into England, and his Family had been long located at Cranleigh in Surrey, and Kyngesham in Sussex. Sir Henry Sydney was Ambassador in France for four years, and was constituted Cup-Bearer to Edward VI. for life. In the second and third year of the reign of Philip and Mary he was appointed Vice-Treasurer, and General Governor of all the revenues of the Crown in Ireland ; and soon afterwards he was invested with the temporary government of that kingdom as Lord-Justice, during the absence of the Duke of Sussex, Lord-Deputy. In 1560, Sir Henry Sydney was nominated Lord President of Wales, an office he held when he came to Scotland in 1562. Two years afterwards he was made a Knight of the Garter, and Queen Elizabeth constituted him thrice Lord-Deputy of Ireland. The illustrious Sir Philip Sydney was his eldest son by his wife, Lady Mary Dudley, daughter of John Earl of Northumberland, and sister of the celebrated Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. His second son, Sir Robert Sydney, succeeded as next heir at the death of the accomplished Sir Philip Sydney occasioned by a mortal wound on the field of Zutphen in Guilderland in 1586, and for his military exploits was created Baron Sydney of Penshurst in Kent in 1603, next year Viscount L’Isle, and Earl of Leicester in 1618. He was the grandfather of the Hon. Algernon Sydney, who was beheaded on Tower Hill, 7th December 1683, for his participation in the Rye-House Plot. In 1743 all the honours of this Noble Family became extinct by the decease of Joceline Sydney, seventh Earl of Leicester, without issue.—E.]

to communicate unto zow ; and for the doying of any thing on oure part towertis zow, tending to oure interview, we do be this present——

“ ELIZABETH R.”

*Instructions given by the Queen's Majestie to Sir Henry Sidney, Knight, Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, sent by her Majestie to her good Sister the Queen of Scots.*¹

“ You shall say to our good sister the Queen of Scots. That whereas upon request made unto us by her, to come into some parts of our Realm, to see us this summer ; we were thereunto of ourself, for the increase of the mutual love betwixt us, very well inclined, and gave unto her Ambassadour, the L. of Lidington, in the beginning of June, answer, That if the troubles in France should well end, and peace be made before the end of the said month of June, then we would be content to meet with the said Queen in the North sometime this summer ; and that since that answer given, upon advertisement out of France of an Accord, reported to have been made between the Prince of Conde² and his party, we were contented that certain Articles should be made betwixt the L. Chamberlain of our House and the said Ambassadour, for the assurance and friendly order of the said Queen and her train. According to which Articles so accorded, we caused all manner of preparations to be made meet for the purpose, as well for the honourable conduction of the said Queen, as for entertainment and return. And now whilst the same were in hand, and almost accomplished, we have received out of France advertisement very certain, that the former Accord mentioned betwixt the said Prince of Conde and the Duke of Guise in the last month was of no moment or consequence indeed, but rather a device to abuse the said Prince, as plainly appeareth by

¹ Cotton Library, a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

² [Louis de Bourbon, the first who assumed the title of Prince of Condé, killed at the battle of Jarnac in 1569. He was a son of Charles de Bourbon, who was the son of Francis Count of Vendôme, and Mary of Luxembourg, heiress of St Paul's, Soissons, Enguien, and Condé, by which marriage, in 1487, the House of Condé became a branch of the great House of Bourbon. The title was derived from the town of Condé in Hainaut.—E.]

the sequel thereof. For you shall shew her, that whilst the Prince was entertained with communication of Accord, the Duke of Guise, with the Constable, made a semblance of departure from their army; the said army, unawares to the Prince, marched towards Blois, and immediately the said Duke and Constable speedily returned, and with the said army besieged, battered, and assaulted the said town of Blois; whereof the Governor made offer to render, and yet for demonstration of cruelty the same was refused; and the said Governor and officers submitting themselves, were put to death; and then the former conditions granted to the Prince were denied to him, and no other appointment could be agreed, but themselves all to be banished the Realm, and to be deprived of all estates and offices, and no manner of toleration to be used in causes of religion, but all to be ordered according to the rites and customs of Rome. At the same present time also an edict was published in Paris, giving authority, by express words, to the common people to kill and cut in pieces all such as had broken any church or houses, or that kept them company: an order never heard before, to give to the common people the sword, by means whereof many horrible murders were daily and yet be committed by the rash vulgar sort and heedless people, without regard of estate or degree; yea, or without regard of fault known or tried. And in this time many other demonstrations be given out, as well by bringing in of great numbers of Switzers, as of preparations of great numbers of men of war, to come out of the several dominions of the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and the Pope, that nothing is now less seen than a disposition in the said Duke of Guise and his party to make any indifferent Accord, but rather a wilful subversion and destruction of all manner of nations that consent not with them in the rites of Christian religion—a thing discrepant from Christian charity. Upon which things well considered, we have been more perplexed for the impeaching of the great desire which we have to see our said sister this present summer, than for any other respect or danger; doubting not but God shall assist us to preserve our State from the malice and violence of all such, as for the matter of religion, or any other respect, would impugn us.

“ And seeing these extreme strange proceedings in France, with the circumstances thereof, we doubt not but our good sister will well understand and consider how unmeet it is for us and our Council to be careless of the time, as to depart from these parties, and to leave our Realm unprovided against such accidents, as we know the adversaries of our religion could be content should chance to the same ; and therefore of meer necessity, and utterly against our will and determination, we be forced to forbear that which we most desired this summer, which was to have seen our said dere sister : Of the lack whereof, we be sure our grief shall be more than any other care whatsoever that shall happen ; and yet for the ease of our mind and relief of our sorrow, we have devised and fully determined by God’s will, if our said sister shall so agree, to see her and enjoy her company in the beginning of the next summer ; for assurance whereof, we have presently sent unto her a confirmation of the former Accord, for our meeting to be at the city of York, or our castles of Pomfret or Nottingham, at any time that she shall name and appoint, betwixt the 20th of May next and the last of August then following ; with assurance of like safe-conduct for that year, as was now presently intended for this. All which matter you shall in as good sort and manner express as you can, for declaration of our hearty and great good-will towards her on the one part, and the like great grief of mind for the disappointment on the other part ; which two affections, you may assure her by the best manner of your speech, hath appeared to you in us as great as ever did any other affection. And you shall shew unto her our grant and confirmation under our hand and seal, which if she or her Council shall allow, you shall require that the acceptance of the same may be either delivered unto you ; or else, if time shall not serve, that it be either sent unto us with convenient speed, or else delivered there to the hands of Thomas Randolph, our servant. And if it shall be made ready to be delivered to your hands, then receiving it you shall deliver ours ; wherein this respect is only to be had, that ours be not delivered, but that the acceptance and allowance, with the appointment of the place and time, be also delivered to you, or to our said servant Thomas Randolph. You may note, for the expressing

of our good-will, that there were many impediments for this interview this summer, whereof her Secretary we think could inform her ; as the late motioning of the matter by her, the long expectation of the issue of the troubles in France, the unseasonableness of the year by the inordinate rains, the doubt of our health ; but yet all those together were not able to stay us, until this late extreme and cruel proceeding in France, void of all moderation to accord, unhappily happen'd ; the moment whereof is such, as we trust the wisdom of our good sister, join'd with her love towards us, will judge it necessary for us to regard, altho' some of the principal parties therein be her uncles ; whom as we have of late time been content to use friendly for her sake, so we think for her sake specially she will have us mislike, considering their proceedings at this time are the cause that we both shall lack our joy intended by our meeting ; which, if it may be, we wish they were as well disposed to remedy the next year, as we trust our good sister will by all good means provoke them. And this done to her, you shall, to the Earl of Mar,¹ and others of her Council, set forth how necessarily we be detain'd to regard these late extreme proceedings in France touching religion : whereof you shall warn them to have good regard ; for the sequel thereof must of necessity concern that State, as we doubt not but they well consider. You shall, for your better proceeding herein, communicate this your charge with our servant Thomas Randolph, being there resident for us with our said good sister."

After the receipt of this message by Sir Henry Sidney, " a man," says Mr Camden, " of approved abilities and reputation, and fit for diving into the bottom of things," and who probably might have been pitched upon to come into Scotland, on purpose to dive into the secret views of our Court,² as he had been immediately before, sent into France

¹ [Lord James Stuart. See the note, p. 102 of this volume.—E.]

² Sometime this summer, though I cannot precisely ascertain the date, the Earl and Countess of Lenox were ordered into custody by Queen Elizabeth upon a private correspondence with our Queen. And Mr Knox says—"The young Laird of Bar (his surname Glen) was apprehended with the letters about him, which discovered the Intrigue." See more of Queen Elizabeth's fears, &c. in Mr Camden.—[Bishop Keith is in error

to dive into the views of that Court : after the receipt, I say, of this message, our Queen returned the following letter to the Queen of England.¹

*Letter from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.*²

“ ——— We have be zour Ambassadour Sir Henry Sideney, President of zowr Counsale in Wales, undirstand to oure greite——moving zow to delay the intervieu intendit this——langar tyme, quhilk we wald wyssit had chanceit for mony respectis, bot maist specially for that be the samyn we sall be frustrate for a seasoun of that quhilk we have this lang tyme maist earnestlie desyrit ; that is, a tendir and familiar acquaintaunce be communicatioun with zow our gude sister, being the persoun in this warld quhome we wald be gladest to see : And the quhilkis impedimentis, and remedy yairof, we have communicat to zour said Ambassadour oure

when he states that the Earl and Countess of Lennox were imprisoned “ sometime this summer.” They were committed to the Tower early in the spring of 1562, as appears from a letter of Randolph to Cecil, MS. State-Paper Office, 31st March. The cause of the incarceration of Lennox and his Countess, the niece of Henry VIII., was the discovery of some suspicious intercourse between Lennox and the Roman Catholic party, which was assumed to be a plot for the marriage of their son Lord Darnley to Queen Mary. See the note at the end of Chapter I. of the present volume, p. 59, 60.—E.]

¹ [“ Mary received Sidney with expressions of unfeigned disappointment and regret. She listened to his embassy, as he himself reports, with ‘ watery eyes,’ and Mar and Lethington assured him that had she not already found a vent for her passionate grief in her private chamber, the expression of it would have been still more violent. It is evident that her heart was intent upon this object, and the delay may have caused a painful suspicion of the sincerity of the English Queen, for whose sake she had already made no inconsiderable sacrifices. Yet the message of Elizabeth was warm and cordial. She assured Mary that to have seen her dear sister that summer was her earnest desire, that she now delayed the meeting with the utmost reluctance, and had so fully determined to enjoy her company in the spring, that she had sent by Sidney her confirmation of the treaty for the interview, leaving it to her to fix upon any of the days between the 20th of May and the last of August. Mary was re-assured, and would instantly have accepted the treaty, and named the day of meeting, but most of her Council being absent, Lethington thought it prudent to delay, and promised within a month to send her final resolution.” Sydney to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 25th July 1562, MS. State-Paper Office : Instructions to Sir H. Sydney, Haynes, p. 392. Lethington to Cecil, 29th July 1562, MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, cited in Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 262.—E.]

² Shatter’d MS. a Copy.

mynd sa far furth as for the present we may convenientlie do, remitting the farther resolutioun yairof to sic tyme and occasioun as he will oppin unto zow. In the meyn seasoun we wysche unto zow all prosperite, as to oure self. Gevin undir oure Signet att oure Palace of Halyrudhous the day of July, in the xx. zeir of our regimen.”¹

And that I may lay here altogether all the authentick Instructions which may give the readers the full knowledge of this matter, I insert also the following record from the Privy-Council.

“*Apud Striviling 15 Augusti, Anno Dom. 1562.*

“*SEDERUNT Jacobus Dux de Chattelarault ; Archibaldus Argadiæ Comes ; Willelmus Marescal. Comes ; Jacobus Comes de Mortoun ; Joannes Atholiæ Comes ; Jacobus Comes de Mar ; Alexander Comes de Glencarne ; Joannes Dominus Erskin ; Willelmus Maitland de Lethingtoun, junior, Secretarius ; Joannes Ballenden de Auchnowle, Miles Clericus Justiciarie ; Magister Jacobus Makgill de Nether-Rankelor, Clericus Registri.*

“THE quhilk day, it being proponit at the command of the Quenis Maiestie, how the Quene of England, eftir yat it wes concludit, yat ane meting suld be had betwix yair Maiesties, for the continewance of the tranquillitie and quietnes of baith the Realmes, and yat be sik occasiouns occurrand, the samyn suld nocht tak effect yis zeir ; and yat yairfoire the Quene of England hes desyrit ye said meting to be in the spring of the nixt zeir, and the Quenis Maiestie to gif hir certificatioun yairof betwix and the last day of October nixttocum ; and yairfoir desyrit the Lordis to gif yair counsale and declaratioun yairintill. Quhilkis being yairwith avysit, thocht the meting requisit and expedient for the weill of baith the Realmes, and yat na occasioun has chancit sen ye taking of ye first conclusioun yairon, quhairfoir the samyn suld be stayit ; and yairfoir consentit to the meting of baith the Princes. Bot nottheless declarit, yat yai wald nawyse gif hir counsale to committ hir body in England ; and yairfoir referrit ye place of ye meting, and the securitie of hir awin persone, to himself.”

¹ i. e. 1562. This date agrees well with the former.

CHAPTER V.

CONTAINING MATTERS OF STATE, FROM MIDSUMMER IN THIS YEAR 1562, UNTIL THE 1ST OF APRIL IN THE NEXT YEAR 1563.

ON Saturday the 27th day of June, betwixt the hours of nine and ten at night, an unfortunate accident fell out on the street of Edinburgh, which brought after it a world of mischievous consequences. James Lord Ogilvie¹ and Sir John Gordon of Finlater,² a younger son of the Earl of Huntly, having some difference about money matters, chancing to rencounter, with some attendants about them, drew their swords; and the Lord Ogilvie receiving a severe wound, and which at first appeared to have been mortal, Sir John Gordon was immediately taken, and kept in close prison by order of the Magistrates of Edinburgh. I could not give my readers so satisfying an account of this affair, as by presenting them with such original Instructions as remain still upon record concerning it.

“ 23th Junij 1562.³

“ THE quhilk day the Provost, Baillies, Dean of Gild,

¹ [James Ogilvie, sixth Lord Ogilvie of Airlie, who succeeded his father the fifth Lord in 1549, and grandfather of James eighth Lord Ogilvie, created Earl of Airlie in 1639. Knox incidentally mentions that Lord Ogilvie was seriously injured on the occasion—he was “evil hurt, and almost yet abydes mutilat.” The affray took place on a Saturday night between nine and ten o’clock, and Knox says—“The friends of the said Lord wer cyther not with him, or els not willing to fight that nycht, for they took straike, but gave few that left marks.” *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 315. Knox farther states that this street riot occurred “short after the Convention of the Kirk.” Now, as Bishop Keith gives the date of the affair on *Saturday, the 27th of June*, Knox’s chronology must be erroneous, and he ought to have written “short before,” instead of “short after,” for the fourth General Assembly, or Convention of the Kirk, as it is called, met at Edinburgh on the “penult” day of June, and continued its sittings till the 4th of July. *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Part I. p. 13-18.—E.]

² He is likewise designed of Deskford.—[The third son of George fourth Earl of Huntly.—E.]

³ Register of the Town-Council of Edinburgh.

Thesaurer ; Mr Cuthbert Strange, Janus Barron, Adam Fullarton, David Toad, Mr James Watson, Mr Robert Gray, James Johnstoun, Alexander Park, and Mr Jhonne of the Counsale, with the maist part of the Deacons, decernes Jhonne Gordoun of Findlater to be kept in waird within the counsale-house of this our burgh, thair to be kept be xii men, daylie and nichtlie upoun his awn expenses, quhile it be knawn what comes of my Lord Ogilvy, hurt be him¹ upon Saturday last ; and that in respect of the aith of Robert Henderson, chirurgeon, quha declarit the three principall membrances of the said Lord's right arme to be tuicht, quhilks are the axillar, the basilike, and the great arter ; and gif he bleeds again, the samen will be his dead. And further depones, That the Laird of F. the said John Gordoun's servandis quhilks are hurt are not in danger of thair lyffs.

¹ See the foundation of the quarrel in the Peerage, under the title Finlater.—[The "Peerage" to which Bishop Keith refers is the "Peerage of Scotland, containing an Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of that Kingdom," by George Crawford, Esq. folio, Edin. 1716. The "foundation of the quarrel" is partly stated by our Historian in the text. Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford and Findlater, an ancestor of the Earls of Findlater, married first Jane, daughter of Alexander Abernethy, who was fourth Lord Abernethy of Salton, according to Crawford (p. 143) ; but Douglas (Wood's edit. vol. ii. p. 469) says the lady's name was *Janet*, and that she was the second daughter of *James third* Lord Abernethy. The issue of the marriage, however, was an only son, James Ogilvie, designated of Cardal, who was of course the rightful heir of his father. Ogilvie of Deskford and Findlater entered into a second marriage with Elizabeth Gordon, an illegitimate niece of the second Earl of Huntly, and she is accused of inducing him to disinherit his son James, and settle his estates on Sir John Gordon, on condition that he and his heirs assumed the name and bore the arms of Ogilvie of Deskford and Findlater in all time coming. Failing his descendants the estates were to devolve successively to Sir John Gordon's three brothers, and after them to Sir Walter Ogilvie of Boyne, Walter Ogilvie of Dunlugus, and James Lord Ogilvie of Airrie, and their respective heirs. This extraordinary instance of caprice and parental dislike, which completely excluded the lawful heir from inheriting his father's lands, and of alienating them in favour of a family with whom he had no relationship, appears to have been duly performed in February 1546-7, and Sir John Gordon held the estates under a life-rent to old Ogilvie and his wife till October 1562, when he was forfeited for being present at the battle of Corrichie, at which he was taken prisoner, and soon afterwards executed as a traitor. The conduct of the elder Ogilvie in disinheriting his only son very naturally excited a mortal feud between the Ogilvies and the Gordons, and one of the results of it was the rencounter in Edinburgh mentioned by Bishop Keith. Ogilvie

“ The samen day the Provost, Baillies, Counsallours and Deacons foirsaid, ordaines Mr James Ogilvy of Balfour, and James Ogilvy of Findlater,¹ Master-Houshold to our Sovereign, to be kepit in waird in the ovir counsale-house sickeir upon thair awn expenses, quhile furder be knawn of the Quenis Majestie’s mynd; and ordanes Richart Troupe to be direct away with deligence, with ane wryting to the Quenis Grace, declaringe the maner of the discord betwix the Lord Ogilvy and Jhonne Gordoun, togidder with the waikness of oure preson, and to desyre hir Majestie to relief us of the presoneris above wrytten.”

“ *Penult. Junij 1562.*

“ THE quhilk day Richart Troupe, masser, presentit the Quenis Majestie’s wryting, of the quhilk the tenour follows : Trusty Friendis, we greit zow weill : Wee have ressavit zour letter frae this bearer, quhairby we understand the variance that of late hes happenit betwix the Lord Ogilvy and Jhonne Gordoun, and as we have found zour proceeding and handling of that matter very guid, swae will we thank zow hartly of zour deligence done in apprehending of the personis

of Cardal and Ogilvie of Balfour were committed to prison with Sir John Gordon, but the latter contrived to escape, fled to the North, and induced his father the Earl of Huntly to rebellion, which terminated in the violent death of that Nobleman, his own execution, and the temporary ruin of the Noble Family of Huntly.—E.]

¹ This perhaps is the person who in the Peerage is called James Ogilvie of Cardal, the true heir of Findlater.—[Ogilvie of Cardal instituted what is called in Scottish law a “reduction” of the estates of Deskford and Findlater settled on Sir John Gordon, and it is said that both parties entered into a submission to Mary the Queen-Dowager while Regent, who decreed that Gordon should infeft Ogilvie in the lands, which he purposely neglected. This increased the feud between the Ogilvies and the Gordons. Ogilvie of Cardal, who had held the office of Steward of the Household of Queen Mary in France, was soon set at liberty after the *mêlée* at Edinburgh, for we find him attending the Queen in her northern progress, and employing himself actively in bringing the Macintoshes and others of his friends, with the Ogilvies of Forfarshire, to oppose Huntly and his followers before the battle of Corrichie. In February 1562 he obtained a charter of the Baronies of Deskford, Findlater, and other lands in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff; and on the 19th of April 1567 he got a ratification of all his father’s other estates.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 560. He was the grandfather of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Deskford and Findlater, created Lord Ogilvie of Deskford in 1616, whose son, the second Lord, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Findlater in 1638.—E.]

trublers of zour town ; for albeit the party be greit, as ze wryte, zit nevertheless sall yair greitness, nor respect of yair kinrent, stay us to execute justice as accords. And seeing they are to wairn thair freindis on ather syde, ze sall nocht neid to have ony feir thairof, because oure broder of Mar is to be thair, quha will declair zow quhat fortification ze sall have in that behalf. In the mean tyme caus the better wache and deligence be made for the suretie of thair waird, quhairin ze sall do us acceptable service. Subscribit with oure hand at Striveling the xxviii day of June 1562.

“MARIE R.”

The Queen, who we see was at Stirling on the 28th of June, has returned to Edinburgh some short space thereafter, in which place her Majesty sits in the Privy Council on the 30th of July. And on the 14th day of August thereafter, her Majesty was in the Council again at Stirling ; and on the 25th of that month she holds a Council at Edzel,¹ being then in a progress to the more northerly parts of her kingdom.² We may suppose it was some time before the Queen

¹ This is a house close on the south side of the river North Esk, which divides the shires of Angus and Mearns, about six miles north-west from Montrose.—[The old “House” or Castle of Edzell, in the parish of its name, locally pronounced *Ezell*, is at least nine English miles from Montrose, in the district formed by the streams called the East and West Waters, the junction of which forms the river North Esk, in that quarter the boundary of the counties of Angus and Mearns, or Forfarshire and Kincardineshire. The castle of Edzell, once the residence of a Family named Stirling, from whom it descended to the Lindsays of Glenesk, and now the property of Lord Panmure, is a stately and massive pile in ruins, consisting of two towers connected by an extensive wall, and having large wings behind.—E.]

² [“ Before she set out, a Jesuit arrived in Scotland with a secret message from the Pope. So violent at this time was the feeling of the common people against any intercourse with Rome, that Mary did not dare to receive him openly ; but whilst the Protestant Nobles were at the sermon, Lethington conveyed him by stealth into the Queen’s closet. The preacher, however, was more brief than usual in his discourse, and the Earl of Mar coming suddenly into the antechamber, had nearly discovered the interview ; so that the Papal envoy was smuggled away by the Marys with much speed and alarm, yet not before Randolph had caught a glimpse of ‘ a strange visage,’ which filled him full of suspicion. ‘ The effect of his legation, says this ambassador, ‘ was to know whether she could send unto the General Council (he means the Council of Trent, then sitting), and he was directed to use his influence to keep her steadfast in her religion ; so, at least, the Secretary assured him, but he

took journey towards the North, that her Majesty must have received the letters mentioned by Mr Buchanan¹ from the Pope and her uncles, advising her to entertain well the Earl of Huntly, as being the man of greatest power in Scotland, and best inclined towards restoring the ancient form of religion; and to feed him with some fallacious hopes of her taking to husband John Gordon of Findlater, one of the Earl's sons,² in order to render him the more alert in promoting her Majesty's intentions. A promise, they say, was likewise made by the Pope and Cardinal of Lorrain, of a supply of money to enable the Queen to execute her purposes the better; yet still with a *proviso*, that she should, as a prelude, cause put to death a certain number of persons who were reckoned to be the greatest enemies of the Catholic faith; in which roll the Earl of Mar obtained the honour of precedency. And we may not doubt the Queen would greedily snatch the opportunity to rid herself of that eyesore, he being "a man whose innocence was a continual reproach and curb to her licentiousness; a man whose upright dealing she hated, and the image of God that did evidently appear in him."³ But the misfortune of all this cunning contrivance was, "the Queen shewed these letters

believed there was more under this commission than he or Lethington was permitted to see. The messenger, who was a Bishop, narrowly escaped; for no sooner was it known that a Papal emissary had dared to set his foot in Scotland, than his death was resolved on, and nothing saved him but the peremptory remonstrance of Mar." MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 1st August 1562, *apud* Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 263.—E.]

¹ [Historia Rerum Scoticarum, original edition, Edin. 1582, fol. 205, Translation, Edin. 1752, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 291, 292.—E.]

² And yet the Records assure us that this gentleman was already married.—[Sir John Gordon is said to have married the daughter, by his second wife Elizabeth Gordon, of the same Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford, who disinherited his son James Ogilvie of Cardal, but there is no evidence that this Margaret Ogilvie ever existed. It was no presumption in Sir John Gordon to aspire to be the husband of Queen Mary, if he actually did so, for his father Huntly was undoubtedly the greatest Nobleman in Scotland next to the Duke of Chatellherault, and was descended from the Royal Family.—E.]

³ So say Mr Buchanan and Mr Knox.—[These scurrilities against Queen Mary, and flattering compliments to Lord James Stuart, occur in Buchanan's Historia Rerum Scoticarum, original edition, Edin. 1582, fol. 205; Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 292; and Knox's Historie, Edin. 1732, p. 311.—E.]

to her brother, and to the rest designed for the slaughter, either because she thought they would come at some notice of it by some other way, or else to make them believe she was sincere towards them, as not hiding from them any of her most secret counsels." And surely a novelty it is, that good Mr Buchanan has not resolved this openness of the Queen into a *judicial infatuation* of her from Heaven! For without this, it is scarcely to be supposed that any woman in her right mind would commit such a blunder as this author obtrudes here upon the Queen.¹ If the contents of these letters, so far as they respect the Earl of Huntly, are easily reconcileable with Mr Buchanan's account of the Queen's journey northward,² and the unlucky things that befell that

¹ It is observable that Mr Knox has not one word of this knotless part of the story; nor is there any vestige of it in Mr Randolph's nor in Secretary Lethington's letters. True, indeed, Archbishop Spottiswoode tells over the same things, and this with a mark of certainty too; but we had been much beholden to this Prelate, had he produced some better authority than it may be supposed he had from Mr Buchanan.—[This seems to have been a malicious fiction of Buchanan, whose ingratitude to Queen Mary, whom he invariably traduced, is most dishonourable to his memory. It occurs in his History, fol. 205, and in the Translation, vol. ii. p. 292. Archbishop Spottiswoode (History of the Church and State of Scotland, London, folio, 1677, p. 185) has evidently inserted it on the authority of Buchanan.—E.]

² [It is unnecessary to refute Buchanan's calumnies respecting Queen Mary's "journey northward." This royal progress, which extended as far as Inverness, was proposed by the Queen's advisers for the quiet of the districts, and to ruin the Earl of Huntly, whose destruction had been long meditated by Lord James Stuart, then Earl of Mar, that he might obtain the Earldom of Moray, which was possessed by Huntly. It appears that Lord James Stuart, discontented with the Earldom of Mar, which he knew was claimed by and belonged of right to his relative Lord Erskine, had privately obtained a grant from the Queen of the Earldom of Moray, of which no other person was at the time aware. The first public notice of Queen Mary's progress northward is in a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated the 10th of August 1562.—"From Stirling," says Randolph, "she taketh her journey as far north as Inverness, the farthest part of Murray [Elgin or Morayshire], a terrible journey both for horse and man, the countries are so poor, and the victuals so scarce. It is her will that I should attend upon her thither. It is thought that it will be a journey for her of two months and more. It is rather devised by herself than greatly approved by her Council." Randolph may well call it a "terrible journey," as the roads in that quarter and the state of agriculture were upwards of two centuries afterwards in the most wretched condition. So far, however, from the journey having been "devised" by the Queen, it cannot now be doubted that it was projected by Lord James Stuart and Secretary

Earl and his Family before her Majesty's return, I willingly leave to other people to form a judgment. Mr Knox's relation of that affair concerning the Earl of Huntly appears

Maitland of Lethington, and had two objects—the one to secure the former in the Earldom of Moray, and the other to ruin Huntly, who was in possession; but Lord James Stuart completely concealed his designs from Randolph, who was ignorant of them till some weeks afterwards. Huntly, as Lord Chancellor, had the custody of the Great Seal, and Lord James could not apply for a legal grant and ratification of the Earldom of Moray without making his rival acquainted with his long concealed views. Queen Mary commenced her progress northward from Edinburgh on the 11th of August, 1562, on horseback, and rode to Calder, twelve miles distant, with part of her train, and after dinner she crossed the country to Linlithgow, where she was joined by others of her attendants, and passed the night in her natal Palace. On the following day the Queen rode to Callendar House, the seat of Lord Livingstone, in which she dined, and proceeded to Stirling Castle, where the rest of her train joined her, and where she remained till the 18th of August. She was accompanied by the English Ambassador Randolph, and followed by no less a personage than John Knox. The Queen arrived at Old Aberdeen on the 27th of August, and continued there till the 1st of September. She was attended by Lord James Stuart, Secretary Maitland, most part of the Nobility; and the Earl of Huntly, though then in disgrace, appeared to offer his duty. The absence of the Duke of Chatelherault, who was now restored to favour, seems to have been occasioned by the infirmities of age. After all the Queen's attendants and her men-at-arms had arrived, she left Old Aberdeen on the 1st of September, intending to make a public entry into the neighbouring town of New Aberdeen, now properly Aberdeen, on her return, and to remain there twenty days. She was induced to refuse to visit Huntly's castle of Strathbogie, which had been hospitably provided for her reception, and crossing the Spey to Balveny, she passed the night there, and on the following day continued her progress to Elgin. All the houses in which she lodged were mean and obscure compared to the grandeur of Huntly's castle, but it was no part of the policy of her advisers to allow her to experience the comfort and splendour which he could have awarded to her. On the 8th of September the Queen left Elgin, and went to Kinloss Abbey, where she slept, and on the following day she set out for Darnaway Castle, the chief mansion of the Earldom of Moray. In that castle a Privy Council was held, at which the process, as set forth in the document inserted by Bishop Keith in the text, was sanctioned against Sir John Gordon, who, as he had not entered himself a prisoner at Stirling Castle, was ordered to surrender the mansions of Findlater and Auchendown into the Queen's hands under pain of treason. The conduct of Sir John Gordon, moreover, was the alleged cause of the Queen's refusal to visit Strathbogie, the castle of his father Huntly, now a part of the splendid mansion of Gordon Castle. At this meeting of the Privy Council the Lord James Stuart, otherwise Earl of Mar, produced his patent of the Earldom of Moray, assumed the title, and relinquished that of Mar. Randolph writes to Cecil, 18th September 1562—"It may please your Honour to know that the Queen hath given the Earldom of

to have by far the best aspect ; and that writer ingenuously acknowledgeth — “ Whether there was any paction and confederacy betwixt the Papists of the South, and the Earl of Huntly and his Papists in the North (or to speak more plainly, betwixt the Queen herself and Huntly), we cannot certainly affirm.”¹

Here follow the Records of Privy-Council which relate to the Earl of Huntly and his son's misfortune.

“ *Apud Dernway,*² *10th Septembris*³ *1562.*

“ *SEDERUNT Archibaldus, Argadiæ Comes ; Willelmus Marescal, Comes ; Jacobus, Comes de Mar ; Jacobus, Comes de Mortoun ; Willelmus Maitland de Lethingtoun, Junior Secretarius ; Joannes Ballenden de Auchnowle, Miles Clericus Justiciaræ.*

“ *FORSAMEKILL* as Johne Gordoun of Deskfurd, Knyt, being callit in ane Court of Justiciarie haldin in the Tolbuith of Abirdene, the last day of August last bypast, for the contempt and inobedience committit be him, in brekking of the Quenis Majestie's ward, and departing furth of the Tolbuith

Moray, which once was Earl Thomas Randolph's, to the Earl of Mar. It is both more honourable, and greater in profit, than the other.” Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 81–84. Tytler's History of Scotland, edit. 1842, vol. vi. p. 263.—E.]

¹ [Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, folio, p. 315, 316.—E.]

² This is the Castle of Tarnway in the shire of Moray, the seat of the ancient Earls of Moray.—[Darnaway Castle, the seat of the ancient and present Earls of Moray, is in the united parishes of Dyke and Moy, partly in the county of Moray and partly in the county of Nairn, on the north side of the Moray Frith. The Castle is in the Morayshire portion of the united parishes, about five miles south-west of the town of Forres. It is a magnificent old edifice, built at different periods, and of irregular architecture. Randolph, Earl of Moray, nephew of King Robert Bruce, erected the great hall, one of the finest apartments of the kind in Great Britain, measuring eighty-nine feet in length by thirty feet in breadth, and said to be capable of containing 1000 armed men. The original roof remains, and resembles that of the Parliament House at Edinburgh, and that of Westminster Hall. Earl Randolph's table and chair of state are preserved in Darnaway Castle. In 1839 Francis tenth Earl of Moray, the lineal descendant of Lord James Stuart, gave a splendid entertainment to his tenantry in this noble hall, in which his great ancestor first assumed the title of Earl of Moray, and relinquished that of Mar.—E.]

³ There is no Record of Privy-Council inrolled from the 25th of August at Edzel, until this of the 10th September at Tarnway.

of Edinburgh, upoun the day of last bypast, in the quhilk he was wardit, for the cruell onsetting upoun James Lord Ogilvy, and mutilating of him of his richt arme, and utheris crymes contenit in the letteris direct thairupoun, as the samyn at mair lenth proportis; and that he upoun the said last day of August comperit in the said Tolbuith, and for satisfying of her Hienes thairanent than in judgement, enterit his persone within the said Tolbuith, as hir Grace's ward, thair to remaine induring hir Majestie's plesure; and also offerit him to be obedient to pass to quhatsumevir uther ward it suld please hir Grace to command him: And syne he being commandit in oure Soverane Ladeis name, and hir Justice and his Deputis to pass to the Provost of Abirdenis ludgeing, and thair to haif remanit in ward quhill he wes certifyit of our Soverane Ladeis will in the premissis, under the pane of rebelloun, and putting of him to the horne. And commandment alsua being geyin to the Sheriff-Depute of Abirdene, then present, to convoy him surlie thairto; and thaireftir being enterit in ward in the said Provostis lugeing, thair to haif remanit quhill he had bene fred be hir Grace; he upoun the first day of September instant wes chargit be ane officiar of armes, be vertew of oure Soveranis letteris, to haif past and enterit himself in ward in the Castell of Stirling¹ within vii. dayis eftir the charge, under the pane of tressone. The quhilks charges and command the said Johne Gordoun hes not onlie contemptuandlie dissobeyit, and therthrow incurrit the saids panis, bot alsua be assembling togidder of certane utheris inobedient and rebellious personis apperis to brek the hale cuntre, sa far as is in his power: Thairfoir hir Majestie persaving the evil exampill and greit inconvenientis that may ensew heirof, gif he and his complices be permittit to haif ony strengthis, housis, or forteressis to resort to during his inobedient and manifest contempt foirsaid; and also hering the mony grevous complaintis of the pouir pepill of this cuntre, berand thame to be hercit and oppressit be him and

¹ It is not to be much doubted that this removal has proceeded from the Earl of Mar, thereby to do a displeasure to the Earl and Family of Huntly. And if I might offer a conjecture, I should be ready to think that the following misbehaviour of that Noble Family has arisen from a sudden emotion of envy and hatred against the Earl of Mar.

his saidis complices in tymes bypast, and fering the lyke, or wer (worse) to be done in tyme cuming : Ordanis, with avyse of the Lordis of hir Seecreit Counsale, letteris to be direct to heraldis, masseris, pursevantis, and messengeris, chargeing thame to pass, and in hir Hienes' name and autorite command and charge the said John Gordoun, Gordoun Lady Findlater his pretendit spous, and all utheris havaris, haldaris, keparis, and detenaris of the houssis and forteressis underwrittin, to delyver the houssis and forteressis of Findlater and Auchindowne, and ather of thame, to hir Grace's officiar, executor of this charge, to quhome hir Grace gevis commissioun to ressaif the samyn, and to remoif, devoid, and red thame, thair servandis, and all utheris being therin furth of the samyn, to that effect, that the samyn may be usit at the Quenis Grace's plesure, within xxiv. houris, nixt eftir thai be chargit thairto, undir the pane of tressone : Certyfying thame ann thai failze thairin, that thai sall incur the said pane of tressone ; and that proces of forfaulture sall be led aganis thame according to the terms of the Actis of Parliament, lawis and practick of this Realme."

" *Apud Abirdene 15. Octobris, Anno Dom. 1562.*¹

" *SEDERUNT Archibaldus Argadiæ Comes ; Georgius Arrolia Comes ; Willelmus Marescal. Comes ; Jacobus Moravia*

¹ [Resuming the sketch of the Progress of Queen Mary in the North previous to this date, on the 11th of September she set out from Darnaway Castle for Inverness, and arrived at that town in the evening. The Earl of Huntly had been Sheriff and Hereditary Keeper of the Castle of Inverness, and the Deputy-Governor when the Queen arrived was Alexander Gordon, who held it for Lord Gordon, the Earl's son, who was absent, and to whom his father had resigned both the Castle and Sheriffship in 1556, probably on the occasion of his marriage to Lady Anne Hamilton, daughter of the Duke of Chaltelherault. The Castle was wrested from Lord Gordon's Deputy, who was hanged for refusing to surrender it, although when Huntly was informed that the Castle had been summoned he had ordered it to be given up, but the unfortunate Deputy had been put to death, and his head spiked on the walls before the Earl's messenger arrived. Mary remained in Inverness till the 15th of September, when she commenced her return southward, and slept that night at Kilravock. On the following day she arrived at Darnaway Castle, now in the newly created Earl of Moray's possession, and on the 17th she reached Spynie Castle, the episcopal palace of the Bishops of Moray, where she remained two days. The Queen left Spynie Castle on the 19th, and crossed the Spey at Fochabers on her route to the royal burgh of Cullen, and though she was travelling in the country of the Gordons,

Comes ;¹ Jacobus Comes de Mortoun ; Joannes Dominus Erskin ; Thesaurarius, Secretarius, Rotulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciariorum.

“ It is concludit and ordanit be the Quenis Majestie, with

in which their Chief, the Earl of Huntly, was all powerful, she met with no molestation or opposition, notwithstanding the sundry rumours of an attack by Sir John Gordon at the head of 1000 men. Even if this report had been true, the Gordons ran every hazard of a defeat from superior numbers, as in Randolph's opinion the force which accompanied the Queen when she approached the ford of the Spey amounted to 3000 men. After passing the Spey, Mary proceeded to a private mansion, summoning Sir John Gordon by sound of trumpet to surrender the house of Findlater, and another of his residences belonging to the Ogilvies, which the keepers refused to deliver. On the 20th of September the Queen arrived at the royal burgh of Banff, the county town, where she slept, and on the 21st she passed the night in the mansion of Gight, the property of a gentleman named Gordon, nearly related to Huntly. On the 22d she arrived at Old Aberdeen, and on the following day made her public entry into the other or New Aberdeen, “ and the good mind of the inhabitants shewn,” Randolph writes to Cecil, “ as well in spectacles, plays, interludes, and others, as they could best devise. They presented her with a cup of silver double gilt, well wrought, with 500 crowns in it ; wine, coals, and wax were sent in, as much as will serve her. Her determination is to remain here forty days at least, within what time she trusteth to put this country in good quickness. Her Noblemen remain with her, and more daily come in.”—Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, 4to. vol. i. p. 84-89. This writer mentions that he had in his library a diary of Mary's progress in the North by James Ogilvie of Cardal, who acted as Master of her Household, the same who had been disinherited by his father in favour of Sir John Gordon. It was written in French : “ Without circumstances,” says Chalmers, “ it merely notes where the Queen dined and slept every day. She travelled always *after* dinner. Meagre as this diary is, it is very useful, especially in performing such a journey.”—*Ibid.* vol. i. *note*, at p. 81. It appears that Queen Mary, while in Aberdeen, resided in the lodging of the Earl Marischal, on the north side of Castle Street.—E.]

¹ By this Record we are assured that the Queen's brother has got the designation of the Earldom of Moray, in place of Mar, sometime betwixt this date and the 10th of September last. There is no Council-Day intervening. The revenue of Murray (and Mr Buchanan adds, that of Mar) had been gifted to the Earl of Huntly, and by this precipitant advancement of the Prior to the Earldom of Mar, we may be still more confirmed of the great sway that Nobleman had at this time with his sister the Queen ; and likewise, by this new title conferred on him, we may with the greater assurance fix the present disturbance upon the animosity betwixt these two Earls, now blown up to its utmost height. The Prior of St Andrews was suspicious he could not enjoy the title and Earldom of Mar, because of the right which his own uncle the Lord Erskine claimed thereunto : upon which account he has been desirous to receive this new title,

ayyse of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, That gif George Erle of Huntlie comperis not befor hir Majestie the xvi day of this instant October, to anser to sik thingis as are to lay to his charge, conforme to the letteris direct thairupoun, and that thairfor be virtew of the saids letteris he be put to the horne for his contemptioun : That his houses, strenthis, and freindis be taken fra him, and his saidis freindis, and utheris gentilmen of the cuntre havand reull, or steir therein, be send for, to compeir befor the Quenis Majestie and Counsale foirsaid with all expeditioun, and ordure takin with thame, for obedience to be maid to the Quenis Majestie, and quietnes of the cuntre ; and baith charges and commissiouns to be direct to that effect.”¹

to which there was no lineal competitor.—[We have seen that Lord James Stuart produced his patent for the Earldom of Moray, the great object of his ambition, in Darnaway Castle, in presence of Queen Mary, on the 10th September, having resigned the Earldom of Mar, and the property belonging to it, claimed by his uncle Lord Erskine as his peculiar right. The grant of the Earldom of Moray was scarcely a less matter of jealousy to the Earl of Huntly than that of Mar had been to Lord Erskine ; but the fate of Huntly, who was almost immediately proclaimed a traitor, terminated all discord on that subject, and left the newly created Earl of Moray in undisputed possession, and his lineal descendants ever since have held the Earldom. But although he was in possession of the patent of the Earldom of Moray before he produced it in Darnaway Castle, it was not until Queen Mary's return to Aberdeen that he was legally rewarded with the prize he had long coveted. According to the Peerage accounts, however, the Earldom of Moray was taken from the Earl of Huntly and granted to Lord James Stuart on the 30th of January 1561-2, yet on the 7th of February following the Earldom of Mar was assigned to him—the Queen, for political reasons adding an express clause in the latter patent, that he should bear the title of Mar rather than of Moray. In the second Act of the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 4th of June 1563, entitled, “Exceptioniouns from the foirsaid Act of Oblivioun,” which was the first Act, he is designated “James Erle of Murray, Lord Abernethy and Strathmarne ;” and he obtained a “Ratification” of the Earldom of Moray in the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 16th of April 1567. Acta Parl. Scot. folio, p. 536, 553-557.—E.]

¹ Note.—On the 26th October 1562, there is a Record of Privy-Council at Aberdeen likewise, which might be too prolix to be inserted here ; and yet because the contents thereof may not be altogether useless for this part of our History, and may be agreeable to the relations of the persons concerned, the readers may know, that on that day—“In presence of the Quenis Maiestie, and Lordis of Secreit-Counsale, comperit thir personis under-writtin, and yair cautionaris following, and band and oblist thame *respectivè* to enter yair personis within the places under-mentionat, and to remane within the samyn and foure mylis yairabout, and not to eschapp

“ *Apud Abirdene, 27 Octobris, Anno Dom. 1562.*

“ *SEDERUNT Georgius Errolia Comes; Joannes Atholia Comes; Willelmus Marescal. Comes; Jacobus Comes Moravia; Jacobus Comes de Mortoun; Joannes Dominus Erskin; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Rotulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciarie.*

“ *FORSAMEKILL* as George Earl of Huntlie continewand in his tressonable conspiracies, is cumand fordwart towert this burgh of Abirdene, of determit purpois to persew oure Soverane Ladies propir persone; and hir Grace, to resist his wickit interprissis with hir trew leigis being with hir within this burgh, is to pass fordwart to meit him on the plane fieldis: Thairfoir hir Majestie, with avyse of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, ordainis that gif it happinis ony of hir liegis being with hir, or sik utheris as she sall appoint in cumpany to be slane at this journey, hurt and woundit to the deid, and deceisis thairby thaireftir, or in the coming thairto, and passing thairfra, That thair wife and bairnis, and failzeing of thame, thair aires and executouris, sall bruke and joiss thair takkis, stedingis, rowmes, and possessiounis for the space of five zeiris nixt eftir the dait heiroyf, without gressume or entre-silvir to be payit thairfore; and also, that thair airis sall haif the ward of thair

nor eschew whil yai be fred be the Quenis Maiestie, under the panis under-mentionat.” The persons principals are, George Gordon of Gicht, within Edinburgh, betwixt and the 8th November next, under the pain of 5000 merks. James Gordon of Haddo, within Edinburgh, before the 3d November, at 5000 merks. — Gordon of Abirzeldy, in St Andrew’s, within four days next to come, at 5000 merks. Alexander Gordon of Strathowne, within Hadington, 22d November, at 5000 merks. Alexander Gordon, eldest son and heir to George Gordon of Lesmoir, in Edinburgh, within six days next to come, at 2000 merks. George Gordon, son and appearand heir to James Gordon of Creichie, for his father; and Alexander Gordon of Birkinbog, his brother, both of them within Edinburgh, 3d November, at £1000 each. Patrick Gordon, son and appearand heir to George Gordon of Corruthies, for his said father; and Patrick Gordon of Auchmanze, within St Andrew’s, 3d November, at 2000 merks. Thomas Gordon of Kennartie, within St Andrew’s, 3d November, no penalty. Alexander Gordon for William Gordon of Craig, his brother, within Edinburgh, 3d November, at 3000 merks. All the above persons have gentlemen of estates in the shire of Aberdeen, except Alexander Knowis burgess of Edinburgh, for Creichie and Birkinbog, for their cautioners.

landis, mylnis, and fischeingis, with thair mareage free, without payment of ony compositioun, or teind penny thairfore; and this present ordinance to extend to thame that hes and haldis thair landis, fischeingis, malingis, rowmes, and possessiounis, alswele of spirituale men as temporale men, as of the Quenis Majestie: providing that the saidis air or airis entir to their landis, rowmes, and possessiounis within three termis eftir the lauchfull age of xiv. zeiris; and gif the falt be in thair tutoris or curatoris, to enter within ane terme eftir thai be of xxi. zeiris compleit; and this present ordinance to be of als grete force, strenth, and effect as the Act and Ordinance maid be oure Sovereine Lady befor the feild of Pynkie-cleuch, be James Duke of Chatellarault, Erle of Arrane, Lord Hamilton, &c. in hir Hienes' name, than brukand hir autorite; or be hir Grace's moder in the weris betwix this Realme and Ingland, in the zeir of God 1557 zeiris.¹

“ Forsamekill as George Erle of Huntlie, with his bairns, and diverss utheris of his factioun, hes committit sundrie tressonable dedis and interpris is aganis the Quenis Majestie and hir autorite; and eftir that the said Erle was denouncit rebell, and put to the horne, he and his saidis sonnys, and utheris their participantis, assemblit thair haill tennentis, servandis, and utheris thair friendis, and put thame in armes at the Barony of Strathbogy; and fra thence came fordwart in plane battale, frae place to place, quhill thay ar approchit neir this burgh of Abirdene, within few myles

¹ [Previous to the movements of Huntly, recorded in the above document, he had continued quiet in his Castle of Strathbogie. He had actually delivered up the two mansions of Deskford and Findlater, which the Queen had summoned, and sent her the keys, but she declined to receive them. He even sent a particular cannon which he had at his Castle to the place appointed by the Queen for its surrender. The Earl's eldest son, Alexander Lord Gordon, who had married Lady Margaret Hamilton, daughter of the Duke of Chatellherault, was with his wife at the time residing with the Duke at his mansion near Hamilton, and the Earl's other son, Sir John Gordon, the ostensible origin of all this turmoil, was an outcast among the mountain fastnesses of the district. Lady Anne Hamilton, another daughter of the Duke of Chatellherault, married George the second son of the Earl of Huntly, who succeeded his father as fifth Earl, though his forfeiture was not reversed till 1567, even though he was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1565.—E.]

to the samen : and continewand in thair tressonable dedis, intendis to cum fordwart to the said burgh, of determit purpois to invaid the Quenis Grace's propir persone, hir Counsale, and utheris hir trew liegis being with hir in cumpany : And hir Hienes, with avyss of the Lordis of hir Secrete Counsale, seand the eminent danger, and knawand that gif the saidis conspiratoris tressonable interpris was not in tyme stayit and resistit, it might turne to the grete skaith of hir awine persone, gart call in befor hir Hienes, hir cousing and counsallor George Erle of Arrole, William Lord Forbes, Alexander Lord Saltoun, William Leslie of Boquhane, and utheris of the cuntre folkis, desiring thair ayvse to be had for resisting of the conspiratoris foirsaidis : Quhilkis eftir deliberatioun takin thairby, offerit to pass fordwart with thair kin and friendis, and for apprehending of the said Erle, his bairnis, and assistaris being in thair cumpany, to wair thair lyfes as thair dewetie and detfull obedience requyres to thair Soverane. Quhilk offir the Quenis Grace, with avyss of hir Counsale foirsaid, thoct maist resonable, meit and agreand with the tyme ; and thairfoir ordanit, and be the tenour heirof, ordanis thame to pass fordwart, to the effect foirsaid : And to the effect the samyn may be the mair surlye and starklie performed, gevis, grantis, and committis hir Hienes' commissioun and full powir to hir derrest bruther James Erle of Murray, with utheris of hir Secreit Counsale, and Noblemen being in hir cumpany, to pass fordwart, with thair kin, freindis, and servandis, to the pairt and place quhair the said Erle of Huntlie, his bairnis and complices sall happin to be, the xxviii. of this instant October, and to take with thame our Soverane Ladeis baner, and put thame in armes, and to display hir said baner, and to resyst, and gif neid be, to persew the said Erle, his bairnis and complices foirsaidis, for apprehending, taking, and bringing of thame to the law, to be punist foir thair tressonable cuming in plane battell in maner foirsaid, and utheris tressonable crymes committit be thame of befor ; and gif thai mak resistance, to persew thame to the deid, and fecht thame in plane battell, and to assemble our Soverane Ladeis liegis to that effect ; and gif the said Erle, his bairnis or complices, and parttakkaris being with thame in cumpany, happinis to fle and pas to

houssis or strenthis, to lay assage to the samyn, and to continew thairat, and in persewing of the saidis conspiratoris, sa lang as thai may remane on the feildis ; and to rais fyre, for apprehending of the saidis housis and strenthis, and to do all uther thingis for performing of the premissis, as gif oure Soverane Lady wer present in propir persone ; and this present commissioun to be of als grete avail, force, strenth, and effect, as gif the samyn wer extendit in the maist ampill forme under the Grete Sele ; declarand heirby, that hir said bruther, and utheris Noblemen foirsaidis, and personis being with thame in cumpany, sall incur na skaith nor danger in thair landis, bodeyis, or guidis, for apprehending, taking, and slaying of ony of the conspiratouris above rehersit : And ordanis this presentis to be insert in the Bukis of Secreit Counsale, to remane thairin *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, with letteris to be direct heirupoun for publisshing of the samyn, commandand thairin all her Grace's liegis to anser and to obey to hir said bruthir and Noblemen foirsaidis being with him in cumpany, in all and sundrie thingis concerning the premissis, and to ryse and gang fordwart with thame to that effect, as thai will anser to the Quenis Majestie thairupoun."

Next day, being the 28th of October, the Earl of Moray being now constitute her Majesty's Lieutenant, marched out of Aberdeen, and encountered the Earl of Huntly at a place called Corrichie,¹ about 14 or 15 miles to the west of that

¹ [The vale of Corrichie, the scene of this battle, is in the parish of Mid-Mar, amid the mountain scenery of the Hill of Farr or Fare, which is upwards of 2000 feet above the level of the sea, and the base is described as nearly twenty miles in circumference. The locality is nearly twenty English miles west of Aberdeen, near the rivulet of Corrichie, on the borders of Kincardineshire. An excavation on the side of a rock in the vicinity of the vale, is traditionally designated the *Queen's chair*, from the assertion that Mary halted at the spot, while returning southward from Aberdeen, and viewed the scene of the then recent engagement. This, however, must be a popular error, for the Queen's progress from Aberdeen was by Dumnottar, along the coast, to Montrose, whence she passed to Dundee and Perth. As to the battle of Corrichie, the numbers engaged on both sides were most unequal. Huntly was originally at the head of only five hundred of his clan and dependants, some of whom daily deserted him ; for, according to Randolph, in his letter to Cecil dated 28th October 1562, the very day of the conflict, and Randolph had two servants on the field as spectators, Huntly " had only with him his own

town, where the Earl of Huntly chanced not only to lose the day, but his life also, having been trodden to death in the flight; some say murdered, after he had been made prisoner. His son Sir John, and a younger son Adam, were taken; and Sir John was beheaded immediately at Aberdeen,¹

friends, tenants, and servants, of whom divers in two nights before stole secretly from him." On the other side Moray marched from Aberdeen as the Queen's Lieutenant at the head of not fewer than nearly two thousand men, accompanied by the Earls of Morton, Atholl, and other Noblemen, with the intention of surrounding his opponent. Huntly took up his position on a hill of difficult access, but he was driven from it by the harquebussiers into a morass in the vale of Corrichie. Although Moray's forces were as four to one of Huntly's, yet they were composed of some whose fidelity was suspected. Of this Moray was aware, and he stationed them in front, commanding them to begin the attack. They, however, gave way as he anticipated, but a chosen body immediately behind compelled them to renew their attack, by presenting their threatening spears. Nevertheless the confusion was such that Huntly imagined himself victorious, and ordered his men to rush upon their assailants, which they did sword in hand, but without order or precaution. They cleft their way through the disorderly bands, but Huntly, with his two sons Sir John Gordon and Adam Gordon, the latter then only seventeen years of age, was obliged to surrender with the loss of one hundred and twenty of his followers, while not a man of Moray's forces was slain, though several were hurt, and many horses were killed. Huntly himself fell, but our Historian does not expressly state the manner, farther than that he died on the field. Randolph informs Cecil—"The Earl himself, after that he was taken, without either blow or stroke, being set upon horseback before him that was his taker, suddenly falleth from his horse stark dead, without word that he ever spake, after that he was upon horseback." From this it appears that he was a prisoner, and Chalmers says that he "died of a broken heart." Mr Tytler says that he was "slain, whether by the sword, or suffocated from the weight of his armour, is uncertain;" and the authority cited is a letter, MS. State-Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 2d November 1562. Some assert that he was trampled to death, while others allege that the Earl, aged, corpulent, and reduced by sorrow, expired in the pursuit. It is also maintained, though without the least authority, that Moray strangled him in his flight with his own hands.—E.]

¹ [Sir John Gordon was brought to trial, condemned, and executed on the following day in Castle Street, Aberdeen. Even Buchanan expresses sorrow for the hapless fate of one who ardently loved Queen Mary, and who had been excited by the hope of becoming her husband. "He was generally pitied and lamented," says Buchanan, "for he was a noble youth, very beautiful, and entering on the prime of his age, not so much designed for the royal bed, as deceived by the pretence of it." There is no evidence that the Queen beheld him with such peculiar affection, and Freehairn (*Life of Queen Mary*, p. 50) properly remarks, that she was "in that medium between indifference and passion, which may with honour be allowed to inclination, though it cannot be claimed by merit." A report had been circulated that Sir John Gordon intended to commit

or rather butcher'd by an unskilful executioner, which created him much pity : but Mr Adam¹ received the Queen's pardon, because he was not yet arrived to age ; and so might be supposed to have been carried along with his father, without any choice of his own. The Earl's dead body was conveyed to Edinburgh by sea, and kept unburied all the winter in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse ;² and then an

violence on the Queen's person, and it was believed by many of his enemies that it was not without her knowledge, or against her private will. To clear herself from this false charge the Queen, by the entreaty of Moray, consented to behold the execution of Gordon, which she witnessed from a window of the house of the Earl Marischal, in which she resided, on the south side of Castle Street. It is said that Moray had the barbarity to *force* her to behold this sad spectacle. When Sir John Gordon appeared on the scaffold, his youth, courage, and misfortunes, excited the deepest commiseration. He recognized the Queen, and turning towards her, confessed that her presence was a solace at his death, as he was about to suffer for loving her. The Queen was near enough to hear his words, and burst into tears before Moray. It is said that Gordon confessed that four times he had resolved to murder Moray, and that he was only prevented by providential interpositions. He laid his head on the block, after earnestly gazing in silence on the Queen, who was weeping and sobbing bitterly. The executioner unskilfully inflicted on him a dreadful wound, and in this excruciating torture he remained till his head was severed from his body. The Queen fainted, and was carried almost dead to her bedchamber, yet this act of sympathy for the fate of one whom she regarded if not with affection, at least with favour and regard, was turned against her by her unfeeling enemies, who afterwards asserted that she passionately loved Sir John Gordon. "The instrument by which he suffered," says Mr Kennedy, in his *Annals of Aberdeen*, "is still preserved in the town armoury. His body was buried in St Nicholas' church, on the south side of the altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary."—E.]

¹ This gentleman appeared afterwards very eminently for the Queen, during her misfortune.—[Adam Gordon was tried and condemned, but his life was spared on account of his youth, and his sentence was changed to imprisonment in the Castle of Dunbar. He is afterwards designated Sir Adam Gordon of Auchendoun. He subsequently took up arms for Queen Mary, whose authority he long upheld in the North, where he was no less respected for his humane conduct than for his bravery. He is said to have died at Perth in 1580, and at that time he must have been only thirty-eight years of age.—E.]

² [The Earl's dead body was deposited in a vault in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. This is a remarkable instance of political and personal hatred, most disgraceful to those who had achieved Huntly's ruin. It appears that the Earl's body was afterwards removed to the Black Friars' Monastery in Edinburgh, whence it was subsequently conveyed to Elgin, and interred in the tomb of his ancestor Alexander first Earl, in the cathedral of the Diocese of Moray in that old episcopal city.—Genealogical

indictment of high treason was exhibited against him before the Parliament, in the month of May following,¹ "*eftir that he was deid, and departit frae this mortal lyfe.*" What followed hereupon, and how this Noble Family was reduced to the utmost brink of destruction, may be seen at large by the Records of Parliament in the month of April 1567, that are yet remaining.² This only is proper to be remembered, in all the publick transactions either of Parliament or Privy Council which have a relation to this dismal emergent, that the Earl of Huntly's great enemy, the Queen's natural brother, had now the sole sway at Court, and had the interest to act any part he pleased against that Family. The Earl of Huntly's friends affirm, that "the true occasion of the conflict at Corrichie, and of all the troubles which happened to the Gordons, was the

History of the Earldom of Sutherland, from its Origin to 1630, by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, Bart. Edin. folio, 1813, p. 142.—E.]

¹ [The proceedings of this Parliament are for the most part lost. Those Acts which are preserved, as passed on the 4th of June, contain no allusions to the Noble Family of Gordon and the Earl of Huntly.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 535-544. The act of forfeiture and attainder, declaring Huntly's "dignity, name, and memory to be extinct," and his posterity "unable to enjoy any office, honour, or rank within the realm," is inserted by Crawford, in his "Lives of the Officers of State in Scotland," p. 87, 88.—E.]

² These Records, so far as they concern this Noble Family, may be seen transcribed in the Lives of the Lord Chancellors, &c. by the laborious Mr George Crawford.—[Published at Edinburgh, folio, 1726, p. 88. Crawford completed only the first volume of his work, which contains the Lives of the Lord Chancellors, the Lord Great Chamberlains, and the Lord High Treasurers of Scotland. The Parliament of 1567 restored the Earl of Huntly to all his father's forfeited property, honours, and dignities. This was the Parliament in which the Earl of Moray obtained the "Ratification" to that Earldom. See "Ratification to George Erle of Huntlie of sindrye lands and baronyes," "Reduction of the Forfaultour of unquhill George Erle of Huntlie at the instance of his relict and bairnis," "Reduction of the Forfaultour of unquhill George Erle of Huntlie at the instance of George now Erle of Huntlie." Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 558, 574, 576. At the same time the forfeiture of the Earl of Huntly's relative, the Earl of Sutherland, was rescinded, with those "forfaultours" of a number of gentlemen of the name of Gordon, implicated in the Battle of Corrichie, viz. Alexander Gordon of Strathdon, George Gordon of Baldornie, James Gordon of Lismore, John Gordon of Cairnburrow, James Gordon of Tullyangus, George Gordon of Baldornie, and the "unquhill" Thomas Gordon of Craigtully. See the note, p. 166.—E.]

sincere and loyal affection they had to the Queen's preservation; and it is most certain that the Earl of Huntly gathered these forces at her Majesty's own desire, to free her from the Earl of Moray's power."¹

After the unfortunate calamity which befell the Earl of Huntly, his eldest son the Lord Gordon, having fled toward his father-in-law the Duke of Chastelherault, was by the Queen's express order detained prisoner by him at his house of Kinneil; and afterwards, upon her Majesty's return to Edinburgh, he was committed to the Castle on the 28th day of November; and on the 8th day of February thereafter, 1562-3, he was brought forth to a public trial for his life, as having been art and part in his father's treasonable practices;² though I do not find it alleged that he was in the field of Corriehie. And so regardless did his enemies appear to be of the common forms observed in all criminal trials, that no indictment was preferred against him until the very day he was brought to the bar of justice; and yet such was their prevalent power at the time, that he was quickly found guilty of high treason, and condemned to "be hangit whil he war deid, drawn, quarterit, and demainit as ane trator, at oure Soveranis plesor." This last clause in the sentence was the only thing that saved this Noble person from losing his life; for the Queen commiserating the

¹ MS. by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, of the Bed-Chamber to K. James VI. and King Charles I. Mr Holinshed of England, who is allowed to be a writer of much exactness, sets down several particulars pretty favourable on the Earl of Huntly's side. And if it be true, as both Mr Knox and Mr Buchanan relate, that the Queen appeared little pleased with the Earl of Huntly's defeat, this will still confirm that that whole affair has been transacted through the prevailing interest of her natural brother, acting by an extorted power and commission from the Queen, since we see the few Counsellors about her Majesty were her brother's fast friends.—[The passage in the text quoted by Bishop Keith from Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, Bart. was taken from the MS. Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, from its origin to 1630 by Sir Robert Gordon, in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh. A similar MS. is in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Sutherland, and was printed and published at Edinburgh, large folio, 1813. The passage occurs in p. 142 of that volume.—E.]

² See the Records of Parliament, and the Lives of the Chancellors.—[The Records of Parliament of that date are now lost, but an account of this most illegal trial is given by Crawford in his Lives of the Lord Chancellors, *apud* his "Lives of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland," folio, Edin. 1726, p. 90, 91.—E.]

misfortunes which had of late befallen his family, was pleased to suspend his execution, and only sent him prisoner to the Castle of Dunbar, there to remain till her pleasure should be farther known.

The reader will see, in the “Lives of the Lords Chancellors,” how narrowly this Nobleman escaped being put to death, upon a false warrant from the Queen.¹

Besides the publick Registers, there are moreover two

¹ [This story is told by Crawford, in his “Lives of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland” (p. 91), on the authority of Gordon of Straloch, who professed to obtain his information from his father, Gordon of Pitlurg, who “lived at the time,” says Crawford, “and was the Earl’s great confidant and trustee.” The story is, that Preston of Craigmillar near Edinburgh, governor of Dunbar, in which fortress the unfortunate Huntly’s eldest son and heir was now confined, received a warrant “surreptitiously obtained from the Queen,” ordering him to behead the young Nobleman. Preston communicated the dismal tidings to his prisoner, who was not “discomposed” at the intelligence, telling the governor that he “knew well enough by whose means and after what manner such an order had been obtained, and that the Queen had doubtless been imposed on, since he was very well assured of her Majesty’s favour, and that she would never deliver him up to the rage of his enemies; and therefore begged that he would do him the favour to go to the Queen, and receive the order from her own mouth, before he would proceed farther.” Preston immediately rode to Edinburgh, and arrived at Holyrood Palace late in the evening. Notwithstanding the unseasonable hour, he demanded access to the Queen, as he had a matter of the utmost importance to communicate to her. He was admitted into the Queen’s bed-chamber, and Mary, surprised at this unexpected visit, demanded the cause. Preston told her that he “had come to acquaint her Majesty that he had obeyed her commands.” “What commands from me?” inquired the Queen. “The beheading of the Earl of Huntly,” was the reply. The Queen manifested the greatest excitement, weeping, and solemnly protesting that she had “never given nor known of any such order.” Preston quieted the Queen by telling her that “it was very lucky he had not execute the order—that the Earl was alive and well, and begged to know her Majesty’s commands, how she should behave for the future towards his prisoner.” Mary, overjoyed at this information, expressed her thanks to Preston for his prudent conduct—“acknowledged nothing could have been of more acceptable service to her, and now, that she had a full confidence in his fidelity, bid him take care of the Earl, but see that for any charge that could come from her, that he neither deliver him up, nor execute any sentence on him, unless she commanded him out of her own mouth.” What truth may be in this story, which Bishop Keith evidently credited, it is impossible to ascertain. The enemies of the Earl of Moray asserted that the warrant was procured and sent by him to Dunbar, and that the governor, suspecting its validity, ventured to disobey. No evidence is known to exist which can authenticate this statement.—E.]

missive letters on record, which contain some things relating to this fatal expedition, which ought likewise to be laid before my readers; one is from the English Resident, the other from the Scottish Secretary, neither of them friends to the Family of Huntly. These letters will give us insight into other matters, and are as follow.

*A Letter from Mr Randolph to Sir William Cecil,
18th November 1562.¹*

“ AT all other times since the beginning of the troubles in the north parts of this kingdom, the L. of Lidington left unto me the report of them unto your Honour, which from time to time I have done as truly, and with as much expedition, as the place where I have been, would suffer ² Now that these matters are ended, wherein the Laird of Lidington had no small part, he hath promised to renew his old course of intelligence with your Honour, as well to avoid suspicion that you may gather of his long silence; as also to confer with your Honour what in these troublesome, dangerous, and suspicious times is best to be followed for the uniting of the hearts of the two Queens in so firm a league, that, whatsoever inconvenience may arise, it shall never be able to dissolve the same. Of this matter, seeing that he hath written unto your Honour at good length, I mean not further to trouble you therein, but rather to write of whatsoever I am most desirous should come unto your Honour's knowledge of the state of things here. After the defeat of the Earl of Huntly consultation was had what should become of his body; it was resolved that it should be kept till the Parliament, that, according unto the order, judgment might be given against him in the Three Estates. His son John Gordon within three days after was beheaded in Aberdeen, and execution done upon certain others that were taken at the same time. He confessed, that at four diverse times he and his company took purpose to have slain the Earl of Murray, the Earl of Morton, the Laird of Lidington, and the Justice-Clerk; the places, the times, and number of men,

¹ Calig. B. X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

² The letters formerly written by this gentleman from the beginning of the expedition into the North are either altogether lost, or concealed in such obscure corners, that they are no longer to be seen.

were so convenient, that only the hand of God did stay it ; for small was the force that the Queen's Grace had at these times to withstand them, having also at that time in her company the Earl of Sutherland (who is a Gordon) whom she trusted, and is now discovered for to be one of the contrivers of the whole mischief. This John Gordon confessed ; as also, that if his father had taken Aberdeen, as he intended, he would have burnt the Queen, and as many as were in the house with her. So cruel an act, I believe, that never man heard of ! At Old Aberdeen, where the first purpose was to have slain the L. of Lidington, in the night I was his bed-fellow ; in the day for the most part in his company, and at all other times of danger where the Queen was herself ; so that if the house had been set on fire, it had been hot for me being there. The Lord Gordon is made guilty in most part of these matters, whom the Duke by commandment from the Queen apprehended, and keepeth him prisoner in Kinneil.¹ The Queen's Grace having put order to the country, returneth towards Edinburgh. By the way, there meeteth her first Villemont,² by whom I received your Honour's letters, and within few days after your advertisement sent unto Sir Thomas Dacres to be given unto me. I know that there lacketh no good will in him to work what mischief he can ; howbeit, whatsoever he doth, he does it without commission, and little credit I am sure given unto him. But to give some token of his good will to diminish his mistress's credit and all her counsellors with this Queen, he declareth that full resolution was taken, that if God had done His will with her Majestie when she was sick, that this Queen was bar'd from all succession. With this honest report he maketh his first entry ; and that only

¹ This Lord Gordon married a daughter of the Duke of Chastelherault.

² [Queen Mary left Aberdeen to return to Edinburgh on the 5th of November 1562. She arrived that evening at Dunnottar Castle, the stronghold of the Earl Marischal, near Stonehaven. While at Dunnottar, where she passed the night, Villemont came to her from France with some letters from the French Court. His arrival excited considerable gossip, and curiosity to know what was the purport of his visit. Randolph thought he came "for little good," but he soon found that Villemont wanted "some commoditie, either by service or otherwise."—Randolph to Lord Robert Dudley, 18th November 1562, *apud* Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 97.—E.]

one man of the Council seem'd to favour her right ; and that this he learned of one of the Clerks of the Council, with whom I dare take it upon my conscience he never had any such purpose. The L. of Lidington being happily called to hear this discourse, had sufficient matter against him to reprove his untruth, whom I had before informed what I knew assuredly therein. Letters he brought none from any of great importance, as I am assured both by her Grace's self and others ; one letter it pleas'd her to shew me herself, written by the Queen-mother with her own hand. The occasion was this—One day in talk I lamented the case of the poor King and Queen his mother, that he being young, and she in her heart favouring the Protestants, were forced to yield to that that might bring the Crown in hazard, and she to do greatly against her conscience, Her Grace having reasoned with me in the contrary, assured me that there is not in France a verier Papist than the Queen is, nor a greater enemy unto the Prince and his adherents. And now having at this time received a letter from the Queen by Villemont, greatly complaining of the Prince, and misliking greatly, and in many words, my mistress' determination to send support unto those that have taken arms (as she saith) against their sovereign, thought that it should be a great confirmation unto that which before she had spoken unto me, to shew me the letter. I was better content at that time to yield unto her, than further to contend ; it sufficed me, that by that letter I knew how well minded the Queen-mother was unto my sovereign, which I thought good to report unto your Honour, as also to assure you that Villemont's credit with this Queen is not as he look'd for, or trusted that it should have been. Wherefore I doubt nothing that he is able to work ; for to be plain with your Honour, under pardon, he is known and esteem'd but a false flattering varlet ; his wife ran away with another man in France, and he came hither to follow the old trade of a villain's life, as he was accustomed. After him, within few days, cometh Chastelet¹

¹ This unlucky man had fallen desperately in love with our Queen. He had come along with her Majesty into Scotland in the service of some of her relations, and now again he obtains a letter from Mons. Danville to present to her Majesty. His flame put him upon the extravagance of slipping one evening beneath her Majesty's bed, but being discovered

from Mons. d'Anville: his first report to the Queen was, That he was stay'd eight days in the Court. When the Queen herself told it me, I said it was to make him good cheer for

when the Queen was undressing, her Majesty was so gracious as to forgive the offence; but he foolishly acting the same part a second time, he was condemned, and beheaded the 22d of February following. He had a talent of making verses.—[See the note, p. 180, immediately following. The story of Chatelard has been often the theme of various writers. Handsome, agreeable in manners, an enthusiast in music and poetry, of which Queen Mary was passionately fond, she admitted him to friendly intercourse; and “such encouragement,” as Mr Tytler observes, “from a beautiful woman and a Queen, turned the unfortunate man's head; he aspired to her love, and in a fit of amorous frenzy, hid himself in the royal bed-chamber, where, some minutes before she entered it, he was discovered by her female attendants.” This was in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, on the night of the 12th of February 1562-3, and it is singular that he armed himself with a sword and dagger. Chatelard was of course expelled from the apartment by the Queen's attendants, who, not wishing to give their royal mistress any uneasiness, concealed the extraordinary and daring circumstance till the morning. When Mary was informed of it she ordered Chatelard to leave the Palace and Court, and not again to appear in her presence. This lenity, however, failed to exercise a proper effect on the infatuated Frenchman. On the 13th of February the Queen proceeded to Dunfermline, and slept in the royal palace there that night. On the 14th she went to Burntisland, a royal burgh and sea-port on the south coast of Fifeshire, about ten miles east of Dunfermline. Chatelard followed the Queen into Fife, and at Burntisland, on the night of the 14th, when she retired to her bed-chamber, he contrived to enter it immediately after her, to clear himself, as he pretended, from the former imputation against his conduct. The Queen was in the act of stepping into her bed, and was still attended by her ladies. Astonished at the audacity of Chatelard, the Queen called for help, and the shrieks of the ladies soon alarmed the royal household. They rushed into the apartment and seized the intruder, who scrupled not to acknowledge that he had meditated an attempt on the honour of the Queen. When Mary heard this her indignation was roused at the insult, and she commanded the Earl of Moray, who first ran to her assistance, to despatch the wretch with his dagger. But Moray more prudently took him into close custody, and resolved to bring him to condign punishment. The Earl of Morton, who had succeeded the Earl of Huntly as Lord Chancellor, the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, and other members of the Privy-Council, were summoned from Edinburgh. On the second day after the outrage Chatelard was tried, condemned, and executed at St Andrews on the 22d of February. Randolph says he “died with repentance,” but this is inconsistent with the fact, that when on the scaffold, instead of attending to his religious devotions he took out of his pocket a volume of Ronsard, and read that French poet's hymn on death, after which he resigned himself to his fate, and received the fatal stroke with gaiety and indifference. The Queen perceiving that her very bed-chamber was not safe from invasion, appointed Mary Fleming, a daughter of Malcolm third Lord Fleming, to be her

his master's sake. He presented unto the Queen one only letter, very long, from his master : little knowledge is gotten yet what it contains ; always I am assur'd by the L. of Lidington that he hath neither errant, letter, commission, nor credit, to move this Queen in any thing that is prejudicial unto my sovereign ; and that if any such thing were, as is suspected, that he should come to stir or move her any way against her Majesty, that neither he nor any other could prevail therein, no, not if she were herself willing ; other impediments there are that are immoveable.¹ What his errant is cannot be so hastily known as I desire, nor I trust shall not be so long secret but I shall shortly get wit by some means or other. He is well entertained by the Queen, and hath great conference with her ; he rideth upon the soar-gelding that my L. Robert gave unto her Grace ; he

“bed-fellow.” She was one of the four ladies of the name of Mary who went to France with the Queen, and returning with her, she continued one of the maids of honour till her marriage to Maitland of Lethington in 1567. Such is the story of Chatelard, concerning whose alleged familiarity with the Queen some very indecent reflections are set forth by Knox, who alleges that during the winter of 1562-3, Chatelard was so intimate “in the Queen's cabinet, early and late, that scarcely could any of the Nobility have access to her.” When the Earl of Moray hastened to the Queen's assistance at Burntisland, Knox tells us that, “bursting forth with a womanly affection,” she ordered him—“as he loved her, he should slay Chatelard, and let him never speak a word.” Moray fell upon his knees, and said to the Queen—“Madam, I beseech your Grace, cause me not to take the blood of this man upon me. Your Grace has entreated him so familiarly before that you have offended all your Nobility, and now, if he shall be secretly slain at your own commandment, what will the world judge of it ? I shall bring him to the presence of justice, and let him suffer by law according to his deserving.” “O !” replied the Queen, “you will never let him speak.” “I shall do,” said Moray, “what in me lieth to save your honour.” The trial took place at St Andrews, and Chatelard after his condemnation earnestly requested leave to write to France the cause of his death, which, he said, was *pour estre trouvé en lieu trop suspect*, and Knox translates this—“*Because I was found in a place too much suspected.*” Knox farther says that on the scaffold he made a “godly confession, and granted that his declining from the truth of God, and following of vanity and impiety, was justly recompensed upon him.” Before he was beheaded, he exclaimed—“*O cruelle Dame !*” which Knox renders—“*O cruel mistress !*” malignantly adding—“What that complaint imported, lovers may devine ; and so received Chatelard the reward of his dancing, for he lacked his head, that his tongue should not reveal the secrets of our Queen.”—E.]

¹ A very fair confession, that our Queen was at bottom destitute of all authority. We may guess who were these *immoveable impediments*.

presented a book of his own making, written in meeter; I know not what matter. I was present in sight when the letter was given unto her Grace. Her countenance signified good liking enough of the contents. He and I never yet spoke together; not for lack of knowledge the one of the other (for his master's sake I did shew him courtesy at his being here), but that I think it as reasonable for him to offer it as me to receive it; and if he require it not, my sovereign I trust will pardon me if he have a slender recommendation either to Barwick, or to any other that he shall have to do with.

“At Dundee the Duke meeteth the Queen,¹ to become

¹ [After Queen Mary left Dunnottar Castle, she journeyed southwards slowly along the coast to Montrose. While in that town, the ill-fated Chatelard, or Chastellet, mentioned in the preceding note, presented himself. He is described by Chalmers as a “gentleman by birth, a soldier by profession, a scholar from education, and a poet by choice.” When Mary arrived from France, he came in the train of Monsieur D’Anville, on which occasion he probably felt the influence of her personal beauty, fascinations, and attractions, and he now willingly returned as a courier from his protector and others. He arrived an hour before the Queen’s supper, and brought one letter consisting of three sheets of paper, which Randolph saw delivered by him to the Queen, who perused it with great satisfaction. The Queen had afterwards long conversations with Chatelard. From Montrose she proceeded to Dundee, where she arrived on the 12th, and she was met in that town by the Duke of Chatellierault, who came to solicit the pardon of his son-in-law, Lord Gordon, now Earl of Huntly. The Queen gave him little satisfaction, telling him that nothing could be finally arranged till the meeting of Parliament. On the 13th of November the Queen left Dundee for Perth, riding through the Carse of Gowrie. She remained in Perth till the 16th, when she departed for Edinburgh, where she arrived on the evening of the 21st, after an absence of nearly four months. As soon as the Queen arrived at Holyroodhouse she was taken ill of a disease which Chalmers thinks would now be called the *influenza*, and which confined her to bed six days. Randolph’s account of this epidemic, which obtained the sobriquet of the *New Acquaintance*, is very graphic. It occurs in a letter to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 30th November 1562.—“May it please your Honour, immediatly upon the Queene’s arrival here she fell acquainted with a newe disease, that is common in this towne, called here the *Newe Acquaintance*, which passed also through her whole Court, neither sparing lorde, ladie, nor damoyssel, not so muche as either Franche or Englishe. It is a payne in their heads that have it, and a soreness in their stomackes, with a great coughe; it remayneth with some longer, with others shorter tyme, as it findeth apte bodies for the nature of the disease. The Queene kept her bedde six dayes.” Randolph adds that it was not a dangerous epidemic—that the Earl of Moray is “now presentlie in it”—that Maitland of Lethington “hath had it”—but that he himself had been “free of it,” which

suiters unto her for the Lord of Gordon's pardon. He received little comfort, and nothing I think shall be granted before the Parliament. I talked with him at good length: I find him as always I was wonted to do; he desireth to have his service recommended unto the Queen's Majestie.

"By the way coming from Aberdeen, there cometh unto the Queen one Donald Gormund,¹ that pretendeth a right to be Lord of the Isles; he gave himself unto the Queen's will, and hath promised his true obedience; he is commanded to attend. This is he that was in England in Queen Mary's time, and by her was sent into Ireland. I think that he is like to receive some gift of lands, upon hope of his good behaviour from henceforth.—

"I send your Honour herewith a letter from this Queen to the Queen's Majestie. At what time she gave it me, she desir'd me to witness of that that I had seen and heard of her good mind towards my sovereign. I trust it be as well meant as it is spoken. I desir'd her again not to be easy of credit, nor ever doubtful where no cause of evil is meant. These two things I have oft fear'd in her Grace; and found it now needful to speak a little word thereof, because of the French, that are daily rounding in her lugs some title-tattles or other.

"To have more commodity to write my letters unto your Honour, I took my leave of the Queen at Dundee upon Sunday last, to be before her Grace in this town, who proposeth to be here upon Saturday next.—Then shall we be assured when the Parliament beginneth, which I assure your Honour will be sore against her will; for then she feareth that her lovely Mass shall go to wreck. God for it be prais'd, my mistress's credit was never greater in Scotland than it is at present. Thus, with my most humble commendations, I take my leave. The 18th of November 1562.

"Your Honour's always to command.

"THO. RANDOLPHE."

he considered fortunate, "seeing it seeketh acquaintance at all men's hands."—Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 99. — E.]

¹ [This personage appears to have been Donald Gorme of Sleat in the Island of Skye, the son of Donald Gorme of Sleat killed before the castle of Ellandonan, a stronghold of the Mackenzies, in the Ross-shire

*A Letter from the Laird of Lethington, Principal Secretary of State, to Sir William Cecil, 14th November 1562.*¹

“SIR—IF I have thus long forborn to write unto you, impute it not to any lack of good will, or that I mean a breach of the intelligence betwixt us ; but rather judge, I pray you, that our matters in the North have been in such case, and I therein so fully occupied, that my leisure was not great to think upon any other thing. Marry, now (prais’d be God) they be brought to such terms, as I trust the example thereof shall serve to good purpose, and be occasion that no subject hereafter shall be found so unnatural as to attempt the like wicked enterprises. What ungodly delays have been conspir’d, and what hath been the issue, I need not enter in ample discourse with you, being well assur’d that Mr Randolph hath not fail’d from time to time to advertise you sufficiently thereof. This only will I say, I am sorry that the soil of my native country did ever produce so unnatural a subject as the Earl of Huntly² hath prov’d in the end against his sovereign, being a Princess so gentle and benign, and whose behaviour hath been always such towards all her subjects, and every one in particular, that wonder it is that any could be found so ungracious as once to think evil against her ; and in my conscience I know not that any just occasion of grudge was ever offer’d unto him. Well, the event hath made manifest his iniquity, and the innocence as well of her Majestie as of her ministers towards him. And now God’s providence hath restored to us good and perfect quietness ; God grant we may long enjoy it. Marry, foreign matters be now come to so hard terms, that the discoursing upon them sometimes will not permit me to live in perfect security, and to have full fruition of the present tranquillity. I see they must with time drive the Queen my mistress to be in a most perplexed case ; the war is now begun betwixt the two countries in the earth which next her own be most dear to her, France

district of Kintail, while attempting to surprize it in 1539. Gregory’s History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 8vo. Edin. 1836, p. 144, 145, 146, 176, 177, *et seq.*—E.]

¹ Calig. B. X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

² [This reflection on the unfortunate Earl of Huntly by Maitland of Lethington comes with a bad grace from one of his mortal enemies.—E.]

and England, being descended of the blood of both of them by her father and one of them by her mother, having in both a special and particular interest to wish them well; in the one, that honour that she was once Queen of it, and yet remaineth Dowager; in the other, such as you, without my writing, can of yourself conceive. When they shall mortally persecute the one the other, it shall be a hard matter for her to hold the ballance just betwixt them. She hath friends in both that be most tender to her; in France the most part of all her kindred, chiefly her uncles, with whom she hath been from her youth nourish'd and up-brought, and who do honour and love her above all creatures, and whom she hath also good cause to esteem. In that Realm the Queen, her good sister and cousin, with whom, altho' she be not as yet so thorowly acquainted, yet (I think) her natural inclination can serve her to love her, as well for the beginning of friendship already contracted betwixt them, yea, rather more, if this entry in amity be well followed out by both parties. I perceive her Majestie will shortly be pressed, as well by her uncles in particular, as by the King and Queen-mother, earnestly requir'd by virtue of the ancient League betwixt the two Realms, not to forsake the defence of the King her brother and that Realm where she had all her education, and in which her dowry is situate, now being invaded by the forces of England. I know her Majestie will be sore assaulted with these messages, and many perswasions tending to the breach of amity with her good sister; which amity I know the State of France will never well digest, as a thing most prejudicial to their wealth. When this shall come to pass, I as he who most chiefly and specially hath travelled at all times to knit up friendship betwixt the two Queens and Realms, and whom it behoveth most to stick to it, will not fail to take upon me to perswade the contrary at my power, and answer all their objections so far as I can, and have good hope to find her own mind conformable enough. Marry, I see some arguments to be laid against me, which it will be heard for me to answer sufficiently. If she being, thus requir'd, shall forsake the quarrel of the King her brother and of her uncles, casting off their friendship in their necessity, shall she not lose them for ever? If

she have to do with their aid hereafter in any action, what favour can she look for at their hands whom she hath first broken off? What appuy,¹ or of whom shall she have, being forsaken of her own and old friends? In the mean season, shall she not endanger the loss of her dowry presently? To countervail all these dangers, I have no more to lay in ballance forment them, but only the Queen your mistress's love, which altho' it is worthy to be much esteemed, yet it is but inclosed in her own heart, *et non transgreditur personam*: So that not being an amity contracted with the Realm publickly, or approved by an open fact or certain demonstration, but only a familiarity contracted privately betwixt themselves, if God should at any time call your mistress, then shall mine be left destitute of all friends when she shall have most need. I have ever wish'd, and yet do, that the amity were so straitly knit up betwixt their Majesties, so solemnly confirmed, and by publick demonstration uttered to the world, that for the conquest of a greater friend my mistress ear'd not to hazard all others; and that the world might have occasioun to judge that her change in that behalf did not proceed of any childish or rash judgment, but rather that of wisdom she had made a good choice, and did best love that person who did shew greatest token of love towards her. The danger I hear the Queen your mistress has been in of late maketh me to write more affectionately in this cause, for I should be sorry in case death should take so dear a friend from mine, that then she should find herself destitute of all friendship, and that by following my advice. If your mistress will so far extend her love towards mine, that by her means she may be put in full security, that hostility for no occasion shall ever enter betwixt her and any person of that Realm,² then I doubt not but your mistress by love shall have more power over her than all the world besides; and that she will rather be directed in all her actions by the good advice of the Queen her sister, than of all the uncles she hath. Marry, so long as in any case the forces of that Realm may be bent against her, it were no good poliey for her to lose any friend

¹ [French, *appui*, or *appui*, Eng. *prop*, *stay*, or *support*.—E.]

² He means with respect to the Succession to that Crown, and all his drift here tends that way.

she hath, but rather to purchase mee by all good means that can be offer'd to her. I have heard it whisper'd, that in this late storm of yours a device was intended there to prefer some other in the succession to my mistress, which I cannot think to be true, seeing none is more worthy for all respects, nor hath so good a title. If her religion hath mov'd any thing, seeing her behaviour such towards these that be of the religion within her own Realm, yea, and the religion itself, which is a great deal more increased since she came home than it was before, I see no reason why those that be zealous of religion should suspect her. I would be glad to hear from you, how far hath been proceeded therein; as also, that you should consider as much of the matter touched in this letter, as is expressed therein, which I write to you rather to be weigh'd by yourself than to be communicated to any others, unless it be to such as you know can well digest it. I am well assur'd whatsoever cometh from me shall by you be used to the best. I have ever judg'd it a chief felicity for both, that England and Scotland might be join'd together, and whosoever hath credit to do good in it cannot employ it to a better end. As for me, I always remain one, and will continually shoot at that scope, more for common charity than for particular advantage for our side: For let others judge as they list, I am assur'd men that will judge indifferently shall perceive, that your gain is as apparent therein as ours.¹ And so after my most hearty commendations, I take my leave. From Dundee, the 14th day of November 1562.

“ Your Honour's at commandment,

“ W. MAITLAND.”

In the summer of this year the Cardinal of Lorrain had made a visit to Ferdinand the Emperor of Germany,² in his

¹ Perhaps it is to the contents of this letter written by the Secretary that Mr Camden refers in this part of his Annals, and probably also our Queen herself has touched the same things in her letters to Q. Elizabeth. We see, by the preceeding dispatch, that Mr Randolph sent a letter from her Majesty unto his mistress.—[Camden's Annals, 4to. 1625, p. 86-89.—E.]

² [Ferdinand I., Emperor of Germany, a younger brother of the Emperor Charles V. whom he succeeded at his celebrated abdication in 1566. He was born in 1503, and was elected King of the Romans during his brother's reign. Ferdinand was conciliatory, and granted entire toleration to the Protestants. He died in 1564.—E.]

way as he was returning home from assisting in the Council of Trent,¹ at which time he proposed a marriage² between our Queen and Arch-Duke Charles, second son³ to Ferdinand. But this project coming to the knowledge of Queen Elizabeth,

¹ [The Council of Trent, the last (*so called*) œcumenical Council of the Latin or Western Church, first convoked by a Bull of Pope Paul III. dated May 1542, for the avowed purpose of restoring peace to the Church, agitated by the proceedings of Luther and others. After various proceedings, adjournments, and convokings, the Council was prorogued nearly ten years, viz. from 1552 to 1561, during which period no fewer than three Popes died in succession—Julius II., Marcellus IV., and Paul IV. In 1561, Pope Pius IV. issued a Bull for the re-opening or resuming the sessions of the Council at Trent, and on the 18th of January 1562 the business was solemnly commenced in the Cathedral of Trent by the Papal Legates, one of whom—Cardinal Gonzaga—was named President by the Pope. On the subject of the Episcopate, a question arose which threatened a schism in the Council. It was, whether Bishops held their consecration by Divine institution, or whether they held their faculty from the Pope as Vicar of Christ? The settlement of this important question was deferred till the arrival of Queen Mary's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was considered a learned canonist, one of the most influential personages in France, and who was anxiously expected. The Cardinal arrived about the middle of November, accompanied by fourteen French Bishops, three Abbots, and a number of Doctors of Divinity, chiefly from the Sorbonne. He was received with every mark of respect by the Papal Legates and the assembled Prelates. The Cardinal intimated that his instructions from Charles IX. and Catherine de Medici were—1. That the use of the cup in the Communion should be granted to all the laity in France. 2. That the Sacraments should be administered in the French language. 3. That Divine Service should be celebrated in all the parish churches of France and the Catechism taught in the French language. 4. That a version of the Psalms approved by the Bishops and Universities should be sung in French. 5. That some measure be adopted to prevent the licentious life of many Churchmen, and, if this could not be satisfactorily devised, that only persons of mature age be admitted into holy orders. Some other important matters of discipline were presented by the Cardinal, all of which were arranged under thirty-four heads, and presented to the Council at the commencement of 1563, as petitions from the King of France, by Renaud Ferrier, President of the Parliament of Paris, and Orator to the Council. Both the Cardinal and Ferrier supported them in eloquent though general terms, insisting on the necessity of a thorough reform, and of restoring the Church to its ancient purity, but though they agreed with the deputies sent by the Emperor, they were opposed by the Italian Prelates.—E.]

² Melvill's Memoirs.—[Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, Lond. 1683, p. 32.—E.]

³ [The Archduke Charles was the *third*—not the *second*—and youngest son of the Emperor Ferdinand I., by whom he was created Duke of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. The Archduke Charles is properly designated the Emperor's *youngest son* in the abstract of Randolph's letter to Cecil, dated 15th May.—E.]

to whom the Arch-Duke was likewise a suitor, she ordered Mr Randolph to declare to our Queen, that—"If she listened to the Cardinal as to any thing relating to that match, it would prove the ready way to dissolve the good agreement between Scotland and England, if not to exclude her from any hopes of succeeding to the Crown of England: Which, that she might not come short of, she warned her, as a friend, to make choice of such an husband out of the *English* nation, as might be both acceptable to her, and lay the foundation of a firm peace between the two kingdoms at the same time, and secure her succession to the Crown; which could never be declared, till her choice were publicly known as to this matter."¹ Besides the proposal of this match, Mr Knox informs,² that an embassy came likewise from Sweden this same summer, requesting our Queen in marriage to the King of that nation,³ but that his suit was not granted. The same author mentions also the Infant of Spain,⁴ the Duke of Nemours in France, and the Lord Darnley,⁵ their having been all talked of, for partners of our Queen's bed. And truly that Don Carlos was projected by his father, the King of Spain,⁶ to be the husband of our

¹ Camden.—[Annals, p. 88.—E.] ² [Historie, edit. 1732, p. 311.—E.]

³ [See the first note, p. 113 of this volume.—Eric XIV., son of Gustavus Vasa, known as Gustavus I., was acknowledged heir to the Swedish throne by a Diet held at Waternaas in 1544, when in his eleventh year. He succeeded his father in 1560. It may be here stated that even before he was King he aspired to the hand of Queen Elizabeth, who gave him no definite answer, and after his accession to the throne he resolved to pursue his addresses in person. He actually embarked, but a violent storm compelled him to return to Sweden, and as he was a superstitious believer in astrology he gave up all thoughts of the match with Elizabeth, and turned his attention to Mary of Scotland, with no better success. His licentious and tyrannical conduct induced the Assembly of the States to depose him in 1578, and his brother John was proclaimed King. After a severe imprisonment of nine years in the castle of Gripsholm, he was put to death by poison in 1578 by order of his brother, whose destruction he had long meditated before his deposition.—E.]

⁴ [The unfortunate Don Carlos was the only son of Philip II. of Spain by his cousin Mary of Portugal his first Queen. He was thrust into prison by his father in January 1568, in which he died in a few months, aged only twenty-three years, not without suspicion that his death was hastened by poison or other means provided by his father.—E.]

⁵ [Eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, and the future husband of Queen Mary.—E.]

⁶ [Philip II. of Spain, the only legitimate son of the Emperor Charles V.

Queen, is evident from original letters already made publick.¹ And the event of things hath made it certain enough, that the talk concerning the Lord Darnly has not been without foundation,² at that time. This writer alone makes likewise mention of an embassy from our Queen by Secretary Maitland, both to the Queen of England and the French Court. He confesseth indeed, that he is ignorant of Lethington's credit; however, that he has been in the right concerning the embassy is evident from the following Instructions delivered to that gentleman, which bear in them assured marks of the general time of the embassy,³ though the precise date be now irrecoverably lost.⁴

*Instructions⁵ by the Queen of Scots to her Secretary,
Mr William Maitland, younger of Lethington.⁶*

“IN the first, ze sall recommend ws herlie—declair to hir the greit contentment we ressavit—letters perceiving thairby alswele hir gude recovery—dangerous sicknes, as restitution of hir——quhilk sendle (seldom) chanches to ony in that kind of distresse—being a rare and singular takin of God's gudness towerdt—had bene a sufficient occasioun that we suld have—to congratulat with hir in that behalf, being less rejosit of hir gude luk thairin than gif it had bene——persoun, seing luif hes producit betwix

by Isabella of Portugal. He married Mary of England, who was his second Queen, by whom he had no issue.—E.]

¹ Laboureur de Vita et Reb. Gest. Sereniss. Princ. Maria Scot. Reg.—[Exst. inter Scriptores xvi. de Vita R. Marie a S. Jebb editos, London, fol. 1725, tom. ii. p. 469.—E.]

² [Knox says—“The marriage of our Quene was in all men's mouths; some wald have Spain, some the Emperor's brother, some Lord Robert Dudlie, some Duke de Nemours, and some unhappiely guessed at the Lord Darnlie.”—Historie, edit. 1732, p. 322.—E.]

³ This embassy must have been in the end of the year, after the Queen's return from the North parts (since herein our Queen congratulates the Queen of England's recovery from sickness, which Mr Randolph had mentioned the 18th of November. The Parliament of England also, which is touched in the Instructions, sat down in the month of January following.

⁴ [This “precise date,” which our Historian thought “irrecoverably lost,” was the 12th of February 1562-3. Moray to Cecil, MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, 12th February 1562-3; Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. *note*, p. 275.—E.]

⁵ This title is supplied.

⁶ Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

ws sic simpathy—the ane most of necessitie have sum sense, and feiling of that which happynneth to the uther.

“*Item*, Ze sall declair that hir letter wes the mair welcome to ws, for that it wes lang lukit for ; sa greit a tyme past befor, without ressaving ony word from hir. Quhilk silence we mon confess specially in this seasoun, quhilk of itself is able aneweh to breid suspicioun, had put ws in sum doubt, gif we had not had the greiter confidence in hir constancie, quhilk we beleve neyther tyme, nor uther circumstance, can change or vary a jote ; the rather being induced sa to think be the assurance of hir said letter.

“*Item*, Ze sall impart to oure said gude sustar this unquyet thochtis and manifeld cairis quhilkis this troublesum tymes dois breid unto ws, quhairin the present calamiteis we see be so greit, that thay cannot wele ressave ony inress, and zit we cannot bot feare werss to cum. The desolatioun alreddy chanced in that noble Realme is lamentable to all men, be thai nevir so far strangeairis unto it, zea, I think very inymeis, in quhome nator mon worke sum horror or compassioun, eyther for pietie, at leist for the examples saik, to see the people of ane cuntre, kynsfolk and bretheren, ryn blyndlings and hedlong to the distructioun the one of the uther : bot to ws mon be maist dolorous for the honor and particular interest we haif thair. We consider the brader the flamb groweth, it sall entangle and endanger all the nychbouris the more ; and thairfore Christian luif and common charitie requirethe, that every one put to his helping hand to quenche the fire. The mater is so far gone alreddy, and oure conscience begynnys to prik ws, that we haif to long forborn to deal in it sa far as we micht convenientlie, at leist to assay, gif be oure mediatioun any gude micht be wrocht, or that God wald—now to myslik the—lang kept ws back, and to think that the same—respectis aucht maist chieffie to have sterit ws fordewert, quhilk hes bene oure mishap, that the persounis in the world quha are most deare and tendir to ws, is incidentally fallin so deid in this querell of France that they ar—becum as principall parties ; and on contrary sydes, we ferit that entering anys to meddle any wyss in it, we culd nocht so justlie hald the ballance, nor so indifferentlie, bot we suld appeir to inelyne moir to the one syde, and be that meane offend the uther ;

So that how uprightlie so evir oure proceeding suld be, we suld thairby hasard the losse of sum of oure derest freindis. This preposterous fear hes thus long kept ws in suspense: bot now quhen we wey on the uther part the mater to be so far gone alreddy, that it mon eyther end be victorie, or ellis be treaty, the victorie, quhatsoevir it sall be to utheris, it must to ws be most dolorous; for quhosoevir wyn, oure dearest freindis sall losse, having on the one part our gude suster, and on the uther the King our gude bruther and oure uncles, so that we cannot bot abhor to think that we sall be spectatrix of so unplesand a bargayne. For avoyding of the quhilk, of necessitie we mon turne oure self to the onlie remedie that remains, to haif the mater, gif it be possible, takin up be treaty, quhairof as nane hes bettir caus to be desirous, so gif oure crydet be als gude with the parties, as oure affection towerdis baith dessins, thair can be nane mair fit ane instrument to procure gude wayis. Mary, we wald be laith to intervein without the gude will and plesour of baith the partyis: Ze sall thairfore desyre upoun oure behalf to know oure said gude susteris dispositioun, and finding the same conformable, ze sall offer oure labouris, credit, and quhatsoevir we may do, to see the matter amicabillie componit and takin up, to the ressonable and honourable contentatioun of baith the parteis. And that we will immediatlie deall with the King oure gude brother on the uther part, the Quene-mother and oure uncles, and perswade thame, sa far as we can, to apply thair myndis that way; traisting wele that oure credite and auctorite sall be able to wirk the like effect in the myndis of oure uncles, in quhome we hope als gude inclinatioun and towardnes sall be fund to ony gude purpos, as in ony uther of there Estatis, quhatsoever hes bene to hir reportit to the contrary. We beleve suirly that this couldness betwix hir and thame is rather casuall and accidentelie fallin out, then of any sett purpos or deliberatioun on ayther part; for we remembir quhat hir gude will declarit towerdis thame for oure respect dessinit, and we—and thairfore wald be glaid to be—Kingis commandement, thair dewtie to—in the places thay occupis, thay have in particular done, or procuring to be done, ony thing prejudiciall to owre said gude suster, so gif ony report hes thair of bene maid to her; in quhilk cais we—conference with thame

be letteris and messages, sa to satisfie——less credit ony sinister informatioun of thame thaireftir——materis have past, we will be glaid to becum a mediatrix——wyshe that oure gude suster suld rather joyne with ws to that——procede or continew as a partie in it; quhilk gif she will do, we——God sall sa bless the werk in oure handis, that it sall be brocht to a happy issue, how difficill soevir it seme, to oure greit comfort, with mair glorie and assurit fame in the eyis and earis of the warlde to hir, then any of oure sex can evir obtain be weir or force of armes. This office is worthie of oure estait and sex, and mair agreable with Christiane religioun, than to prosequite materis further be violent meanis.”

“Vther Instructionis¹ to the L. of Lethingtoun, our Secretar and Ambassatour, to be usit, gif the caus sa requiris, and at his discretioun.

“GIF he gettis ony knowlege, advertisment, or understanding, that in the Parliament of Ingland presentlie haldin it be proponit, movit, or ony questioun or difficultie arys tweching the successioun of the Crown of Ingland, failzying of oure gude suster and the lauchfull issue of hir body, quhairthrow ony danger may appeir, that ayther be mys-knowledge of oure titill, or neglecting the samyn, the successioun may be establissit in the persoun of ony uther than ws: than and in that caiss, oure said Ambassadour sall not onlie renew unto oure said gude suster, and reduce to hir remembrance all conferences and communicationis past betwix oure said gude suster and him of before tweching that mater, but alsua sall enlarge unto hir, and mak manifest the gude titill and interesse we have and pretend to the successioun of that Crown, as nearest and lauchfull in the richt lyne from King Harie the Sevint, be just dissent from his eldest dochter Margaret, sumtyme Quene of Scottis: And desyre oure said gude suster, that according to justice and equitie, having alsua respect to the gude amytie and intelligence presentlie standing betwix ws, intertenyit for oure part be all gude offices, scho nather do procure nor suffer

¹ By this latter part of the Instructions it appears they have been given in the end of the year 1562, since the English Parliament sat in the month of January 1562-3.

to be done, or procurit any thing that may be prejudiciall to ws and oure titill foirsaid; and in caiss hir awin conscience, the luif of hir cuntre, or ernist sute of the people, press hir to establiiss in hir——gif God suld call——to his mercy——quhilk God forbid, then hir——dessyre that we——persoun, God and nature be——hes plantit the just titill of successioun, may be appoynted——successor and air apparent to the Crown, assuring hir, that as the——cannot be ony law or titill, for ony respect, be justlie transferrit to the persoun of ony uther sa lang as we ar on live, sa can sche fynd na uther that ayther is mair tendir to himself, or zit may or will stand hir in mair steid; and this poynt ze sall enlarge according to the——tioun and ample declaratioun of oure mind maid to him (you) in this behalf.

“*Item*, Ze sall desyre to have access and intres in the Parliament-Hous, to the effect ze may in the presence of the Estattis of the Realme declair the validity of oure titill and interes we pretend; and desyre of thame the hedis contenit in the former Artiellis, answer, gif neid be, the objectionis to be movit in the contrair; and in cais thay wald sa fer neglect the commoun law, gude ordor, and equite of oure caus, that setting the samen apart, thay will refuiss oure ressonable desyre, and procede further to the contrary; ze sall in oure name, and upoun oure behalf, publiclie and solempnitlie protest, That we are thairby injurit and offencit, and for sie lauchful remedyis as the law and consuetude hes providit for thame that ar enormlie and accessivlie hurt.”¹

There is much notice taken by Mr Knox,² of a great famine both of corn and flesh-meat in the spring of this year, but Mr Buchanan³ mentions only a proclamation to have been emitted against eating of flesh. This last author is in the right; for in the Records of Privy-Council there is an Act, dated at Edinburgh the 11th day of February,

¹ Our Queen's good intentions for a peace, took no effect; for there was no peace concluded betwixt France and England until April 1564, and there was no mediator therein. See the Treaty, in Rymer's *Fœd. Angl.* —[Vol. xv. p. 640-648.—E.]

² [Knox's *Historie*, Edin. 1732, p. 317, 318.—E.]

³ [Historia Rerum Scoticarum, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 206, 207. Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 298.—E.]

against eating of flesh during the season of Lent in all times thereafter, because, as the Act bears, the cattle had suffered much by the tempestuous storms of the winters bypast. But of any scarcity of the fruits of the earth, there is not the least insinuation.¹ Mr Knox is at much pains to make the credulous world believe, that this calamity was an immediate punishment upon what he calls “the idolatry of our wicked rulers;” and he adds likewise, that “the riotous feasting and excessive banqueting used in city and country wheresoever the prophane Court repaired, provoked God to strike the staff of bread, and to give his maledictions upon the fruits of the earth.” Every distress is surely the effect of sin. But we find by Queen Elizabeth’s preceding Instructions to Sir Henry Sidney, that immoderate rains had fallen in England, where no *Knoxian* idolatry was tolerated, as well as in Scotland. And why might not Mr Knox have imagined that the malediction of God had lighted on the land for the riotous feasting, excessive banqueting, and the prophane masquerades at the pious Prior of St Andrews’ marriage?² He must have known that God is no respecter of persons. Or if the prophane Court must still be the principal cause of the calamity, certainly that Court consisted mostly, if not altogether, of Mr Knox’s religious friends.

There is nothing in the Registers of Privy Council relating to publick affairs worth the noticing, from the Queen’s return out of the North,³ during the course of this period,

¹ See the Act of Privy-Council in the Appendix, Number III.—[Erroneously enumerated No. IV. by our Historian.—E.]

² [See the note on the marriage of the “pious Prior of St Andrews,” Lord James Stuart, Earl of Moray, p. 103, 104 of this volume.—E.]

³ [We have seen (note, p. 180) that Mary returned to Edinburgh on the 21st of November 1562, when she was seized with the epidemic known as the *New Acquaintance*. After her recovery we find her, on the 10th of January 1562-3, proceeding to Castle Campbell, at the base of the Ochil mountains, in the county of Clackmannan, to be present at the marriage of Sir James Stewart of Doune, afterwards Lord Doune, to Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter of Archibald fourth Earl of Argyll. On the 14th the Queen returned to Edinburgh, and resided at Holyrood Palace till the 13th of February. The first affair of Chatelard occurred on the 12th, and he followed the Queen to Fife, where he repeated his violent conduct, for which he was executed at St Andrews. The Queen on the 15th of February left Burntisland for Falkland Palace, on the 16th she dined at Cupar-Fife, and in the afternoon rode to St Andrews,

excepting a bond by the master cunzier¹ granted to the Queen, which, as it may be useful or agreeable to some curious people, upon that account I have taken the freedom to insert it in the Appendix.²

where she remained till the 18th of March. Mary on that day returned to Cupar-Fife, and thence proceeded to Falkland Palace, where, on the 20th, 21st, and 22d, she enjoyed the exercises of riding and hawking. On the 23d the Queen made a progress in part of the neighbouring counties of Clackmannan, Kinross, and Perth, and returned to St Andrews on the 29th of March. She remained there till the 3d of April, when she again removed to Falkland.—E.]

¹ Number IV.—[Our Historian, however, prints it as No. III., but he mentions that as Nos. III. IV. V. had been “erroneously twice marked, he had taken care to insert them here (in his folio edition, Appendix, p. 92), according to the pages where they come in.”—E.]

² [John Aitchison, “master cunzier,” or Master of the Mint. The Scottish Mint, during the reign of Queen Mary, is said to have been in the Canongate, and was probably near the Palace of Holyrood. The document inserted by our Historian in his Appendix, to which he refers “curious people,” specifies the lead mines of Leadhills and Wanlockhead Hills, in the mountainous and dreary parts of Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire. As gold is not mentioned in the bond granted by John Aitchison and his partner, “John Aslowane, burgess of Edinburgh,” but silver is particularly specified, it may be presumed that the presence of the former metal in those mines had not then attracted sufficient attention.—E.]

CHAPTER VI.

CONTAINING MATTERS OF STATE FROM THE 1ST OF APRIL 1563,
UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF THE EARL OF LENOX IN SCOTLAND,
IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER OF THE FOLLOWING YEAR
1564.

SEVERAL historical facts of this year having been altogether neglected, and others not duly related by former historians, the best method I can think of to supply these defects is to make use of the abstract¹ of letters written by Mr Randolph out of Scotland, from the 1st day of April this year, directed mostly to his correspondent the Secretary of England, and some few to that Queen herself.

“*To Sir W. Cecill, 1st April 1563.*”

“THE Queen of Scots full of grief for the death of her husband,² her great dangers, and the want of assured friends.

¹ This abstract is in the Cotton Library, Calig. B. 10. p. 217, under this title—“An Abstract of Mr Randolph’s Letters from Scotland, from the 1st of Aprile 1563, untill the 30th of March followinge.” What may have become of the principal letters themselves, we cannot now know.—[Many of the letters are preserved in the State-Paper Office, London, and ample use is made of them by Mr Tytler in his “History of Scotland.” See also “Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Letters,” edited by Thomas Wright, Esq.—E.]

² The death of the Queen’s uncle the Duke of Guise had revived the loss of her husband. It is natural for people to recall former disasters, upon the intervention of new ones, or perhaps *husband* is transcribed for *uncle*.—[“It is *uncle* in another copy.” MS. observation written on p. 238 of Bishop Keith’s History in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. Queen Mary, as will be seen from the note at the end of the preceding Chapter, was in Fife at this time, and about the 16th of March was informed at St Andrews of the murder of her uncle the Duke of Guise. Previous to Mary receiving the melancholy tidings she appears to have been gay and lively, amusing herself with sports and pastimes in the open air. “The Queen,” Randolph writes to Cecil, 10th March 1562-3, “is now healthy and merry, most commonly riding in the fields, as time will serve her. Her care is continually great for her uncles, and her desire wonderful for the quiet of France.” After Mary left St Andrews on the 18th of March for Falkland by way of Cupar-Fife, she tried to alleviate her grief by pastimes at that Palace, before she set out on her short tour to the neighbouring districts, and her return to St Andrews on the 29th

He comforted her with the assurance of the love of his sovereign her sister, whose letters she received with infinite expression of her comfort; having hard to her grief the death of her uncle and the Grand-Prior.¹ The Admiral and Beza authors of her uncle's murder;² the last encouraging the murderer fainting in his resolution with theis words, *Alles vous en, prennes courage; les anges vous assisteront.*" (i. e. Go, and undertake it couragiously; angels will assist you).

" *To Sir W. Cecil, 10th Aprile.*

" QUEEN-MOTHER of France writeth to this Queen, to defend the right of France, according to the Ancient alliance

of March, and Falkland on the 3d April, at which Palace we left her at the conclusion of the note, p. 194.—E.]

¹ The Grand Prior had fought valiantly at the Battle of Dreux, where he received such wounds as cut him off on the 6th of March this year. The Duke of Guise was barbarously assassinated by one of his own gentlemen, Poltrot, on the 18th day of February 1562-3, while he was besieging the city of Orleans, defended by the Protestants. The Admiral Coligni, the chief of the Protestants, and Theodore Beza, the famous Protestant minister, were indeed charged with having contrived the murder, which, however, that party still denied; and Coligni called the murder *a wicked deed*. Far more sober was he than Mr Knox here at home, whose words concerning this murder are—"God, in the February before, had striken that bloody tyrant the Duke of Guise." It is true, God may be said to *do* what he only *permits*, but one would think Mr Knox means *more* here, and that as he tells the thing with an air of satisfaction, so it had been his mind that God instigated Poltrot to this murder. May God preserve all sober men from such dangerous *divinity*! The Duke of Guise was surely a great man both in the cabinet and in the field, and Mezerai describes him a man not at all inclined to cruelty.

² [The accusation against Beza, of plotting the death of the Duke of Guise, was founded solely on the confession of the murderer Poltrot, a Huguenot fanatic, which he retracted, and to the moment of his death maintained Beza's innocence. The celebrated Admiral Coligni, the rival of the Duke of Guise, who generously said that the taking off such a personage by such means was a most dastardly act, was unjustly suspected of having directed the blow. Nearly ten years afterwards, on the 22d of August 1572, only two days before the atrocious massacre on St Bartholomew's Day, in which Coligni unfortunately perished, he was shot at in a street of Paris at the instigation of the Duchess of Nemours, the widow of the Duke killed by Poltrot at the siege of Orleans; but the wounds were not dangerous. The observations of John Knox, which Bishop Keith justly denounces in his note, occur in his "*Historie*," Edin. edit. folio, 1732, p. 334, and he malignantly states that the assassination of the Duke of Guise "somewhat brak the fard (*courage* or *ardour*) of our Quene for a season."—E.]

between the two Realms. Semeth she is jelous of her for England, and hath courted her with two letters of her owne hand, the least of them more of lines than she hath received from her since her cominge out of France. It semeth by some passages of speach that the Queen-mother had formerly offended her. She (Queen of Scots) doubteth what will be the issue of this desire in the Queen-mother to governe all alone."

" To Sir W. Cecill, 1st May.

" QUEEN feareth to be pressed at this instant Parliament in matters of religion. Divers priests taken in Easter saing masse in secret houses, barnes, and woods.¹ Earle of Southerland,² that conspired with Huntly, hath had speach with the Earle of Moray to procure the Queen's mercy, to which he is willinge to put himself. The Lady Huntley can get neither accesse nor hope in her sute."³

" To Sir W. Cecill, 15th May.

" LA CROCK'S arrivall in Scotland. His employment to taste this Queen's minde about the marriage of her to the Emperor's youngest sonne,⁴ moved by her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine. The county of Tyroll⁵ is offered in dowry from the Emperor, worth 30000 francks by yere. Of this marriage

¹ ["Some of them were driven to seek shelter in England."—Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 104.—E.]

² [John tenth Earl of Sutherland. See the note in this volume, p. 117. His relationship to the Earl of Huntly was by his grandmother, Elizabeth Countess of Sutherland in her own right, who married Adam Gordon of Aboyne, second son of George second Earl of Huntly. The eldest son by this marriage, Alexander Master of Sutherland, predeceased his mother, leaving John, afterwards tenth Earl, two other sons, and two daughters. This Earl, who, we have seen, was attainted for his alleged connection with Huntly's insurrection, had attended Queen Mary on her northern tour, and was found guilty of treason merely on the pretence of a letter which was said to have been found in Huntly's pocket after his death at Corrichie.—E.]

³ She could not, so long as the Earl of Moray's Court lasted, though she was his Lady's aunt. But she was a Papist.—["The Countess of Huntly, who came to support the cause of her ruined Family, could neither get access nor hope in her suit. Supported by the preachers and populace in Scotland, and by Elizabeth and Cecil in England, Moray acted altogether as dictator." Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 104.—E.]

⁴ [The Archduke Charles. See the note in this volume, p. 186.—E.]

⁵ [The country of the Tyrol, now a part of the Austrian Dominions in

the Ringrave hath signified to this Queen as much. She deferreth answer untill Liddington's returne (viz. from his late embassy). The Bishop of St Andrew's, with others, to be arraign'd for massing."

*20th May.*¹

"LA CROCK departing, ordered to acquaint the Queen of Englande with his imployment in Scotland."—(What the consequence was of this information made by our Queen to the Queen of England, I shall quickly impart to the reader, by a surer Instruction than has been hitherto published).²—"The Bishop of St Andrew's arraigned;³ so was the Prior of

Germany, had been made over by Margaret Maultasche, the only daughter of the last sovereign, to her cousins the Dukes of Austria, in 1335.—E.]

¹ [Queen Mary had before this date returned to Edinburgh. We have seen that she left St Andrews for Falkland on the 3d of April. She remained at Falkland Palace several days, when she removed to Lochleven Castle, the place of her future imprisonment, on the island in the lake of Lochleven in Kinross-shire. Here she honoured her mortal enemy John Knox with a long interview on the 13th of April, having desired him to meet her there for the purpose of desiring him that he "wald be the instrument," he says, "to perswade the people, and principallie the gentlemen of the West, not to put hands to punish any man for the using of thameselffis in thair religioun as pleised them." Mary also desired him to attempt the reconciliation of the Earl of Argyll to his Countess, her illegitimate sister. Knox gives a long account of the conversation at this interview. As to the former request he told the Queen that all "mesmongers," as he insolently calls them, ought to be put to death, and consequently the Queen herself would have been included; but he seems to have complied with the latter request, which elicited a course and indelicate epistle from him to the Earl of Argyll, being a fierce remonstrance for separating from his Countess, dated Glasgow, 7th May 1563, which Knox says was not "weill accepted of the said Earle." The whole of this narrative, and his letter to the Earl of Argyll, are in his "Historie," Edin. edit. 1732, p. 326-329. On the day after the interview Knox met the Queen at the hawking westward of the town of Kinross. On the 15th of April, Mary left Lochleven Castle, dined at Strathendry, and rode to Falkland in the evening. On the 16th she proceeded to Newark, and returned to Cupar-Fife, where she remained till the following day, when she rode to St Andrews after dinner. The Queen resided almost constantly at St Andrews till the 16th of May, when a part of her train went to Edinburgh by the ferry of Kinghorn, and she rode to Cupar-Fife, where she passed the night. On the morning she crossed the Frith of Forth to Leith, and arrived at her Palace of Holyroodhouse in the evening, after an absence of nearly five months.—E.]

² [See the "Memorial" which immediately follows, p. 205-208.—E.]

³ I thought not fit to curtail these abstracts of letters, even in such things as belong to Church matters.

Whithorne,¹ and the Abbot of Corserogall² should, but could not be taken. This, though the Queen be otherwise in religion, countenanced with her person, then not far off.”

“ *To Sir W. Cecill, 3d June.*

“ CAUSE of the Bishop’s arraignment,³ the transgressinge the Queen’s ordonance at her first cominge, That religion should so stand as she found it in her Realme. The Priests of Scotland Catholique fly into England for their refuge. The Parliament began 26th May, on which day the Queen came to it in her robes, and crowned; the Duke carrying the Crown, Argill the Scepter, and Moray the Sword.⁴ She made in English an oracion⁵ publicly there, and was present at the condemnation of the two Earles, Huntley and

¹ [Malcolm, Prior of Whithorn, in the Bishopric of Galloway. The town of Whithorn was the episcopal seat. Malcolm, Prior of Whithorn, was convicted with Kennedy of Blairquhan, David Kennedy, Sir Thomas Montgomery and Sir Thomas Tailzefer, two Priests, of celebrating Mass, and, with the said Montgomery and Tailzefer, was ordered to be imprisoned in the Castle of Dumbarton, while the two Kennedys were “warded” in the Castle of Edinburgh, on the 19th of May 1563.—Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. 427, 428.—E.]

² [Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel in Ayrshire, the celebrated disputant with John Knox, was the fourth son of Gilbert second Earl of Cassillis.—E.]

³ [John Archbishop of St Andrews, and forty-seven others, were arraigned before the High Court of Justiciary on the 19th of May, for “celebrating the Mass, attempting to restore Popery at Kirkoswald, Maybole, Paisley, &c. and convocation of the liegés.” The Archbishop was sentenced to be imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh.—See Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials in Scotland, 4to. vol. i. Part I. p. 427, 429.—E.]

⁴ Mr Knox says—“Such stinking pride of women, as was seen at that Parliament, was never seen before in Scotland.” This author’s mean reflections are too often far below the dignity he assumed to himself, and he makes but too evident his unquenchable thirst for reviling the Queen, where he has no manner of foundation afforded him. This was the first time the Queen had ever seen a Parliament, and it is customary in all nations, and not without good reason, for Princes at solemn occasions to appear in great state and majesty. Mr Knox, by his manner, deprives himself of due regard, if at any time he have ground to make complaints.—[This unbecoming observation of John Knox occurs in his “Historie,” Edin. edit. 1732, p. 330. He was evidently enraged at the people exclaiming, as Queen Mary passed to and from the Parliament—“God save that sweet face!”—E.]

⁵ [The “oration” or address delivered by Queen Mary to the Parliament had been written in French, but she translated it, and spoke it in English. Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 281.—E.]

Southerland.¹ The Earl of Montgomery,² by means of Lithington, hath a remission of justice, though he be a violent Papist. Bothwell we hear is at libertye,³ but extream poor.”

The Record of the Parliament is lost; however the Record of the Parliament in April 1567 mentions both the 20th and 27th of May to have been appointed for the beginning of it, and the printed Acts bear date the 4th of June: Yet in all probability the Parliament has met on the day condescended by Mr Randolph, since the sentences of forefaulture against the Earl of Huntly, &c. were all given on the 28th day of May. Among the twenty printed Acts of this Parliament, we find the Act of Oblivion, which had been mentioned at the Treaty of Edinburgh.⁴ And we are very much obliged to the information of Archbishop Spottiswood, who has taken care to advertise, that the Queen would not allow that Act to pass “with any regard to *that* Treaty, which she would never acknowledge. Wherefore (says he) it was advised, that the Lords in the House of Parliament should upon their knees entreat the passing of

¹ What befell the Family of Huntly at this Parliament hath been already observed. Several gentlemen descended from the Family, and who had adhered to their Chief, were likewise forefaulted; as was also the Earl of Sutherland, a relation of the Family. Though the Record of this Parliament be lost, yet the Record of the Parliament in April 1567 being still preserved, wherein there was a reduction of these several forefaulters, we thereby come to know the particular persons that were now forefaulted; and these were, John Gordon, eldest son to Alexander Gordon of Strathdown, Alexander Gordon, eldest son to Mr George Gordon of Baldovuy, Patrick Gordon, son to James Gordon of Lesmoir, John Gordon of Carnburro, James Gordon of Tulyangus, Mr George Gordon of Baldovuy, Thomas, Alexander, and Elizabeth Gordon, children to Thomas Gordon of Craigeullie; besides James, Adam, Patrick, Robert, and Thomas Gordon, all children to the late Earl of Huntly.—[See the notes, p. 166, 172, of this volume.—E.]

² He must mean Montgomery, Earl of Eglinton, who was indeed Popish at that time. And this remission is perhaps for the divorce of his first Lady, and marrying another by the Pope's Dispensation. See the Peerage.—[The Peerage to which Bishop Keith refers is George Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, folio, Edin. 1716, p. 129. See the notes, p. 155, 172.—E.]

³ See the story of his imprisonment in Mr Knox, when that Earl was accused of treason by the Earl of Arran.—[Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 308, 316.—E.]

⁴ See the Concessions, p. 137, N. XI.

that Act ; which accordingly was done.”¹ This, indeed, is a very material point to be known. And it is farther to be noticed, that the Act is drawn up with all the caution imaginable for securing from all future punishment the disturbers of peace and transgressors of the Queen’s laws, from the 6th of March 1558, to the 1st day of September 1561, of which number were all those who had presently the chief handling about the Queen ; and within which space of time is included the pretended Parliament in the month of August 1560 :—a most plain and convincing indication that the Queen looked upon that meeting as illegal, and a tacite or rather open acknowledgment in the States, that they had no right to frame Acts in that meeting.

“ *To Sir W. Cecill, 13th Junij.*

“ IN this Parliament, *tanquam clavam e manu Herculis*, the Ministers have inferred adultery to be death.”—(But Mr Knox differs here from Mr Randolph, and avers that “ this Act proceeded from the courtiers themselves, in order to preserve some credit with the ministers.”² And indeed that author seems not to be in the wrong, when he says of this Act, and another concerning the manses and gleibs of ministers, that “ no Law and such Acts were both alike ; ”³ the first of these, at least, being in truth conceived in a very singular form. But he takes notice that the Act of Oblivion was formed in another strain, “ because (says he) some of the Lords had interest therein.”⁴ Anger sometimes extorts the truth).—“ The Queen ” (continues the abstract), “ the Parliament nowe ended, hath made her Highland apparel for her journey into Argile.”—(Mr Knox acquaints us, that shortly after the Parliament, Secretary Maitland returned from his negotiations in England and France ;⁵ and that sometime after the Queen’s return from the hunting, her three bastard brothers went into the North,⁶ as far as

¹ [Archbishop Spottiswoode’s History of the Church and State of Scotland, folio, London, 1677, p. 188.—E.]

² [The Reformed preachers. No such passage as the above quoted by Bishop Keith appears in Knox’s account of this Parliament.—E.]

³ [Knox’s Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 331.—E.] ⁴ [Ibid.—E.]

⁵ [Knox’s Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 334.—E.]

⁶ [The Earl of Moray, Lord Robert Stuart, Commendator of Holyrood, and Lord John Stuart, Commendator of Coldingham. See the notes,

Inverness,¹ where Justice-Courts were holden; and besides the punishing of thieves and murderers, two witches were burnt. Lord John of Coldingham, he says, died at Inverness.²

“ *To Sir W. Cecill, 19th Junij.*

“ RANDOLPH presents his letters for his return (into England), which she (Queen of Scots) granted upon Lithington's return from England.³ Queen of Scots offended that a

p. 99, 119, 126, of this volume.—Knox's *Historie*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 335. —E.]

¹ There is no Diet of Privy-Council from the 14th of October till the 14th of December, in which time it is likely the Earl of Moray has gone North; for he is present at all the preceding Diets of Council. And the Queen having sat in Council at Glasgow the 5th day of July, after which day both she and the Earl of Argyll are not in Council until the 19th of August at Dumfries; that probably has been the time her Majesty was in the county of Argyll.

² Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. p. 335. See also the notes, p. 99, 119, 132, of this volume. Knox says of Lord John Stuart, in the account he gives of his death while on this northern circuit—“It was affirmed that he commandit such as were besyd him to say unto the Quene—‘That unless she left her idolatrie, God would not fail to plague her.’ He asked God mercy—‘That he had so far borne with her in her impiety, and had maintained her in the same; and that no one thing did he more regrave than that he flattered, fostered, and mayntened her in her wickedness against God and his servands.’ And in very deid gret caus had he to have lamented hir wickedness; for besydes all his uther infirmities, he in the end, for the Quene's plesure, became enemy to vertew, and to all verteous men, and a patrone to impiety to the uttermost of his power. Yea, his venom was so kindled against God and His word, that in his rage he bruited furth these words—‘Or I sae the Quene's Majesty so trubled with the rayling of thir knaves (Knox himself and the Reformed preachers), I shall leave the best of thame sticked in the pulpit.’ What farther villany cam furth of baith their stinking throottes and mouths modesty will not suffer us to wryte; whereof if he had grace unfainedly to repent, it is no small document of God's mercies.” It is amusing to find John Knox setting up a claim to “modesty.” Lord John Stuart, on the 7th of February 1560-1, nearly five weeks after his marriage to Lady Jane Hepburn, sister of the notorious Earl of Bothwell, obtained a charter of legitimation under the Great Seal. By Lady Jane Hepburn he had two sons and a daughter. Francis, the elder son, was created Earl of Bothwell by James VI., in consideration of his maternal descent from the Hepburns. He was the turbulent Earl of Bothwell who figures as the pest of James VI. for several years, but at last losing the favour, or rather exhausting the patience, of the King, he was attainted in 1592, and died several years afterwards on the Continent in obscurity and indigence caused by his bad habits and debaucheries.—E.]

³ The Secretary was not in Council on the 18th of June, but he was present next Council-day, viz. 8th July.

packet to her brought by a merchant was opened at Newcastle. I answered, That no merchant should carry close letters through the Borders, by an auncient order. Randolph adviseth Sir William Cecill, if any suspected letters be taken, not to open them, but send them to my Lord of Moray, of whose service the Queen of England is sure.¹ The Queen of Scots desirous to free the Bishop of St. Andrew's, could not, although she wept to see her power resisted and opposed."

" To Sir W. Cecill, 26th Junij.

" AN ambassador from the Kinge of Sweden ; his busines supposed eyther to renue the old state of marriage for his master, or to crave some supporte against the Kinge of Denmark² or Muscovites."³

From this date to the 4th September following there is no abstract of letters, so that the intervening space has been the time of Mr Randolph's absence in England.

From Randolph to Sir William Cecill, 4th September 1563.

" THE Nobility (of Scotland) like well of his (Randolph's) returne. The Queen receiveth gratefully the letters and my message, but adjourneth me to a further conference with herself, Moray and Liddington, whom she will only be made privy to the matter. She desireth my propositions in writing, which with importunacy I granted. Here they mislike as much of Austria, or any forraine mach, as we doe."

The reader doth, by the above abstract of Mr Randolph's letter, perceive that that gentleman was already returned into Scotland. The reason of Queen Elizabeth's having recalled Mr Randolph at this time was, no doubt, to receive oral information from him concerning our Queen's marriage

¹ We see the entire confidence Mr Randolph places in the Earl of Moray for the Queen of England's secret service, and this at a time when he was chief minister about his sister !

² [Christian III., who united Norway to Denmark, and in whose reign the Reformation was introduced into both kingdoms.—E.]

³ Whether this has been a second embassy from Sweden, or that Mr Knox last year has intended only this present embassy, is uncertain ; but I suppose there has been no embassy last year from that country, otherwise it is probable this resident would have noticed it.

with the Archduke, and to concert measures with her Council and him concerning the form and manner of returning an answer, and likewise to impart to him her design of making an offer of Robert Dudley to our Queen. All which points that wise Queen has thought she could better talk with Mr Randolph, than trust her mind to be conveyed in writing. Mr Camden says only, that "Queen Elizabeth repeated by Mr Randolph the same advice she had given our Queen before in relation to this point. And farther, that she recommended to her in plain terms Robert Dudley,¹ whose wife, one Robert's heiress, died of a fall from some height.² And engaged farther, that if she would marry him, she should be declared by Act of Parliament her sister, daughter, or heir to the Crown, in case she herself died without issue." This is a good short account of Queen Elizabeth's answer. And Sir James Melvill agrees with Mr Camden as to the private instruction concerning Lord Robert Dudley, to be communicated, I suppose, only when he should find it convenient. Sir James likewise sets down the writing which Mr Randolph gave in to our Queen at this time. Perhaps, indeed, nay, it is even very likely, that Mr Randolph might have given in such a paper as Sir James transcribes, framed upon the model of the Instructions which he received from his sovereign; but I make no doubt that in every event, the readers will

¹ Some report that Secretary Cecil, who hated Lord Robert, put it into Q. Elizabeth's head to name him for our Queen's husband, merely to work his overthrow. But I find sentiments divided on this point.

² After her life had been attempted to be taken away by poison, in order to render her husband capable of another wife, who he projected should be Q. Elizabeth, she was at last by his order made to fall from the top of a staircase, and so was murdered by the fall.—Such is the common account of the fate of Amy, daughter of Sir John Robsart, whom the celebrated Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, married when he was very young; and Sir Walter Scott has introduced it with powerful effect in his splendid story of *Kennilworth*. It is at least certain that in 1560 Amy Robsart died suddenly at Cunnor under suspicious circumstances, murdered, it is supposed, at the instigation of her husband, who, seeing no bounds to Queen Elizabeth's partiality and friendship for him, found his wife an obstacle to his ambition. Though Queen Elizabeth proposed Leicester as a match for Queen Mary of Scotland, it is doubtful whether the offer was sincere, or whether, if other parties had been agreed, she would have given her consent. It is almost unnecessary to say that the union did not take place.—E.

not take it amiss to lay before them a copy of the original Instructions, as they were signed by Queen Elizabeth herself, and delivered to her agent.

“ ELIZABETH R.—*A Memorial of certain Matters committed to our servant Thomas Randolph, sent to our good Sister the Queen of Scots, 20th August 1563.*¹

“ FIRST, you shall declare, That because we have found you agreeable to her for the entertainment of the amity betwixt us, we have presently sent you to declare our mind in a matter of such weight, as the importance thereof, if it be well used by us, may bring a continual comfort to us both, and an immortal wealth to both our countries; and being contrariwise used, must needs bring notable discontentation to us both, and irreparable damage to our countries.

“ The matter is the marriage of our sister, which we wish most fortunate to our sister, and see great cause to doubt, whether that, which may have appearance to some of her friends of happiness, may not prove manifestly to the contrary; and for discharge of our friendship, and for satisfaction of our sister's request, we have not only deeply thought thereon, but have now thought it necessary by you to advertise her, what we think therein both meet and unmeet for her to understand, and necessary for us, by way of friendship, to declare; and therein we do persist, for the order of our consideration, in the same sort as we partly shewed our mind to the Secretary the L. of Lidington.

“ 1st, There is to be by her considered (which is of great moment in all marriages) the mutual contentation betwixt both parties in respect of their private personages, that the love may probably have continuance before God and man.

“ 2dly, That the person may be such, as she being a Queen of a Realm and multitude of people, may be sure of an unfained allowance and love of him by her Realm, her Nobility and Commons.

“ 3dly, That the choice be such, as the amity which is now so straight betwixt us, not only for our own persons, but also for our nation, may be continued, and not dissolved or diminished.

¹ Cotton Library, Calig. B. X. an Original. This is the information I promised, p. 198 [of this volume.—E.]

“ Of the *first* and *second* you may say, Although we doubt not but she and her Counsellors shall find much to be considered, yet we will thus pass (*run*) them over. For her own contentation, considering our sister hath hithertofore been married, we doubt not but she will be therein well advised, and therein can we say very little.

“ For the *second* we could say much, but for that we know she hath good and faithful counsellors, who can judge what is meet for the policy of that Realm. And because we will not enter into the considerations of the conditions of the people of another Prince, we will forbear, only wishing our sister to think no rule nor government either easy or happy that is kept by force, or subject to alterations; but contrariwise, that only happy that is ruled by natural allowance of the nation.

“ The *third* and *last* is the matter most properly belonging to us to give advice in, and so jointly appertaining to us both, as the good direction thereof must breed either notable contentation, or notable disquietness, beside common profit or damage to our kingdoms.

“ The seeking of a husband for our sister is honourable and convenient for her, and a thing that we like very well in her, although hitherto we have not found such disposition in ourself; remitting, nevertheless, our mind and heart to be directed by the Almighty God as it shall best please Him, for His honour and the weal of our Realm: But this herein we consider, that to seek such a husband, as we well many ways perceive is sought for in the Emperor's lineage, by her uncle the Cardinal of Lorrain, of whose former practices against us we have had good experience, must needs bring a manifest danger to our private amity; an apparent occasion to dissolve the concord that is presently betwixt our nations; and thirdly, an interruption of such a course, as otherwise might be taken to further and awake such right or title as she might have to succeed us in this Crown, if we should depart without issue of our body.

“ For our private amity, we cannot forbear, but frankly let our sister understand, that by such a manner of marriage, as we take this to be intended by some of her uncles, we do well judge that no good is intended towards us: And how we can continue an amity where so great cause shall be

ministred (we mean not by our sister, for we think so sincerely of her, that for her own part she will never seek to break the amity), we must leave it to be judged by herself.

“ But although we should contend for the friendship that is betwixt us, with nature, that is, not disallow that which we know is intended against us, yet our sister shall plainly understand that there be many causes why this kind of marriage shall speedily dissolve the mutual concord that is betwixt our nations; and to repair *that* we must confess that neither it shall rest in the power of her nor us.

“ *Lastly*, To consider her own particular, which, in way of friendship towards her, we do most weigh, we do assure her, by some present proof that we have in our Realm, upon some small report made hereof, we well perceive, that if we do not intermeddle and interpone our authority, it will not be long before it shall appear, that as much as wit can imagine will be used to impeach her intention for the furtherance of her title. And considering the humors of such as (except our authority and the fear of us shall stay them) mind their own particular, what can our sister think more hurtful to her, than by this manner of proceeding by her friends that be not of her natural nation of her kingdom, first, to endanger the amity betwixt us; secondly, to dissolve the concord betwixt two such mighty nations; and lastly, disappoint her of more than ever they shall recover?

“ Wherefore you shall conclude, that our advice is, She should not be thus abused, under pretence of greatness, to hazard not only the well of her country, but also the expectation of more than all her friends can procure her. And further than this our meaning is, that you shall not proceed. But if you see that she shall think light of this manner of advice, and shall press you to know precisely what we would have her to do, and what manner of marriage she should seek, then, if you see no other means to content her, you shall say—We are well content, if our sister will in her marriage have regard to these things, and content us and this our nation in her marriage, upon assured knowledge thereof, to proceed to the inquisition of her right and title to be our next cousin and heir, and to further that which shall appear advantageous for her, and to hinder and impeach

that which shall seem to the contrary; using also therein such means as may be to the contentation of our Realm, both Nobility and Commons.

“ And if she shall press upon you, what kind of marriage you think might best content us and our Realm, ye may well say—That it must be such as may not be apparent to us or our people, that it is only sought to procure trouble to this Realm, as she saw was done in the time of her marriage to the French King: And therefore you may say—You can but wish that there might be found some Noble person of good birth within this our Realm that might be agreeable to her; or if that shall not be, yet of some other country, being one whom neither we nor our Realm should have manifest cause to judge to be sought, for the trouble of this Realm;¹ and then might we more readily and easily shew and extend the good will that we have to the furtherance of our sister: And otherwise you may plainly say—We can promise nothing agreeable to the fervent desire that we have to do her good, which is of our own natural disposition, to have her to enjoy before any creature any thing that we have, next to ourself, or to our children, if God shall so order us to have any. And this you may say—We assure her at this time is our desire unfaindly.²

“ ELIZABETH R.”

I shall leave it to my readers to form their own reflexions on the preceeding Instructions, and shall proceed in the abstracts of Mr. Randolph's letters.

To Sir W. Cecil, 13th December 1563.

“ DEFECT of justice on the Borders, for lack of the Lord Governor's presence;³ The Abbay of Hedington in Lodian given by the Queen to Lithington.⁴ Randolph attendinge,

¹ I. e. in other words, some person inferior to the majesty of our Queen.

² These Instructions are all written in Cecil's hand, and signed and counter-signed by the Queen of England herself.

³ I suppose he means the English Borders, and the English Governor, for there was no such title now in Scotland.

⁴ Dame Elizabeth Heydarn was Prioress of this Cistercian Convent or Priory of Nuns at the Reformation. The greater part of the lands was conferred by Queen Mary on Secretary Maitland of Lithington, and also the Franciscan Abbey Church, a magnificent structure when entire, and

she being sick, sent in his sovereign's token by the Lady Argile,¹ which the Queen received gladly, and often kissed it. He attended the next Sunday, and presented both his letters, together with thanks for the Cardinal's friendship to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.² The Queen wore the ring on her finger that the Lady Argile had delivered afore from me, haveinge upon the same also a ringe of her husband's, saying, That these two should never goe out of her sight. The Lord of Arrain is growne againe into his madnes."

The Borderers of both nations were always very troublesome neighbours. Not much above two months ago every thing relating to the peace of the Borders had been settled, extended at great length, and sealed by Commissioners deputed by both the Queens: on the part of Scotland, by Sir John Maxwell of Terreigles, afterwards Lord Harris,³ Warden of the West Marches, and Sir Thomas Bellenden, the Justice-Clerk; and on the part of England, by Sir Henry Scroope, Warden of the West Marches, Sir John Forrester,⁴ Warden of the Middle Marches, Sir Thomas Gargraif, Vice-President of the Queen's Council in the North, and John Rookbie,⁵ Doctor of Law, and one of the said Council; at Carlisle in England, and at Dumfries within Scotland, on the 11th and 23d days of September 1563.⁶—This Border Treaty was the result of two letters, exchanged

formerly called the *Lamp of Lothian*. The east end of this church has been long in ruins, but the west end, which was repaired in 1811, at the expense of L.6000, is used as the parish church. In a corner of the edifice is the sepulchre of the Noble Family of Maitland Earls of Lauderdale, and here is the superb monument erected to the memory of Lord Chancellor Thirlstane, brother of Secretary Maitland, and his lady.—E.]

¹ [This was a ring presented to Queen Mary by Queen Elizabeth.—E.]

² This gentleman had been made a prisoner at the battle of Dreux by the Duke of Guise.

³ [Second son of Robert fourth Lord Maxwell, married Agnes, eldest daughter and co-heiress of William fourth Lord Herries of Terreigles, in Dumfries-shire.—E.]

⁴ [Properly Sir John Forster.]

⁵ [Properly John Rokeby.—E.]

⁶ See this Convention or Agreement at full length in Rymer's *Fœd. Angl.* tom. xv. under the title of *Conventiones inter Regnum Scotiar, Doageriam Francie, et Elizabeth apunctuato, et conclusæ*.—[P. 631-638. This Convention or Agreement, notwithstanding its Latin title, is in English, and is signed by Sir John Maxwell and Sir Thomas Bellenden.—E.]

betwixt one of the English Wardens and the Scottish Secretary, for which see the APPENDIX."¹

~ *To Sir W. Cecil, 21st December.*

"ASSEMBLY of the Lords for three causes. One about unkindnes from the French in not paycinge the Queen's dowery, deprivinge Chastelerhault of his Duchie,² and bestowinge the Captaine's office of the Guard upon a Frenchman, the appointment of that being the right of the Prince of Scotland. *2do*, To end the quarrel between Rothcs and Lindsay³ for the Sherifwiek of Fife. *3tio*, To take order with Knox and his faction, who intended by a mutinous assembly made by his letter before, to have rescued two of their brethren from course of lawe, for usinge an outrage upon a priest sainge masse to the Queen's Houshold at Halliruydhows."⁴

¹ Number V.

² [This statement is not clear, and it is not mentioned, so far as the Editor is aware, by any historical writers. The Duke of Hamilton still bears the title of Duke of Chatellerault, conferred on the Regent Earl of Arran in 1548, but it is alleged that the Marquesses of Abercorn, descended from Lord Claud Hamilton, third son of the Regent by his Duchess Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of James third Earl of Morton, have a superior claim to the title, which, however, has been long merely nominal. See Preface, by W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., Advocate, to "*Factum of the Earl of Arran touching the Restitution of the Duchy of Chatellerault, 1685*," Edin. Svo. 1843.—E.]

³ [Andrew fourth Earl of Rothcs, nephew of Norman Leslie, one of the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, and Patrick sixth Lord Lindsay of the Brecs, a most zealous leader of the so-called Reforming "Congregation," and conspicuous in the *Raid of Ruthven*—a well known plot to secure the person of James VI. in 1582. Rothcs obtained a charter of the sheriffdom of Fife in 1565, which was ratified by Parliament in 1567, yet Lord Lindsay obtained the office of Sheriff of Fife in February 1573-4.—E.]

⁴ [This affair is narrated by Archbishop Spottiswoode (History, London, 1667, p. 186), Knox (Historie, Edin. 1732, p. 335, 336), and Calderwood (History of the Kirk of Scotland printed for the Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, Svo. 1843, vol. ii. p. 230, 231). It occurred in the month of August, when the Queen happened to be at Stirling, and Knox asserts that "upon those same Sondays that the kirk of Edinburgh had the ministratioun of the Lord's table, the Papistes in great numbers resorted to the Abbey to their abominatioun." The Queen's French domestics, or "*certaines damoilles*," as Knox calls them, "and others of the French menials," at the head of whom was a certain Madame Bayle—"for maids," Knox is pleased to add; "that Court could not well hear" very naturally added the exercise of their own religion, and Divine Service was celebrated, according to the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church, in the

“ To Sir W. Cecill, 30th December.

SUNDAY, 26th December, Randolph sent for to Courte. Queen demandeth what answere from her good sister. He answereth, her Majestie's great care for her sister's marriage; and that to mach in cyther of those great Houses¹ would make dissensions: Therefore none more fit then some Nobleman of her Realme. For the matter of title, he answereth as in his Instructions, signifying further the Queen of England's pleasure to treat further of these matters with any the Queen should send. He perceiveth Argile willinge

Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. On this particular occasion a “zealous brother,” as Knox designates him, one Patrick Cranston, entered the Chapel-Royal, and finding the altar covered, and a priest ready to commence mass, exclaimed—“The Queen's Majesty is not here; how dare you, then, be so malapart as openly to do against the laws?” Knox pretends that nothing more was said or asked than this insolent question, and yet he admits that the Queen's domestics were put in such trepidation by this violent and intolerant fanatic, that they sent for Wishart of Pittarrow, the Comptroller, who happened to be in St Giles' church listening to a sermon, to proceed to Holyroodhouse to save the life of Madame Baylie, and also to protect the Palace. Wishart obeyed, bringing with him the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and a great party of whom Knox calls the “faithless,” but, he says, “when they came where the fear was bruted to have been, they fand all things quiet except the tumult they brocht with themselves, and peaceable men looking to the Papists, and forbidding thame to transgress the laws.” The two “brethren” whom Knox and his associates are reported by Randolph to Cecil to have intended to rescue, were this same Patrick Cranston and a person named Andrew Armstrong. This said Andrew Armstrong and George Rynd, described as burgesses of Edinburgh, on the 1st of October 1563 found surety to “underly the law” on the 24th of that month for breaking the Queen's proclamations, carrying “pistoletts” within Edinburgh and the Canongate, and for “convocation of the lieges at the Palace of Holyrood, and invading sundry of the Queen's domestic servants therein.” On the 24th the case was continued till the 13th of November, when Patrick Cranston was commanded to appear. It is curious, however, that on the same day when Armstrong and Rynd were arraigned for their disorderly conduct, a certain Christian Pinkerton, described as spouse of James Roger, and twenty-one others, men and women in the lower ranks of life, were “delated” for being present in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood at the celebration of Mass on the 8th of August. Archibald Trench and his wife, and John Brown, “merchant,” were denounced rebels, and their cautioners “unlawed.” No farther notice of these cases occurs. See Piteairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland, vol. i. Part I. Edin. 4to, 1833, p. 434, 435.—E.]

¹ Viz. of the Emperor, or King of Spain.—[Ferdinand I. and Philip II. —E.]

to be employed in it, but the Duke will be displeased. Many importune to knowe what person the Queen means ; some imagine my Lord Amb. Dudley, some Darnley, now my Lord Robert.¹ The Lord Treasurer of Scotland² put to open penance in the church for getting a wench with child."

The Instructions pointed at in this foregoing letter seem to be the Memorial of the 17th November, transmitted from Queen Elizabeth to her Resident, which, for the greater satisfaction of my readers, I judge proper here to subjoin.

¹ Because mention has already been, and will be hereafter made, of my Lord Robert, such readers as are unacquainted may know, that this was a gentleman of the surname of Dudley, whose father had been first created Lord Viscount Lisle by King Henry VIII. (He was likewise made Admiral of England by this King, and in that quality commanded the fleet which arrived in the Frith of Edinburgh in the beginning of May 1544. See above p. 46.) He was afterwards created Earl of Warwick (the same who was Lieutenant General under the Duke of Somerset at the unfortunate Battle of Pinkie, anno 1547) and Duke of Northumberland by King Edward VI. But both he and his eldest son were executed in the first year of Queen Mary of England, upon an indictment of high treason, for their setting up the Lady Jean Grey to be Queen. Nor was that title revived in the family by Queen Elizabeth. Her Majesty, however, created Ambrose Dudley (the same who is here mentioned) Earl of Warwick, and his brother Robert Dudley, who was fifth son to his father, also created Earl of Leicester, to render him thereby a proper match for our Queen, as she pretended. Every body knows of the esteem his mistress the Queen of England bore him, and Sir James Melvil tells us, that when she made him Earl of Leicester (the solemnity of which creation is very particularly related by some English writers, "her Majesty, who helped to put on his ceremonial, could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him, as he sat on his knees before her, Sir James and the French Ambassador standing by."—[Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 471. Bishop Keith's reference in this note—"See above, p. 46—" is not clear.—E.]

² This was Mr Robert Richardson, Commendator of St Mary Isle.—[In Kirkcudbrightshire, near the royal burgh of Kirkcudbright, not literally an *island*, as it is a portion of land jutting out into the river Dee, the shore of which is dry at low water. St Mary's Isle was the site of a Priory or Abbey founded by Fergus, Lord of Galloway, in the reign of David I., and was a dependency of the Abbey of Holyrood at Edinburgh. It is now the beautiful seat of the Earls of Selkirk. Richardson was Lord High Treasurer of Scotland from 1561 to 1564 (Beaton's Political Index, vol. III. p. 84.) ; but Crawford (Lives of the Officers of State in Scotland, folio, Folio 1726, p. 283), says that he was appointed in 1558, and "kept his place" till his death in 1571. This author says—"He appears to have been a very wise moderate man, for, so far as I can observe from the history of those times, he kept himself more in a neutrality, and was less a party man than any other that held office about the Court."—E.]

“ ELIZABETH R.—*A Memorial for Thomas Randolph, sent by the Queen's Majestie to the Queen of Scots, 17th November 1563.*¹

“ WE have heard and seen in writing shewed to us by you, how discreet answers the Queen our good sister hath made to you, to such things as you have propounded to her ; wherein you shall say to her, we do perceive her good acceptation of our messages to the sincerity of our meaning, whereof we are very glad, and thereby are provoked to proceed to some further perfection. And in one thing only we find some lack in perusing of the answers, that is, we see not so much inwardness and frankness uttered in words, as we perswade ourself we should have found in private communication with her ourself ; which last though we find, yet do we not blame it, considering we impute it to her great circumspection, and advice used in committing of her mind to writing, wherein commonly more strangeness and less familiarity is used than in speech.

“ And for the matters, you may say, That we are very glad to see her not disallow of the manner used by us, in division of the matters requisite to be considered by her in the marriage ; which being principally three, that is, the contentation, first of herself, next of her people, and, thirdly, of us and our Realm ; whereof the two former seem to be well regarded by her ; and in the third, which concerneth us and her, remaineth most difficulty. Therefore, omitting the two former, you shall say, That we have considered her answers to the same, and mean to let her understand what we think thereof.

“ You shall say, That where, by her words, she desireth to clear us of a doubt, which we have conceived of the intention of some marriage, wherein no good is meant to us, assuring us, first, of her own sincere meaning ; and next, undertaking for her uncles, that they will always be ready to do us pleasure, and consequently praying us to suffer no such impression of them by sinister reports to take place

¹ Cotton Library, Calig. B. X. and Lawyers' Library, an Original. These Instructions are in Cecil's hand, and signed and countersigned by the Queen.—[British Museum, and Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.—E.]

with us: Surely we never conceived any such opinion in this matter of her marriage upon her own intention, but do think of her even as she would have us do. Neither have we regarded any reports made of any of her uncles, but such as their own deeds have confirmed; and for her sake we have been content to cast behind us into oblivion all former acts of some of them, which not only ourselves, but all the rest of Christendom, did see to be prejudicial to us, and in that we do let our good sister understand what it is that we dislike in some of them. We assure her, we have not been ready to give light ear or credit thereto; but when such things pass abroad from country to country, even from themselves originally, when no pains nor travel are spared, to notify to the world their earnestness in renewing their former designs and practices, we pray our sister not to impute this our conceit to the sinister perswasion of any other. For, indeed, both for her sake, and for respect of the honourable House and Family of her uncles, we would be rather content to have good offices of friendship nourished betwixt us and them, likeas we have not foreborn, for all unkindness past, to shew ourselves to some of them very well content to use them not unkindly; and except manifest cause be given us to the contrary, we mean not to show any offence towards any of them.

* And for the last part of our sister's answer, whereunto she desireth to be answered in two points, that is, first, what person we think for marriage suitable for her, and whom we allow, and whom not; next, what way we mean to proceed to the declaration of her title to be our next cousin, upon knowledge whereof, she will give us a resolute answer. You may say, that these two matters are of such weight, as we are very loth to make answer thereunto by message, if we might do otherwise conveniently, finding ourselves better disposed to deal in such matters by communication and familiar speeches, so as the one of us might satisfie the other in any doubt, and neither of us to be subject to be mistaken in friendship.

Nevertheless, because she shall perceive we mean not in any part to stay this so necessary a matter, we will not forbear to describe to her what kind of person we think

meet, and consequently to manifest to her in some sort of speciality rather who are not meet, than precisely to appoint by name who are meet.

“ A person meet for her in marriage, as we judge, ought to be chosen of such as having other qualities agreeable to her own liking and to her Realm, have no less disposition and determination to continue the strait bond of love and concord that is now knit between us two, and our people and countries. And if upon advised consideration had none can be found, being a stranger born to both our countries, with such an assured disposition and affection, the weight of this matter is surely such, being advisedly weighted and considered, that it were to be wished, and so for our part we would be right glad, that some Nobleman of right birth and credit within this isle might be found, having natural affection towards this our bond of concord, and not unmeet in condition and qualities for the other two points requisite to be considered in this behalf. Herein if our sister shall advisedly consider our opinion, using the advice of those who both love herself and country, she shall well understand, that whatsoever mountains of felicities or worldly pomps may be hoped for by others, being strangers, if this natural disposition to conserve concord betwixt us, and this our Realms after us, be not assuredly found in them, the success thereof shall not answer her expectation, for we account this last matter in choice of her husband not to be of less moment than any of the other. And well may we call this conjunction of us two and our countries the principal marriage that shall make all other marriages (not only of herself, but of her people, and our's also) fortunate, happy, and fruitful; and therefore we earnestly pray our sister to think, that this our limitation or description of the quality of a person, without naming to her of any, groweth of good and long deliberation.

“ And as to the declaration whom we think not meet, our sister may easily understand *that*, by comparing the contrary; and yet, to speak more openly, we think our sister may most readily judge what sort of persons are not meet, by the example of her past marriage with the French King; wherein, whatsoever our sister shall for respects affirm to the contrary, all wise men in the world did see that the

device thereof was neither for the particular weal of her or her country, nor to maintain quietness between these two kingdoms; and so did the success also declare the same. And we are of opinion, that none who shall practise in like sort to make any marriage betwixt her and the children of France, Spain, or Austria, can have any other intention, if not worse, than was in that of France. And, therefore, to conclude this point, our sister may perceive what manner of choice we wish her to make, not naming any person in any country, nor secluding any for the nature of the country, so that the person have both condition and disposition agreeable for both these two countries; but being very desirous that Almighty God may please to direct her heart, to allow such an one, either abroad in other parts of Christendom or nearer home, if it so be, even in our own country, as with her contentation may also be effectually, or rather naturally, given and affected, to the perpetual concord and weal of these two kingdoms; the conjunction whereof assuredly made, we account as the very marriage only of continuance and blessedness to endure after this our age, for our posterity, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the eternal good renown of both us being Queens, and as god-mothers and parents of our countries. And if our sister shall not think this our answer special or particular enough for choice of some meet person, we pray her to weigh and examine our words well, with their circumstances, and she shall find no great obscurity therein.¹

“As for the last part, to know by what way we will proceed to declare her title; therein we do promise her, that if she will give us just cause to think, that she will in the choice of her marriage shew herself conformable to this our opinion declared, we will thereupon further proceed to the inquisition of her right by all good means in her furtherance, and shall be content to give ear to any thing that shall be thought meet by her and her Council to be declared in her favour: And if we shall find the matter to fall out in her behalf, then, upon plain knowledge had with whom she shall match in marriage, we will proceed to the declaration

¹ Surely the words appear dark enough, whatever the circumstances may have been. It would appear the Queen of England had not courage as yet to name the person whom she intended.

of her right, as we might do for our natural sister or daughter. And if this answer shall not seem to content our sister, you may say, That the proceeding herein dependeth so upon her proceeding in her marriage; and without the success thereof, this cannot follow as she and hers would desire: and so we doubt not but her Council shall have great reason to perswade her. Finally, if you find her not so well satisfied herein, as thereupon she will, according to her answer last made unto you, give us a resolute answer by you, then may you require her to send some of her most trustiest servants hither, to confer further with us therein, and yourself have leave to return home: and if she shall give you a resolute answer, then may you return.

“Although in this Memorial mention is made that we have seen our sister’s answer in writing, as we did; yet, considering that answer was made in speech, and put in writing at your request, we are content that you shall not press any argument upon the writing, but upon her answer in speech.

“ELIZABETH R.”

“*To Sir W. Cecill, 13th January 1563-4.*

“MORAY semeth to like well of the mach (with Lord Robert Dudley) but dares not perswade, it is so full of difficulties. The Duke (of Chastleherault) sheweth himself an earnest friend to the Protestants. The Queen, by missing her attempt to have Knox punished for his former seditious letter,¹ seeth there will be made difficulties to attayne her owne desire, the power of the faction is so strong. A purpose in this Queen to writ into England in favour of Bothwell, for license to departe into France.” — (Mr Randolph’s

¹ This most probably is the Letter inserted by Mr Knox in his Book of the date at Edinburgh the 8th of October, together with his accusation for it before the Queen. Mr Randolph does not misname it when he calls it *seditious*, for it was abundantly so.—[Knox’s extraordinary and insolent letter, dated Edinburgh, 8th October 1563, is in his “*Historie*,” Edin. edit. 1732, p. 336, 337. It refers to the charges against the two “brethren” Patrick Cranston and Andrew Armstrong, for rioting at the Chapel-Royal of Holyroodhouse on Sunday the 8th and Sunday the 15th of August preceeding. It is a kind of circular, detailing the circumstances of the case, and requesting the presence of the Reforming leaders on the day of trial.—E.]

information in this has been very well grounded, since we have the following letter left on record).

*Letter, Queen of Scotland to the Queen of England.*¹

"RIGHT excellēt, &c. We wrait to zow laithie at the dooyre of certaine the Erle of Boithwillis² friendis here. That it micht pleis zow to grant him libertie to pas furth of that zowr Realme to the parties bezond sey quhair he likit best; and becaus thay undirstand that he is to repair towert zowr Court for obtenyng of the samin, hes maid new suite unto ws to put zow in remembrance of owr former request: Quhairfore we prai zow, deirist sister, to gif command that the said Erle may haif fredom to depart furth of zowr Realme to sic countreis bezond sey as sall seame to him maist convenient, as ze will do ws acceptable plesour. And thus, richt excellent, richt heich and nichtie Princesse, &c."

To the Queen of England, 21st January.

"THE Queen-mother of France and the Cardinal of Guise understand by De Foix³ this intended mach, and (insinuate to) this Queen, that it is not safe to trust the Queen of England's counsell in her marriage, who meaneth therein only to serve her own turne; nor honorable to mach so basely as with the Lord Robert or Earl of Warwick, of which the one she intendeth to her, and the other to herself."

To Sir W. Cecil, 22d January.

"UPON a jealousy of this amity with England, letters full of large promises are sent (from France) by the L. of Scheldon to the Queen of Scots, wherein they desire the old amity to be continued betwixt both nations, and offer to the Queen a new assurance for her dowry and pension, payinge part in hand; provision of wyne for her owne Houshold without impost or custome, artillary and munition what she shall need; the band of men-at-arnes to be restored, and

¹ Shatter'd MS. a Copy.

² The reader will see in our historians that this Nobleman having been put in prison, upon the information given in against him by the Earl of Arundel, he made his escape, and chanced to be cast upon the coast of England, in his passage abroad by sea.

³ His name is Paul de Foix; he was now French Ambassador in England.

the Lord Robert of Scotland made Captaine ; the old order of the garde to be renewed ; merchants to enjoy their priviledges ; pensions to be continued to such of the Scotts nation as had formerly, and newe to be granted to those she shall commend."

From Mr Randolph to Sir W. Cecill, 27th February.

" OF continuance of amytie he nothing doubts ; much of the other, (viz. of the match with my Lord Robert Dudley). The reasons objected to him (are the) Queen's spirit will not descend to mach below herself. To move her from her dignytie, it is unfriendly, suspicious, and in a subject dangerous ; and respects of profit in Princes not so fit as honor. But should she yield, the Queen her sister would offer no doubt the best ; and that best being the man herself so much esteemeth, it will be strainge, and for him to be divorced from that worthy rome (Queen Elizabeth's affection) wherein he is placed, it will eyther mach him to dishonour or dislike ; and therefor the impossibility proves it a shew rather of good will then of a good meaninge. For the matter of her title to be hereby established, the assurance cannot be much the better ; for what one Parliament doeth confirme, another may revoke. But the disparagement by such mariage is without remedie : whereas to mach in her own ranck, it increaseth honour and alliance, whereby Princes will be more fearfull to offer her indignitye, and she better enabled to hold her owne, and recover her right, if it be opposed."—(This is a continuation of the objection made in Scotland against the match).—" He finds Moray and Lethington willing to the mach ; but doubting of the effecting, wishing me to deal openly with the Queen concerning the person.¹ Some unkindnes between Moray and the Queen about Knox, whose parte he (Moray) taketh.²

¹ By this it would appear that Mr Randolph had not as yet mentioned the Lord Robert from his own mouth for our Queen.

² [The Earl of Moray and Knox had nevertheless their private quarrels, and the patience even of the former was unable to endure the latter's violence and suspicion. Knox considered Moray's zeal not sufficiently ardent, and was enraged at the protection he afforded to the Queen in the exercise of her religion. Moray also gave mortal offence by extending his protection to the Queen and her ladies in what Knox calls the "superfluities of their clothes," which, he maintained, would excite

He (Randolph) describeth a great feast, to which he was invited, and saw his mistress much honoured. The verses of the shewe he sendeth, which were spoken at the serving up of every course.

* The first service to the table, blind Cupid was brought in, the wayters saying to this verse :—

Quæstus oculi cæcis mundo ciliata amoræ, Amatores oculi et oculatæ nuptiæ Quandæ hæc tunc, pueri mores cognoscere, Maturata famula et formæ yeglio Tunc æs ch'yl prova, et facti cœca piana. Anni mille anni e in fin abhor ti suoglio.	Ed usque d' otio et di lascivia humana. Nutrito dispensior dolci et serui. L'atto signor et djo da gente vana, Quale e morto da lui, qual co' più gravi Leggi, mena sua vita aspra et acerba, Sotto mille catene et mille chiavi.
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* The second service, a fayer younge maid.

Cassitas blandi demitrix amoris, Cassitas yllæ speculorum prioris, Tabe sunt pueris sedules colebat Aurea tortas. Cassitas yllæ speculorum secundæ, Morte sunt vincta lœlata membris Puræ menti puris radiantis aulam Incolat actras.	Una nec certam Veneris sagittam. Jura nec fati metuis severi. Quippe quæ rursus moriente major Morte resurgis. Pura cum puris agites ut ævum Anylis : quorum studium secuta Colliges fructus socios secundæ Redditæ vitas.
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* The last was a younge childe, set forth unto tyme. These verses were sung by the wayters.

Armata talis dexteros. Lævum veneno occidit Mors : cuncta tempus demorat Fides, non amentia a dextera. Non quod hic prophopitas. Non tempore hæc tropitas Sapient. fides quod timor Intimide non horret. Mors et amentia occidit Cum fides Lævum.	Canam fidem non obruit, Non pectorum constantiam. Durabit usque posteris Intaminata seculis Sincera quæ Britannidas Necit fides Horridas. Rerum supremis terminus Et astra terris miscuit. Regina Sæptæ diligit Anglorum. Angli Sæptam diligent.
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From Mr Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil, 8th March.

* THE Queen's answer about the marriage is generall, and as uncertain as she had my message doubtfull, yet professing all love and respect to her sister. For expedicion of pore

the Divine vengeance. "not only on the foolish women, but on the whole realm." Knox alleged that Moray's conduct resulted from a fear of offending the Queen, lest she should repent of her munificence in granting him the Earldom of Moray, and he denounced such motives in strong language, accusing the Earl of sacrificing truth to convenience, and the service of God to the interests of his ambition. This enraged Moray, and he and Knox for nearly a year and a half scarcely spoke to each other, for though they had one or two short interviews during that interval, it was no regard for Knox which induced Moray to meet him. The Queen's marriage to Lord Darnley seems to have been one of the first occurrences which reserved their intimacy. — [E.]

men's causes the Queen hath ordered three dayes a week, augmenting the judges' stipends for their attendance, and sitting herself, for more equitie, often tymes. The Cardinal of Loraine hath sent to her to procure, if she can, her people to receive an Interim."¹

Neither good Mr Knox nor Mr Buchanan take any notice of this piety in the Queen; though we may, without breach of charity, take the freedom to say, that had either of them had a bad thing to tell, they would not have failed to transmit the same to posterity, and that also in more odious terms than it could well bear: Their ordinary practice gives but too much ground for this surmise. However, to leave this, I see a project for the administration of justice very much resembling this, in the Records of Privy-Council on the 28th December before. But as the Registers of the Council are now amissing after the 2d day of March 1563-4,²

¹ It were too tedious to narrate here the history of that particular Book and Imperial Constitution termed the *Interim*. It may be sufficient for the ordinary readers to know, that in the year 1548 the Emperor Charles V. did by his authority cause some Articles of Agreement, concerning religious matters, to be drawn up, which got the denomination of *Interim*, for this reason, that both Papists and Protestants within the empire of Germany were bound to agree to them in the *mean time* only, until a General Council should meet in some town within the limits of Germany. So that by an *Interim* projected at this time in Scotland by the Cardinal of Lorrain, it is plain that Prelate meant, that the subjects of Scotland should be dealt with, to come into a surcease concerning religious differences, during a certain space of time, until some more regular order might be taken therewith. The author of "*Martyre de Marie Stuart*," &c. speaking of the things which were to be handled in the Parliament in March 1565-6, reckons up this—"That the Catholicks might be permitted to live after the accustomed manner, and to worship God according to their own consciences, without being constrained to embrace Calvinism."—[This passage occurs in p. 81 of "*Martyre de la Roynne d'Escoce Dowairiere de France*," 12mo. 1588, said to be by Blackwood, a Scotsman.—E.]

² These Registers were in the hands of some persons very lately, but are now abstracted. The first after this date begins the 5th September 1571. During this space, therefore, I shall be obliged to make use of these following helps:—1. The Abstracts of the Privy-Council drawn out by Thomas Hamilton, the Lord Register in the reign of James VI., afterwards created Earl of Haddingtoun. 2. Abstracts of Privy-Council made by Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, Lord of Session in the reigns of King Charles II. and King James VII. 3. Such Acts of Council as are preserved by some late writers. 4. Particular Acts of Privy-Council

I am not enabled to afford my readers any farther account of this matter, than what is recorded on the said 28th day of December, which is as followeth.

“ Apud Edinaburgh, 28th Decembris, Anno Dom. 1563.

“ SEDERUNT—Jacobus Dux de Chatelarauld, &c.; Jacobus Comes Moravia; Alexander Comes de Glencarne; Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancell.; Archibaldus Erpadiar Comes; Willemus Murescall Comes; Patricius Dominus Ruthven; Joannes Wishart de Pitarro, Miles, Rotulator; Willemus Maitland, junior de Lethingtoun, Secretarius; Magister Jacobus Macgill de Nether-Rankellor, Clericus Registri.

“ THE Quenis Majestie, with aviss of the saidis Lordis, undir- standing that the caussis quhilk the poir lieges of this Realm had decidit in the Consistorie¹ of befoir, be lang delay of justice ar frustrat, and thai compellit to leif the soit of the saidis caussis: Thairfore, and that the saidis caussis may haif the mair summar proces and schortar end, hir Hienes, with aviss of hir said Counsale, hes thoct gude that jurisdictionis be erectit in sundrie partis of this Realm for discussing of the saidis caussis, and that Commissaris be appointit to gif attendence thairupoun. And becaus presentlie the saidis Lordis cannot gudlie await upoun the

copied by Mr Robert Miln, Writer to the Signet before the Revolution in 1688, since which time he has withdrawn from business, and is now much employed in collecting what may be useful to the knowledge of our Scottish affairs, and who very generously afforded me the use of the Acts transcribed by him; which are so very plentiful, that they may well nigh serve for a complete record of the more publick and important transactions. To such Acts as I shall take from him, I shall affix the letters R. M.—[The authorities mentioned by Bishop Keith are the Earl of Haddington's Minutes of Parliament, Privy-Council, and Exchequer, MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Sir Alexander Seton, Bart. of Pitmedden, a Judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Pitmedden, deceased, we are told by Wodrow, an extensive and curious library. Of “ Mr Robert Miln, Writer to the Signet before the Revolution in 1688,” little is known beyond the fact that he was a most industrious collector of valuable documents illustrative of Scottish history, and that he was a personal friend of Bishop Keith. His “ Miscellanea Curiosa, v. MSS. variis ad res Scoticas pertinentibus, manu sua propria fideliter excerpta,” and other MS. Collections, are in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh.—E.]

¹ These were Courts belonging to the Bishops in former times.

devising of the hale ordour of the saidis jurisdictionis, thai haif ordinit Henrie Bischop of Ross,¹ Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knyt, William Maitland his sone, Secretar ; the Clerkis of Register, Justiciarie, and Advocat, to sit doun and aviss upoun the said Ordour, that thaireftir the samyn may be put in Articlis, and the samyn Articlis with the Commissionis to be grantit to the saidis Commissionaris,

¹ Henry Sinclair, a son of the Family of Roslin, five miles from Edinburgh, had been Abbot of Kilwinning, and Parson of Glasgow, the Deanry of which Church likewise he enjoyed by excambion for his Abbacy. He was a man of very valuable parts, and singularly knowing in the laws, was first a Lord, and afterwards President of the Court of Session. "By his advice" (says Archbishop Spottiswood), "many things were bettered in the form of justice, and divers abuses in the forms of process amended." And most probably it has been he who advised the Queen to the making this good Act. This worthy Prelate, having been sorely afflicted with the stone, went over into France in the beginning of July this same year, where he suffered the operation of being cut, but chanced to die soon after, in the beginning of January following. Mr Knox discovers only his own prejudices, when he talks indiscreetly of this learned person ; but the liberty of that writer's tongue is no scandal ; however it favours of somewhat worse than I shall name, to say, that "*God struck him according to his deservings.*" Mr Knox had acted a wiser as well as more Christian part, not to affix the epithet of *judgments* upon the common maladies of our human nature.—[Roslin Castle, most of it now in ruins, the seat of the St Clairs, Earls of Orkney, and latterly of the St Clairs of Roslin, is nearly eight English miles south of Edinburgh. Archbishop Spottiswoode's short character of Bishop Sinclair of Ross occurs in p. 110 of his "History," London, edit. 1677. Knox abuses this Prelate in the most unmeasured language, speaking of "Mr Henry Sinclair, styled Bischope of Ross," as "ane perfyte hypocrite, and ane conjured enemy to Christ Jesus—the said Mr Henry being enemy to all that profess the Lord Jesus, but chiefly to John Knoxe for the liberty of his tongue ; for he had affirmed, as ever still he does affirme, that a Bischope that receaves profite, and feeds not the flock even by his awin labours, is both a thief and murderer." This is a tolerable sample of John Knox's "liberty of his tongue." But the real origin of his vituperation was connected with his seditious letter, dated Edinburgh, 8th October 1563, inviting the chief leaders of his party to proceed to Edinburgh, and be present at the trial of Patrick Cranston and Andrew Armstrong, for their audacious riot in the Chapel-Royal of Holyroodhouse in August preceding. That circular was read in the town of Ayr, in the presence of Robert Cunningham, styled Minister of Failfurd, who is sneeringly abused by Knox. Cunningham obtained the letter, or a copy of it, which he sent to Bishop Sinclair, then Lord President of the Court of Session, who proceeded to Stirling, and laid it before the Queen and Privy Council, by whom it was pronounced a treasonable document, and Knox was soon afterwards cited to answer for his conduct.—E.]

to be subscrivit be the Quenis Grace for corroboratioun thairrof."

Note, That on the 12th day of March 1563-4, the Queen subscribes Instructions to the Commissaries, which may be seen at length in our books of law. And *Note*, There is nothing else in this Book of the Register of Privy-Council relating to any publick matter, but what I have laid before the readers.

To the Queen of England, 8th March.

"RANDOLPH willed by the Queen (of Scots) to signifie to her sister her affection, judgeing better of her meaning then her words. Princes have not at all tymes their will, but her heart is her owne, and that immutable; and she desireth that their enemyes may rather envye the kindnes between them, then be able to remove it."

"To Sir W. Cecil, 18th March.

"BY the Queen of England's letters of the 5th of March, understanding her Majestie's minde of the person intended, he will at his best, next audience, declare him to this Queen."—(This we see is the first time that Mr Randolph had warrant to name the Lord Robert Dudley to our Queen).—"Knox askt in church to be marryed to Margrett Steward, the daughter of the Lord Ochiltre.¹ Much the Queen is offended, and determined to banish him"—(not for his marriage with the Lord Ochiltree's daughter, but for his seditious behaviour, as will be seen in the Ecclesiastick Part).

"To the Queen of England, 30th March 1564.

"RANDOLPH, upon receipt of the Queen's letter 5th March, acquainted the Scottish Queen with the person, my Lord Robert, whom she offered to her sister as the fittest match. She hard it with patience, but deferreth resolution. The Emperor is still a suter to the Cardinal, for his sonne to marry this Queen. He offered 2,000,000 francks yerely, and after his death 3,000,000."

¹ [Margaret Stewart, younger daughter of Andrew second Lord Ochiltree, became the second wife of John Knox, by whom she had three daughters. This marriage caused numerous severe jokes and satires against Knox, who was then in his fifty-fifth year, and was not particularly attractive in appearance, or noted for personal accomplishments.—E.]

To Sir W. Cecill, 30th March.

“AT his acquainting the Queen with Lord Robert’s name, she sayeth that one of the three advices the Queen of England sent her, her choice was to respect her honour; and can that (be) my honour to marry a subject? He answered—Yes; for by means of him she is like to inherit a kingdom. Not so (replied the Queen of Scots), for my sister may have children, or outlive me. It is not, said she, conforme to her promise to use me as her sister or daughter, and marry me to her subject, although I hear well of the gentleman. I said, it might nowe stand with her promise, for there was not a worther man to be found in her kingdom; and this will succor peace, inrich your countrey, and advance justice between both nations. The like conference he had the same tyme with Moray, Argile, Liddington, appointed by the Queen, and in them resolved of a conference and meting to be had at Barwick. And the Earle of Bedford was well liked of by the Queen of Scotts to be one, but the tyme is not appointed. He hath good hope of the business, if he be assisted with Sir W. Cecill’s directions; for he findeth the men here fearfull.”—(Our Queen reasoned here smartly like herself; and the English Resident said as much as his subject could admit, and that was very little. And, no doubt, these brisk repartees from our Queen nettled the Queen of England, and had their own weight in the displeasure¹ that Queen conceived some short time after this).

To Sir W. Cecill, 14th April.

“RANDOLPH hath signified my Lord of Bedford’s arrival at Barwick² to the Scottish Queen. Cesford³ is charged by her to proceed in matters of Border-justice uprightly. Queen here expecteth daylie from England an answer to the last Conference.”—(That, I suppose, which is contained in the foregoing abstract betwixt our Queen and Randolph).—“I understand by one nere the Queen, that in this business she will cast anchor betwene Dover and Barwick, though

¹ See Melvil’s Memoirs, p. 44.

² This Nobleman was governor of the town of Berwick.

³ [Sir Walter Ker of Cessford, an ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Roxburghe.—E.]

perchance not in that parte we wish for.”—(i.e. The Queen of Scots will take a husband out of England, but not my Lord Robert. It is not improbable that our Queen might have had already in her view the Lord Darnly).

To Sir W. Cecill, 22d May.

“HE hathe traveled earnestly with the Queen, Moray, Argile, and Lethington, to know a resolution concerning the interview¹, but cannot work it. He feareth it will not be this yeare. A brute here of one comitted to the Tower of London for writing a book against this Queen. Lennox hath a licence to come home, and sue his right.² I hope my mistress will stay him till she hear further. An ambassador from Denmark to work this Queen from permitting her subjects to serve the King of Sweden in his (*fortè*, her) name.

The person mentioned in this abstract to have been committed to the Tower was most probably John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper, who the year before had published a Treatise, intituled—“A Declaration of the Succession of the Crowne Imperiall of England,”³ in which he labours to invalidate our Queen’s right to the same, and to transfer it on the House of Suffolk.⁴ Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper

¹ This has been a new project for an interview between the two Queens, set on foot by the Queen of England for her own reasons.

² We shall hear much of this matter by and by.

³ This treatise may be seen at full length in the Appendix to Bedford’s “Hereditary Right to the Crown of England.”

⁴ The pretension of the Family of Suffolk to the Crown of England stood thus: Charles Brandon, first Viscount Lisle, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, a great favourite of King Henry VIII., had the honour to get to wife that King’s younger sister Mary, then Queen Dowager of France. By her he had two daughters, Frances and Eleanor, on whom their uncle entailed his Crown after his own son and daughters, excluding thereby the Queen of Scotland, descended from his elder sister, which entailment, however, by her father Queen Elizabeth did not much favour. Lady Frances Brandon was married to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and afterwards created likewise Duke of Suffolk. By this Lady that Duke had three daughters, Jean, Katharine, and Mary. Lady Jean was married to the Lord Guildford, fourth son to Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; and to this Lady Jean Grey, alias Dudley, King Edward VI. did by his will and testament bequeath the Crown of England after his decease, excluding his own two sisters Mary and Elizabeth. Lady Jean was proclaimed Queen by the partizans of the House of Suffolk, but lost her life in the cause very soon after, having been beheaded by order of Queen

of England, was looked upon to have assisted Mr Hales in forming this scheme, for which his Lordship had well nigh lost his office by the accusation of the Earl of Leicester. However, he was restored again to his Queen's favour by the interest of Secretary Cecil. When Mr Camden is talking of this affair, he informs that the zealots of the Reformation were keen for excluding the Queen of Scots from the succession to the Crown upon a few nicer punctilios in law, however clear and unquestionable her title was in other respects ;—that the greatest part, at least the cooler heads among the Papists, were of opinion our Queen's pretences were good, and ought to stand, being firm, and according to law ;—and that another party were for setting up Margaret, the Queen of Scots' aunt, wife to Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lenox, and her children, as being English born. Of all these things this author says our Queen was not ignorant, who to prevent them what she could, sent for Matthew Earl of Lenox into Scotland, by advice of her aunt the Countess of Lenox, upon pretence of restoring him to his ancient hereditary estate,¹ but in truth and reality, to advise with him in these particulars."

From Randolph to Sir William Cecill, 4th June.

"SCOTTS Queen with excuses breaketh the internour to"—(We have no more of this abstract. By *internour* would seem to be meant interview, for we see there had been some new talk concerning an interview betwixt the two Queens. Queen Elizabeth glanceth at such a thing in her Memorial, 17th November 1563, but in such a manner as if it behoved the Queen of Scots to make the offer, of which, however, it appears by Sir James Melvil, p. 47, that our

Mary ; so that the next branch of the House of Suffolk was the Lady Katharine Grey, on whom Mr Hales laboured now in his Book to fix the succession of the Imperial Crown of England. Perhaps the thing that moved Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to interest himself against Sir Nicholas Bacon and Mr Hales has been the unfortunate success of the Lady Jean Grey, married to his own immediate elder brother ; and unless he shewed some keenness against the pretensions of the Suffolk Family, Queen Elizabeth might look on him with a less favourable aspect. The late writer of his Life says likewise, that he did this to recommend himself thereby the more to our Queen's favour.

¹ The reader hath already seen in this Work the occasion of this Nobleman's banishment and forfeiture.

Queen had no intention, nor indeed of an interview at this time).

“ 5th July.

“ QUEEN of England writeth to the Queen of Scotts to stay the coming of Lennox into Scotland.”—(If it be true that the Queen of England did write thus at this time to her cousin, I am at least able to convince my readers, by what shall be here subjoined, that she did not always so. But whatever might be the purport of her Majesty’s letters at this season, we find that the same was by no means agreeable to our Queen, and hereupon she wrote back pretty sharply to her cousin; and thence did arise in the mind of the English Queen much displeasure, as may be seen both by her discourse with Mr James Melvil, whom our Queen sent into England in the month of September, with several both public and private Instructions,¹ and by the Queen of England’s own Instructions also to Mr Randolph, her agent, of the date the 4th of October following).

“ 27th September.²

“ LENNOX cometh to Edinborough.³ Queen of Scotts by letters promiseth to restore Lennox to his lands.

¹ Melvil’s Memoirs, p. 44.

² I can hardly think that Mr Randolph has been the author of this abstract of the 27th September, which is but the very day preceding the date of Mr Melvil’s Instructions, seeing Melvil found Randolph at London at his arrival there. And Mr Randolph’s own Instructions, bearing date the 4th of October following, confirm the suspicion that Mr Randolph has gone away into England very soon after our Queen took journey into Athole. Perhaps also there is a mistake in Mr Melvil’s printed Instructions, which carry the 28th of September, since that gentleman says expressly that he saw Lord Robert Dudley created Earl of Leicester. Now it is certain that creation was made on or about Michaelmas Day, the 29th of September. It seems likewise necessary that Mr Melvil must have been in London sooner than his printed Instructions would well bear to give time for new Instructions to be drawn up and delivered to Mr Randolph on the 4th October, which Instructions nevertheless make mention of Queen Elizabeth’s having had opportunity already to discourse with Mr Melvil. All these considerations, therefore, laid together, will afford ground to suppose that Melvil’s Instructions have been at least given on the 26th September instead of the 28th, by an easy mistake of either the printer or transcriber.

³ By the two last abstracts it is most obvious that Mr Buchanan, and after him Archbishop Spottiswoode, have been greatly in the wrong to

By Mr Melvil's Instructions, and by the account we have from Mr Knox,¹ we come to be apprised that our sovereign the Queen had gone into Athole to a hunting in the month of July, and from thence had made a progress into the more northern parts of the Realm, and that she returned to Edinburgh by the low east-road through Fife in the month of September.² And now it was that the Earl of

report, that the Earl of Lennox arrived in Scotland in the year 1563, after an exile of twenty-two years. That Noble Lord left Scotland in the year 1544, so that he was absent the space of twenty years only, and according to their account only nineteen years, since they make him to have returned in the year 1563. Both these historians have run their narrations precipitantly forward into the year 1564, omitting in a great measure the transactions of the year 1563; or so jumbling the transactions of these two years together, that they have bred thereby a world of confusion to their readers.

¹ Mr Knox takes no notice of the Queen's having gone any farther north than Moray. But Mr Holinshed of England observes, that her Majesty went from Athole through Badzenoch into Inverness and the Chanonry of Ross, and returned by Gartley, Aberdeen, and Dunotar. (This is a Castle belonging to the Earl Marischal in the shire of Mearns, a peninsula rock in the sea, one mile south of Stonehaven). Mr Knox seems likewise to be mistaken when he says, that "all this while there was an appearance of love and tender friendship betwixt the two Queens, for there were many letters full of civility and compliments sent from either of them to the other, in sign of amity." However, this is true enough in the general, and this author might not have known the later displeasure that had fallen betwixt these Queens.

² [Previous to this progress, Queen Mary made a tour into Argyllshire, but not into the district of Atholl in Perthshire, as Archbishop Spottiswoode asserts in mistake, some weeks after the Parliament, which ended on the 4th of June. On the 29th of June the Queen rode from the Palace of Holyrood to Linlithgow Palace, where she slept, and on the following day she proceeded to Dunipace in Stirlingshire. On the 1st of July she went from Dunipace to Glasgow, near which she continued till the 13th, visiting Paisley and Hamilton. She rode to Dunbarton on the 14th, on the 15th and 16th, we find the Queen at Rossdhu on Lochlomond, on the 17th and 18th again at Dunbarton, and on the 22d at Inverary, which occupied three days to reach. The Queen remained at Inverary nearly four days with her illegitimate sister the Countess of Argyll; on the 26th she went westward to Strone, where she slept, and proceeded to Dunoon on the following day. She left Dunoon on the 29th, and rode to Toward, opposite Rothsay in Bute. The Queen crossed the Frith of Clyde, and slept at Southannan in Ayrshire, whence she proceeded to the castle of the Earl of Eglinton. Her "Household Book" for August 1563 is lost, but it appears that she was about two weeks in Ayrshire; for in the Privy-Seal Records it is stated that she was at Dunure on the 13th of August. Mary proceeded from Ayrshire into Kirkeudbrightshire; for in the same collection a charter is granted by her at St Mary's Isle on the 13th August, of which Priory her Lord High Treasurer Richardson was Commendator, and she was at the same place

Lenox came and presented himself to her Majesty in her Palace of Holyroodhouse, from whom his Lordship met with a very gracious reception; which, with some other particularities not hitherto known, shall be the subject of the following Chapter.

on the 18th. She was at Dumfries on the 20th, from which she returned to Edinburgh about the beginning of September. On the 8th of that month she set out to Linlithgow and Stirling, at which latter town she remained from the 10th to the 13th, when she went to Drummond Castle. On the 14th, 15th, and 16th, she was in Glenfinlas, and rode to Callander on the evening of the 16th. On the 17th, we find her at Dunblane, and on the 18th at Stirling, where she remained till the 30th of September, and returned to Edinburgh. It was during this progress that the riot occurred in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, mentioned in a previous note. Mary was at Edinburgh during the month of January and most of February 1563-4, and on the 6th of March she left Holyrood Palace and proceeded to Perth, where she remained till the 24th, when she rode to Falkland Palace in Fife. On the 4th of April she went to St Andrews, and on the 6th she returned to Falkland, where she remained till the 16th, and again repaired to Perth. She visited Ruthven on the 25th, and continued at Perth till beyond the middle of May, when she returned to Edinburgh. This brings us to the Queen's journey into Atholl mentioned by Bishop Keith on the authority of Knox. Tired of the annoyances of Knox and his partizans, the Queen, on the 22d of July, rode from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and thence to Stirling, where she continued till the 25th, when we find her dining at Kincardine, and proceeding to Perth in the evening. Mary continued at Perth till the 31st, when she went into the district of Atholl to the "hunting." She next crossed the mountains into Inverness-shire, and thence to the Chanonry of Ross, the episcopal seat of the Bishops of Ross. The Queen returned by the eastern coast to Aberdeen, remaining a night at Gartly Castle, now in ruins. From this place she proceeded to Aberdeen, and thence to Dunottar Castle, where she was on the 5th of September. Proceeding by the coast road to Dundee, she crossed to Fife, and went to St Andrews, where she continued for a few days, and returned to Edinburgh about the 26th of September, after an absence of two months.—E.]

CHAPTER VII.

CONTAINING MATTERS OF STATE FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE EARL OF LENOX IN SCOTLAND, IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 1564, UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF HIS SON THE LORD DARNLY IN THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY 1564-5.

IN the preceding Chapter I have taken the freedom to find fault with two of our historians (one of them living in the time,¹ and so the more blameable) as well for their inconsistency, as for the lameness of their narrations. Mr Knox, it is to be acknowledged, blunders not here as his contemporary friend does ; but then he contributes but very little to the knowledge of the publick transactions of the time : so that had it not been for some original Letters and Instructions that are still remaining, and which I have taken care to insert here, all this civil part of our History had remained buried in obscurity, and been utterly lost. Mr Camden acquaints us that not only did the Earl of Lenox obtain Queen Elizabeth's leave to depart out of England, but also her letters of recommendation to the Queen of Scots for a kindly reception :² And Mr Knox observes likewise, that the

¹ [This allusion is not clear. If Bishop Keith means, by "contemporary historians," John Knox and George Buchanan, *both* were alive at the time to which he refers. If, on the other hand, he means Archbishop Spottiswoode, whom he cites in the preceding Chapter, he was not the "contemporary friend" of Knox, who died in 1572, when the Archbishop was only seven years of age.—E.]

² [Matthew Stewart, fourth Earl of Lennox, and subsequently Regent of Scotland, succeeded his father John third Earl, in 1526. He returned to Scotland from the Continent, where he had been engaged in the military service of France, in 1543, after the death of James V., and soon became the rival of the Earl of Bothwell, father of the notorious Earl, as an aspirant to the hand of the widowed Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager. Lennox was a zealous promoter of the projected marriage of the young Queen Mary and Edward VI., and was compelled to leave the kingdom for supporting the English interest in 1544. He signed a secret agreement with Henry VIII. in June that year, and in August he was sent to Scotland with a number of ships and several hundred men. During the following winter he resided at Carlisle, and entered into a correspondence with the Earl of Glencairn and others of the disaffected Nobility to engage them in the English interest. Lennox was forfeited in the Parliament

Earl of Lenox at his home-coming presented, to our Queen, Queen Elizabeth's letters written in his favour.¹ Now, both these accounts are well fortified by the following remarkable original letter, written by our Queen to Queen Elizabeth, soon after the arrival of the Earl of Lenox; and consequently if it be true, that Queen Elizabeth wrote to our Queen to stay this Earl's coming into Scotland, we can only reconcile that Queen's letter with themselves, by having recourse to the refinement and politicks of Courts. And if Queen Elizabeth was in good earnest desirous to have the Earl of Lenox restrained from coming into Scotland, nobody had that so much in their power as her Majesty's own self.

*Letter from the Queen of Scotland to the Queen of England.*²

“RICHT heich and michtie Princesse, oure deire and weil-belovit sister and cousin, we greit zow weill: By zowr

held at Linlithgow in October 1545 (Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 456). He remained in England as an exile under the protection of Henry VIII. till 1564, as mentioned by our Historian. The Earl married Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Princess Margaret, Queen Dowager of James IV., and sister of Henry VIII., by her second husband, Archibald Earl of Angus, and by this marriage he became the father of Lord Darnley, who was thus the grandson of Henry VII. of England, and the second cousin of Queen Elizabeth, and the cousin (by half-blood only) of Queen Mary of Scotland. Lennox arrived in Edinburgh on the 4th of September, while Mary was absent on the northern progress mentioned in the preceding Chapter. He resolved to proceed to Perthshire, and visit the Earl of Atholl, with whom he was told the Queen was residing, but when at St Andrews he heard of the Queen's return southward, and he rode through Fife, crossed the Frith of Forth, and presented himself in obedience to Mary's invitation in the Palace of Holyrood on the 27th of September. “He rode to the Palace of Holyrood,” says Mr Tytler, referring to the “Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland,” p. 77, “having twelve gentlemen before him splendidly mounted and clothed in black velvet; behind him came a troop of thirty attendants bearing his arms and livery. Having dismounted, the Queen sent for him, and their interview, which took place in the presence of the Nobility, was flattering and cordial.”—History of Scotland, 1842, vol. vi. p. 297.—E.]

¹ But I suspect the Earl of Lenox came not into Scotland by the means *alleged* of the Earl of Moray, as Mr Knox adds.—[Our Historian is right in his conjecture that the Earl of Moray had no connection with the return of the Earl of Lennox to Scotland, and his conduct to the latter proves that he would have prevented it if he had possessed the power. This is altogether an unfounded compliment by John Knox to his friend the Earl of Moray, and is utterly at variance with historical truth.—E.]

² Shafter's MS.

lettris gevin at Northamptoun the first of this instant, and deliverit to oure handis be the Erle of Levenax, we persave how entierlie ze tendir the causs of him, and of our richt trustie and weilbelovit cousin his wyff. And to the effect it may appeir, not onlie to zowr self, bot alsua to all utheris in baith the Realms, quhat gude regaird we haif to zowr requestis, by oure gentill entreatinge of sic as frome zow ar ernistlie recommendit; we haif not onelie at the——first gevin him sum cast of oure gude will, in the favourabill receaving of him, and hering of his petitionis, bot alsua meane to proceid further to the full restitutionoun of him, quhairby he sall be abill to enjoy the privilegis of a subject, the liberteis of his native cuntrie, and his auld tittlis. Besydis, that we intend to deal sa favourabillie with him, and our said cousin his wyff, in all thair suitis and caussis ressonabill, that thai sall haif gude occasioun to acknowlege thameselfis bund unto zow for the benefyte thai sall receive at oure handis: And thairfoir rander maist humill thankis unto zow, for quhais saik and recommendatioun maist cheiffie oure favour is extendit towartis thame. We will alwayis willinglie embrace all sic meanis as sall be offered, quhairby ze may cleirlye understand how weill we can be content to do zow plessour. And sa, richt heich and michtie Princesse, our deir and weilbelovit sister and cousin, we pray the Almightie God to grant zow as prosperous success in all zowr effaris as we wische unto oure self. Gevin at oure Palice of Halieruidhous the——day of Septembir 1564.”¹

As to Mr Melvil's negotiation in England, I must refer my readers to that gentleman's own account thereof, which in this present point is well worth the perusal, and shall only

¹ [This acknowledgement by Queen Mary of Queen Elizabeth's commendatory letters in favour of the Earl of Lennox is dated the 28th of September, and was consequently written on the day after the Earl had the interview with Queen Mary. "Keith," says Mr Tytler, "printed from a contemporary copy, which leaves the day of the month blank. The original is in the State-Paper Office, dated 28th September 1564."—History of Scotland, vol. vi. *note*, p. 297. In the opinion of Chalmers (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 117), the Scottish Queen's answer "is conceived with great elegance, and is executed with remarkable happiness, though somewhat debased by the vulgar language of that age."—E.]

here set down the latter part of the report he made to his mistress.¹ “And that her Majesty,” says he, “had at great length understood all my management and proceedings in England, she enquired whether I thought that Queen meant truly toward her inwardly in her heart, as she appeared to do outwardly in her speech? I answered freely, That in my judgment there was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, emulation, and fear, lest her (our Queen’s) princely qualities should oversoon chace her from the kingdom, as having already hindred her marriage with the Arch-Duke Charles of Austria. It appeared likewise to me by her (Queen Elizabeth’s) offering unto her (the Queen of Scotland) with great earnestness my Lord Leicester, whom I knew at that time she could not want.” This is a heavy charge upon the Queen of England; and it may be better credited, that Sir James Melvil was a firm Protestant, and so not biassed with views of religion in prejudice of that Princess.

Besides the returns which the Queen of England gave to Mr Melvil, we have likewise her own Memorial of the 4th October already mentioned, delivered to Mr Randolph, whom she sent back into Scotland very soon after Mr Melvil’s arrival in England; and we have also some original letters written by Mr Randolph, &c., all which together will afford us a tolerably good prospect into the business of this otherwise dark period.

ELIZABETH R.—*A Memorial for Thomas Randolph,² being sent to the Queen of Scots, in Message from the Queen’s Majestie, 4th October 1564.*³

“You shall, after our affectionate and accustomed recommendations made to our good sister, with the delivery of our letters, say, That your coming was appointed, and yourself ready to come before the coming of her servant (James) Melvin last hither, to have declared to her the causes that

¹ [Bishop Keith entitles this passage from Melville’s Memoirs—“Mr Melvil’s unfavourable sentiments of the Queen of England.”—E.]

² [Randolph, who had been called to London during Queen Mary’s southern journey, brought this “Memorial” with him when he returned to Edinburgh. Bishop Keith entitles it—“Randolph returns into Scotland with a message of reconciliation betwixt the two Queens.”—E.]

³ Callig. B. N. an Original.—[British Museum—E.]

last moved us so long to forbear the returning of answer to your last message brought to us from thence ; and to have shewed unto her our determination for the continuance of our amity, and further proceeding to the good cause already begun betwixt us two. And although we did impart to the said Melvin some of the causes that moved us to forbear our answer, and have received a full satisfaction by his message to all doubts ; yet, as well for the assured satisfaction of our good sister in all events, as for answer to be given to your message, we thought it very pertinent to both our amities, to send you at this time thither.

“ And before you shall enter to declare the causes of our former stay, you shall first pray our good sister to rest herself still upon her old opinion of us for her constant and unchangeable amity towards her, whatsoever accident hath happened to come to our knowledge that might in appearance anywise diminish or alter the same in us ; and upon that request granted to us, you shall tell, That you are commanded to signifie to her the particularities of the matters which stay’d us from answer. And so shall you begin.

“ *First*, upon your return, you shall say, We did so well like the offer of our said sister to have the matter treated upon by trusty persons of both parts with secrecy, that we did both determine who the persons should be for our part, and upon what points they should treat, and to what ends. In the midst of which considerations, the same being such as were not delighted a little to be therein occupied, we had intelligence given us out of France by parties of no small credit, that it was there understood, and frequently reported in that Court, that news were lately come from Scotland, what motion and particular offers we had made to her of her marriage, and how nevertheless she was determined so to use the matter as she would entertain us in a communication thereof, but she would direct herself by advice of her other friends, to take another way than that which we propounded ; and so we were advised to beware how we should enter any farther in this matter, lest we should lose both our good will and our labour. This matter of advertisement (you may well say) seem’d unto us very strange, being also so well confirmed by sundry arguments to have credit, that herewith we were much perplexed. And to

increase our perplexity, within a few days after we heard the same newly confirmed by report here in our Realm; and found thus much thereof to be true, that some of the French ministers did not only report by speech here in England, but advertised into France the very particularities of our offer of marriage made to her; whereof we could not but conceive some misliking, at the least that a matter meant by us for divers respects so secretly dealt in, should thus be made open, and so common in that sort: And yet notwithstanding the same, finding no change of good will in ourselves, we continued our purpose to have advertised her what persons we intended to send to confer with some of hers. But, behold, upon a just occasion given us to write a letter somewhat before that time to our said sister for a matter concerning the Earl of Lenox coming thither, we received in that unreasonable time an answer from our said sister in writing, much different from our desert and expectation; and therewithall we did see some letters written from the Laird of Lethington to some of ours in the same matter, of a stranger manner than ever had come to our knowledge before, using some sharper words in disallowing of our request, than was reasonable in such an argument, wherein our dealing was such, as although we had not thanks for our care had to the repose of our said sister, and her country; yet we did not look to have our friendly considerations reproved or reprehended. And how justly we did conceive so much of both the letters, you shall say, that we mean not to have her understand it now by you, but we could not but shew it to her servant James Melvin, who hath seen the letter's self.¹

^a This manner of writing to us mov'd us to think that some new humour might have entred, not into her breast, but rather conveyed into some of their heads that were of credit in counsel with her; and, therefore, being by these accidents much perplexed, and carried into divers dispositions, sometimes to neglect all these scruples, and send answer according to our first intention, sometimes again to fear that our intention would prove vain, and be abused in the end, we thus determined, that understanding that

¹ It is proper here that the readers look into Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.

Lord Robert and our Secretary (who were also much perplexed herewith) had written both to the Earl of Moray and L. of Lethington, by way of complaint, of this oblique dealing with us in the matter of the Earl of Lenox, we should see by the answer to their letters, some proof whereof this strange answer made to us did proceed, that meant so sincerely, hoping therewith that they should have answer with speed, and so thereupon it would appear whether there were indeed such change of that part in any intention, as by the former accidents we did gather; and so either we should proceed as we first intended, and earnestly desired, or else cease and leave off, without more inconvenience. But with great grief, after this our mind was burden'd, hearing no answer made to the said letters, we are loth to have any repetition made, misliking altogether with ourselves the remembrance thereof. And after some time unpleasantly passed, wherein answer might have once or twice been sent, behold unhappily it cometh to our knowledge, that our subjects upon our Borders, especially upon the East and Middle Marches, had knowledge given them, by means to them credible, that her Wardens had commandment secretly from the Court there, that they should not use diligence and readiness in administration of justice to our said subjects, as they had of late used, but they should hold their hands somewhat straiter. And for the proof of such an intention in the Wardens indeed, they at their next meetings with ours refused directly without colour to answer justice in manifest causes.

“ You¹ shall now pray our sister, but imagine with herself how far we were tempted hereby to call our former intention in question; so as notwithstanding all these former scruples and unreasonable accidents, from the which notwithstanding all former provocations, how far off we were here to breed any new offence, it may manifestly appear by this one thing, that in this very time being so cumbersome, contrary to the expectation and desire of our people, yea contrary to the disposition of no small number of our Council, and that also to some part of detriment to ourself, for our own private lucre, by the intention of our people, to have gratified us

¹ Though this paragraph appears very confused, yet the original, written by Secretary Cecil, is exactly so.

with some subsidy ; we did even then by proclamation prolong our Parliament,¹ that now should have begun in October, meaning of purpose to have no assembly wherein the interest of our sister might be called in question, until it were better considered, that no harm thereof might ensue to her, and that we two had further proceeded in the establishment of our amity. Though in consideration of wisdom we had cause to make some stay, yet our inward friendship, and our natural affection toward our sister, had taken so deep root, as neither suspicion nor doubt could shake it :² And to say the very truth, our judgment was overcome with our love, and from that whereunto reason and advice would have led us, love and nature carried us, and provoked us not to forbear any longer time, nor conceive any doubt on her part, but to send you thither with our letters, and withal this message that now you bring.

" And as we had resolved with ourself, and commanded you to put yourself in readiness, you may show her, as the truth was, how her servant James Melvin came, by whom, both by the good letters which he brought from our good sister, and from others there, we were made suddenly so glad, as having been overburdened a long time in our mind with care and trouble with the inward contention betwixt love and reason, and thereby tossed hither and thither, we have found by this our messenger's coming a whole delivery of all these offences, and have received more good for quietness sake at the one instant than ever we did before by any messenger sent to us.³

" So as you shall conclude, that we thought it convenient not to change the sending of you, to declare this comedy how it had pass'd from the beginning, assuring her, that the passions therein have been almost like a tragedy, but by cause the end hath brought quietness. And for the matters that have troubled us, howsoever they have happened, we

¹ See Mr Camden his reason for prorogation of the Parliament.—[Camden's Annals, 4to. 1625, p. 113, 114.—E.]

² It is a pity this great Queen should have swerved at any time hereafter from her motto, *Semper eadem*, i. e. invariable ; or, may not some craft be suspected here !

³ But this messenger suspected (and perhaps not without reason) her Majesty's mind not to be genuine in her professions either now, or at any time hereafter. See his Memoirs.

are minded to neglect them all without further——of the natures, the causes, or other circumstances thereof, as you shall assure her, that there is no change in us towards her, neither do we think that there has been in her towards us : And therefore you shall say, That we are determined fully to recontinue our former motion ; and to the end some conferences may be had thereupon secretly, and without delay with some of hers, as she hath desired, we have thought meet, for the avoiding inconveniences of making the matter too open, to appoint you to attend with our cousin the Earl of Bedford, to commune hereupon with any such person as she shall name : Or otherwise, if she shall think better, to send any of hers hither to us, we will appoint like persons to commune with them. Wherein we mind to proceed frankly and plainly without obscurities, as to our amity doth belong.

“ And if she will have the matter treated upon our frontiers as we first mentioned, you shall say, that you have commandment, instruction and authority, for the Earl of Bedford and yourself, to confer thereon. For which purpose you shall, as you see cause, return to Berwick, and upon conference with the said Earl, you shall agree upon some time and convenient place for that purpose : And thereof advertise us with speed, to the end as cause shall be, we may give you further direction.

“ CECILL.”

An abstract of Mr Randolph's letters out of Scotland, of the 24th of October, and the 3d and 12th of November 1564.¹

To Sir William Cecill, 24th October.

“ MORAY and Lethington question Mr Randolph why he deferred the answer of their last messages, and talked of the unkindness fallen between their two mistresses, by reason of their Book of Succession published by Hales,² the party being so strictly punished. They began to talk of their mistress's right of succession, which I told them many doubted of : and I wished them not much to trust the party

¹ Calig. B. X.—[British Museum.—E.]

² [John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper. See p. 226, 227, of the present volume.—E.]

that Welch¹ had undertaken for, I meant the Catholics. He telleth them the unkindness the Queen [of England] taketh, in that her sister received Lenox against her liking.² Moray and Lethington to enjoy their country, liberty and lives, by the purchase of the Queen of England's consumption of her people and treasure. Lenox giveth to the Queen, and most of the Council, jewels; but none to Moray.³ The Scottish Queen taxeth the Queen of England's ministers in France, especially my Lord of Hunsden,⁴ for disclosing this Treaty of her marriage. This Queen imputeth the coming of Lenox to the Queen of England's request⁵ for him to

¹ This man has been a private intelligencer to our Queen.

² If Queen Elizabeth had a real intention that Lenox should not come into Scotland, it was certainly in her power to have stopt him.

³ [Randolph sent an account of a dinner given by Lennox soon after his return, at which he was present with the Roman Catholic Earl of Atholl, and the Titular Bishop of Caithness, the brother of Lennox—"a Protestant," he says, "who sometimes preacheth." He notices the elegant furniture in the Earl's residence, and his popularity—that he "is honourably used of all men, and that the Queen's self hath good liking of his behaviour." This occurs in a long letter, of which Bishop Keith only gives the above brief abstract from the Cotton Collection. Referring to Lennox, Randolph writes—"His Lordship's cheer is great, and his household many, though he hath despatched divers of his train away. He findeth occasion to disburse money very fast, and of his L.700 brought with him I am sure that much is not left. If he tarry long, Lennox may perhaps be to him a dear purchase. He gave the Queen a marvellous fair and rich jewel, whereof there is made no small account, a clock, and a dial curiously wrought and set with stones, and a looking-glass, very richly set with stones in the four metals. To my Lord [Laird] of [Maitland of] Lethington a very fair diamond in a ring; to my Lord [Earl of] Atholl another—as also somewhat to his wife—I know not what; to divers others somewhat, but to my Lord of Moray nothing. He presented also each of the Marys with such pretty things as he thought fittest for them; such good means he hath to win their hearts, and to make his way to farther effect." Randolph to Cecil, MS. State-Paper Office, 24th October 1564, in Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 297, 298.—E.]

⁴ [Henry Carey, son of William Carey, a favourite of Henry VIII., and Lady Mary Boleyn, sister of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn. He was consequently first cousin of Queen Elizabeth, who after her accession conferred on him the honour of Knighthood, and on the 13th of January 1559 created him Baron Hunsdon with a grant of the mansion of Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, and a pension of L.4000 per annum. He was employed in several public affairs, and died in 1596. The Barony of Hunsdon became extinct in 1765, at the death of William Ferdinand Carey, eighth Lord, without issue.—E.]

⁵ And we see by the Letter of the Queen of Scots to the Queen of England above set down, that she said no less to that Queen; so that

come to pursue his right, and he came to follow his title, which justice cannot deny. She deferreth her appointment to meet at Berwick till further speech with Moray and Lethington. The Queen undertaketh to end the quarrel between the Duke and Lenox, whose name now Lethington is supposed to favour, for the love he beareth to Mary Fleming.¹ Seton and Lethington are become enemies in the cause of Douglas.² The Queen altereth her determination for the Lieutenancy to Moray,³ at which the Protestants are offended. All pensions granted by the Queen since her home-coming are recalled. A new Reformation in hand of the thirds of the benefices to be paid to the preachers.⁴

Queen Elizabeth has both interceded for the Earl of Lenox's journey into Scotland, and complained that he was allowed to come.

¹ The readers may see, in the Peerage, the relation betwixt the Earl of Lenox and the Lord Fleming.—[Crawford's "Peerage of Scotland," folio, Edin. 1716. See the note, p. 172 of the present volume. Lady Margaret Stewart, eldest daughter of Matthew second Earl of Lennox, married John second Lord Fleming, and it appears they were divorced, without issue. This was apparently all the "relation" between the Families of Lennox and Fleming at that time. Mary Fleming, who became the wife of Maitland of Lethington in 1567, was a daughter of Malcolm third Lord Fleming, son of the second Lord by Euphemia, daughter of David Lord Drummond, and Joan or Janet Stewart, illegitimate daughter of James IV. by Isabel Stewart, daughter of James Earl of Buchan. As Maitland of Lethington was born about 1525, he was nearly forty years of age when he was captivated by Mary Fleming, who was one of the Queen's "four Marys."—E.]

² [George fifth Lord Seton (grandfather of the first Earl of Winton) and Maitland of Lethington quarrelled because the Douglas Family were again likely to become influential. Archibald eighth Earl of Angus entered in 1565 into a contract with Lady Margaret Douglas, heir-general of the Earldom of Angus, with consent of her husband, Matthew Earl of Lennox, and Henry Lord Darnley, their eldest son and heir-apparent, by which she renounced her right to that Earldom. This Earl of Angus was the grandson of Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, second son of George Master of Angus, whose elder son David succeeded, Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, the husband of Margaret of England, Queen-Dowager of James IV., by whom he had Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox and mother of Lord Darnley.—E.]

³ [This was a project to constitute the Earl of Moray Lieutenant of the Kingdom.—E.]

⁴ [In 1561 an Act was passed, ordering the whole revenues of the Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, Abbeys, Priories, and all benefices, to be produced, out of which the Roman Catholic dignitaries and clergy agreed to give one third to the Queen, on the condition that they were to retain the two-thirds. This third was to be appropriated to the maintenance of the Reforming preachers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the increase of the Crown revenues.—E.]

Buchanan hath the temporalities of Corseregal Abbey¹ given to him from the Queen.²

To Sir William Cecil. 3d November.

" RANOLPH telleth the Queen, That if she match with the Queen his mistress's liking, she will examine her right, and so declare her sister or daughter-heir. No word the Queen maketh of Darnly,² yet many suppose it concluded in her heart; and that Lethington is bent wholly that way. This Queen now liketh well to hear of marriage, and of the party. No answer yet of appointment of ambassadors to meet my Lord of Bedford about the marriage. This Queen hath commanded the Duke and Lenox to abstain from quarrel, and then she will take part against him that shall

¹ This Abbey is in Carriek. The Queen's favours to this gentleman have not been able to soften his heart.—[The Abbey of Crossraguel, one of the most entire of the old monasteries in the West of Scotland, though much dilapidated, is in the parish of Kirkoswald, Ayrshire, in a valley between the village of Kirkoswald and Maybole, and in the neighbourhood of Culzean Castle, the magnificent seat of the Earls of Cassillis, now Marquises of Ailsa in the Peerage of Great Britain. The Abbey was founded by Duncan, King of Scotland and Earl of Carriek, in 1260, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Quintin Kennedy, fourth son of Gilbert Earl of Cassillis and his Countess Isobel, daughter of Archibald second Earl of Argyll, became Abbot of Crossraguel in 1549. He held the famous dispute with John Knox at Maybole, and, according to all accounts, gave him an infinitude of trouble. He died on the 22d of August 1564, and Queen Mary generously bestowed a portion of the revenue of the Abbey, which at the Reformation was returned at L.464, exclusive of a great many payments in kind, on George Buchanan, whom she appointed "pensioner" of Crossraguel. The ingratitude which he evinced to his royal benefactress is well known. Buchanan had been preceptor to Gilbert third Earl of Cassillis, the Abbot's brother, who died in 1558 at Dieppe, and it is evident that his son and successor, Gilbert fourth Earl, considered him in the light of an intruder, for we find his Lordship, his son Lord Kennedy, his brother, and their accomplices, accused before the Privy Council at Stirling, in April 1571, of forcibly carrying Allan Stewart, the Commendator, to Dunure Castle for refusing to sign a feu-charter of the lands belonging to the Abbey and a lease of the tithes, and in that stronghold they cruelly tortured him by stripping him naked, and almost half roasting him before a fire. The Earl was ordered to find security in L.2000 not to molest the Commendator, and the same security to Buchanan at his special request. Buchanan seems to have held the temporalities of Crossraguel till the day of his death.—E.]

² [Lord Darnley was still with his mother the Countess of Lennox in England, but it is evident that Queen Mary had heard with satisfaction the favourable reports of his personal appearance.—E.]

begin. Lenox complaineth of his loss by banishment; the Duke defendeth it from the Prince's authority, and his desert.¹ Argile hath rendred what he had of his. The Duke and Lenox meet not but in the Queen's presence. He (the Duke) supposeth Lenox is called home for his overthrow, especially if she marry Darnly; and that his hope is only in the Queen of England. Darnly and the Lady Lenox look'd for.² Welch had private intelligence with the Queen and Lethington, and telleth that the Papists of England are of her side. Moray and Lethington appointed to meet my Lord of Bedford; and what they agree to, she consenteth."

*To Sir William Cecill, 12th November.*³

"THE Cardinal excuseth himself, that having by John Baptista made offer of the Duke of Orleans for her husband, he doth now by Beton⁴ offer another. The Queen offended with her uncle for his business in her marriage, wherein he respects only his own ends."

*A Letter from Mr Randolph to the Queen of England.*⁵

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE—The more I desire to serve your Majestie in sort, as in duty I am bound, the more discontentment I find in myself, that all things succeed not in your Majestie's affairs as I would. How from time to time I have dealt with this Queen, and others with whom

¹ The difference betwixt these two Noble persons takes its rise from Lenox's disgrace having proceeded during the time of the Duke's regency. The reader has already seen the pretensions to succession of the Crown made by the Family of Lenox against the Family of Arran. It is likely the Duke has had a gift of some part of Lenox's estate.

² ["The bruit is here that my Lady herself and my Lord Darnley are coming after, insomuch that some have asked me if she were upon the way. This I find, that there is here marvellous good liking of the young Lord, and many that desire to have him here."—Randolph to Cecil, 24th October 1564.—E.]

³ [On this day, as appears from her Household Book, Queen Mary gave a grand entertainment in the Palace of Holyrood.—E.]

⁴ [James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was now acting as Queen Mary's ambassador in France.—E.]

⁵ Calig. B[ook] X. an Original.—[Bishop Keith entitles this document—"Letter by Mr Randolph to his mistress the Queen of England, containing the secret reasonings of our Queen concerning her marrying the Earl of Leicester," designed *Lord Robert*, meaning Lord Robert Dudley.—E.]

it pleased her that I should confer, I have written as well as I can to Mr Secretary: by whom I trust that your Majestie knoweth the effect of that which hath been said, and how far I have proceeded. Some things there are that, because they do concern your Majestie's self chiefly, I thought I would write them to no man else. The chiefest are these, which I know by others than this Queen's self: Some suspicion she hath gathered, that your Majestie's perswasion to her not to marry in the Houses of Austria and France is to no other end than that you may enjoy yourself whom of those Houses you like best. Whether by this it be meant either the Infants of Spain, or Don Carlo of Austria, I know not; for, for France they are assured that there lacketh nothing but age sufficient that it is not ended. To this I have said, that your Majestie ever had and hath choice of them all where you like best, and therefore needeth nothing to doubt that by this Queen impediment could rise to your Majestie's will: But as I thought rather, your Majestie having no mind to marry at any time, and intending good unto this Queen, would be loth that she should marry where her people had misliking, as that of Q. Mary with Spain, or should be an occasion of enmity, as that of herself with France was, or impoverishment of the Realm to take him that hath nothing, as some such as have been mentioned and spoken of, without any kind of good liking, as far as ever I could perceive.

"The other doubt is this—Whether your Majestie intendeth as much in this offer of my L. Robert as by me is spoken, considering your Majestie's own favour towards him, and therefore unlikely that ever your Majestie will depart with him to any other, wherein she should be plainly abused, if that she gave her consent thereunto. And the more grievous of all is this, that if after many perswasions she could be brought to yield unto your Majestie to be bestowed as you would, and she willing to accord unto your Majestie's desire touching my L. Robert, that then your Majestie might use the example of her, that she would be content to take him, to perswade such of your Majestie's Realm that have misliking of it that you should marry him yourself.¹ To

¹ We may perceive by this letter, that Mr Camden has not narrated

both these I have answered—That there is no small injury done to your Majestie to be judged of, as to pretend that in word which was never meant; but most of all, that your Majestie should be thought to go about to abuse any, much less such a Princess, so near a kinswoman, and one of whom you have so sood liking. And where the people offered with most humble prayers unto your Majestie great sums of money, that it might be found good to your Majestie to take him, there need no such coloured practices to be used. They ask me then the reason of your Majestie's stay: To that I have said—That I am ignorant, and in my conjecture it is either that your Majestie intendeth not to marry, or will not match yourself with your own subject. Of your Majestie's disposition, they say that they can say nothing, but that your years, your beauty, your personage, require not to be married, as well as all these do in their mistress, they marvel; and to match with a subject, they think it as unfit for her as for your Majestie. To this I have said—That if there be any misliking that ever your Majestie found in my Lord Robert, it was either for that he was not a king of a realm of his own, for the worthiness that is in him; or a subject of some other Prince, that worthily he might be called to be a king, where soverainty and vertue being met, felicity and prosperity must ensue to that kingdom that he shall possess. We have so far proceeded in these discourses that also it hath been asked—What profit or commodity shall ensue to this Queen if she shall have him? I have in this advised them to follow the common course of all these that are marriage-makers, to know first what liking there is between the parties, and after enter into talk about the conditions. Let us suppose, say they, that she will. Then, say I, that I have perpetual peace to offer them, a firm amity to assure them of, which hitherto hath been none at all, or very uncertain; that I had a man to offer her that I am assured through the world a fitter was not to be found for all respects. We marry, say they, in these days as well for lands and possessions as vertue and qualities. For peace and amity, it is as much, say they, to be desired on your

these suspicions out of his own head, but that he has narrowly inspected the Records of Papers, &c.—[Camden's *Annales*, 4to, 1625, p. 110, 114, 115.—E.]

part as ours. I grant it needful for us both (though their old shaken houses testify yet who hath received the worst), and will them to be as careful of it for their part, that we fall not into the like, as we will be loth of ours. It is too sore, say they to me again, to bind us to one, where so many good choices are to be found. I say, that where the best is offered they need no more choice. It were not amiss, say they, that she made her own choice. I say again, that seeing in her choice she will but use the judgment and advice of others, she were best take him of whom most men allow; and yet in this she is not put from her choice, but a friendly advice given her to take the best. As good, say they, in your own Realm may be found as he. I will them to name him. It boteth not,¹ say they, seeing in so earnestly pressing the other upon us you take away all hope of getting any man else. The Duke of Norfolk, saith one. I will them to name again, for that is not the man they mean. If that you know him, say they, you ought yourself to name him. I say, if they be not ashamed of him, I do marvel why they do not name him (but I know for certain that the man they mean is my Lord Darnly).² They suit at this, to have him rather offered by your Majestie than desired by themselves. How far they are from their purpose, your Majestie both knows, and I am assured will consider the unfitness of the match, for greater causes than I can think of; of which the least will not be the loss of many a godly man's heart that by your Majestie enjoy now liberty of their country, and know not in how short a time shall lose the same, if your Majestie give consent to match with such an one, as either by dissension at home, or lack of knowledge of God and His Word, may persecute those that profess the same.³

¹ I. e. It profiteth not, or, is to no purpose.

² [Lord Darnley's name is now often mentioned, though he was not yet in Scotland. He was born during the exile of his father and mother, the Earl and Countess of Lennox in England, at Temple-Newsome, now the seat of the Marquis of Hertford, three miles from Leeds, in 1545 or 1546, and consequently he was either five or four years younger than Queen Mary. For some particulars respecting Temple-Newsome see the *SCOTTISH ROMANCE MISCELLANY*, vol. ii, p. 10.—E.]

³ This was a sort of cant, arising from Darnley's being Popish, and some persons were already begun to thwart the Queen's marriage with this young Nobleman.—[As to "Darnley's being Popish," to quote Bishop Keith's language, it is difficult to say what such an imbecile as he

“ Such like complaints I hear daily : This terrible fear is so entred their hearts, that the Queen tendeth only to that ; that some are well willing to leave the same, others with their power to withstand, the rest with patience to endure it, and to let God work His will. The coming hither of my Lady Lenox and her son is looked for. I dare not take upon me to give my advice where I know so far passeth mine ; but always I am of the same opinion that I was of her husband, or rather worse.¹ This further I thought fit to come to your Majestie’s knowledge, that if she (the Countess of Lenox) claim her the Earldom of Angus, there will be a gap open to disprove a greater title that she pretendeth unto, nearer your Majestie’s self, than that is she seeketh for here. I attribute so much to the workers hereof, and know how far that they have already waded, that I trust she shall be all the days of her life, or any of hers, far enough from wearing of a crown.²

“ The Duke³ so standeth in doubt of himself, that he is some time in mind, either with leave or without, to forsake his country : But for this I believe he feareth more than he needs ; he hath many friends here that would be loth to see him brought to that point ; much of his hope is in your Majestie’s favour towards him, for the succour of him and his House. Thus much from him I am desired to signifie to

subsequently proved himself to have been, was in religious matters. His father was undoubtedly a member of the Church of England, or of the Church in the reign of Henry VIII., and when he returned to Scotland, and subsequently succeeded Morayas Regent, he encouraged the Reformed party, which is proved by Buchanan’s Epigram to his memory printed in Crawford’s Peerage. Darnley’s youth, to say nothing of his intellect, precluded him from forming any decided religious opinions in an era which was convulsed by theological and ecclesiastical controversy, for he was only nineteen years of age when he was married to Queen Mary. Immediately after the ceremonial was performed, he left, as Mr Tytler observes, his royal bride “ to hear Mass alone, surrounded only by those Nobles who adhered to the ancient Faith ;” and soon after his marriage Darnley attended St Giles’ church, and heard a sermon from John Knox. These two facts prove that he was not particularly “ Popish.”—E.]

¹ Mr Randolph declares here his own judgment, but his mistress knew better what she intended, by her allowing first the father and next the son to come into Scotland.

² The readers can be at no loss to know that Mr Randolph means here the succession to the Crown of England ; nor yet, what right the Lady Lenox stood in to that Crown. ³ [The Duke of Chatelherault.—E.]

your Majestie, with most humble recommendation of his service.¹

“ The Queen hath now determined that my Lord of Moray and Lord of Lidington shall be at Berwick the 18th of this instant, to entreat of such matters as have been propounded unto her from your Majestie : She is now desirous that they should come to some resolution, and hath willed them that all their doings tend to that end.

“ How she is bent already toward my L. Robert I know not. I find that there are many here that wish it should take effect ; and if I should credit all that is spoken, it shall stay only in your Majestie’s self. Mary, withal I know that they look for no small matter to be offered unto them, as now in this conference I doubt not but it will appear. I find in my Lord of Moray a marvellous good will that any thing that is to your Majestie’s contentment should take place;² but in this he is very loth to have to do : The matter is of weight, the issue uncertain, the burden not small, the danger great unto him, if ever after this there should grow between your Majestie and his sovereign any misliking, or if in this she find herself not well used. How many also there are that would be glad to see this matter quell’d under his hands, your Majestie doth sufficiently consider. Therefore, for his part, he doth most humbly pray your Majestie, that however so earnest he be in this cause that to his mistress’s honour it may take effect, that how earnest soever he be to press or urge that which in his mistress’s behalf or right he thinketh duty to do or say, that your Majestie will rather think him the better servant unto his sovereign, than that he beareth not unto your Majestie that good will of service, that with duty to his sovereign he may. He trusteth also that your Majestie so far regardeth his good will and mind to the entertainment of a perpetual love and amity between the two Realms, that whatsoever proceedeth from him to that end, your Majestie will take in good part ; and the more affectionate he is thereto, your Majestie will bear the more with him, if in all earnest sort he do seek the same. What is in the L. of Lidington, your

¹ As this Nobleman fluctuated hither and thither, so the Queen of England never shewed much regard to his Family.

² He was no doubt a fast friend there to his last moments.

Majestie knoweth, for his wisdom to conceive, and his wit to convey, whatsoever his mind is bent unto to bring to pass. I find him well affected to this cause ; but to press her, he will not in anywise : whatsoever she best liketh, that he most alloweth. Some there are that would I should believe, that he liketh better of my L. Darnly than any other :¹ I have heard him at other times say much to the contrary ; how he is newly affected I know not, nor see no cause why, except it proceedeth of his mistress's affection to establish this Crown to her name again ; whereunto she hath, besides her own desire, many that move her thereto, as the most famous act she can leave to her posterity.² I doubt not but his will is to press us to the furthest that we are able to say, and I think not but his desire will be rather to know what will be the uttermost of your Majestie's will towards his sovereign, than that we shall know assuredly what shall be her mind, or whereunto she will incline.

“ To meet with such a match,³ your Majestie knoweth what wit had been fit ; how far he exceedeth the compass of one or two heads that is to guide a Queen and govern a whole Realm alone, your Majestie may well think how unfit I am for my part, and how far he is able to go beyond me. I would that it were not, as I know it to be. How well my L. of Bedford thinketh of his own ability, I think that it be signified to your Majestie before this time by his own letters, whose care I know is greater in this than in any other that ever he had. Upon these occasions I have taken the boldness thus to write, rather taking the blame upon me thus much to trouble your Majestie, than that any thing should be left unknown to your Highness that I could wish

¹ There is no person will call in question the Laird of Lethington's wisdom ; and whatever wrong steps he may have made, yet at bottom he was a far better friend to his Queen and country than Moray and the others of the faction. No doubt he was for this marriage.

² Had the Lord Darnley behaved himself prudently after he came to enjoy his sovereign, her Majesty's marrying of him was surely not a bad step, in so far as it secured to their posterity a right to the Crown of England, which the descendants of either might have claimed, if well supported. His bearing the same name of Stewart with her Majesty had no doubt its own weight.

³ Mr Randolph here acknowledgeth the superior abilities of the Laird of Lethington, and owns himself unequally matched with him, to meet and confer at the ensuing appointment to be kept in the town of Berwick.

should come to your Majestie's ears. Almighty God preserve your Majestie's prosperous estate, send your Majestie continual good health, and us some happy comfort, that shortly we may hear that which so long and oft in your Majestie hath been desired; by whom we may hope to see of yourself a happy Prince, to cut off the care that now all men do take, to see your Majestie live a sole life. At Edinburgh the 7th of November 1564.

"Your Majestie's humble and obedient servant,

"THO. RANDOLPHE."

The readers having seen, by the foregoing letters, that our Queen had agreed to a meeting in the town of Berwick between the Earl of Moray and Mr Maitland, younger of Lethington, on her part, and the Earl of Bedford and Mr Randolph on the part of the Queen of England, wherein they were to confer together concerning our Queen's marriage with the Earl of Leicester, and in which place they did accordingly meet at the time appointed, I should reckon my readers would justly complain did I pretend to offer them any other account of the conference than what I am enabled to afford them by the following authentick Paper.

*A Letter from the Earl of Bedford and Mr Randolph to the Queen of England, 23d November 1564.*¹

"OUR bounden duties to your Highness considered: It may please the same to be advertised, That the 18th of this instant, according to the appointment of which your Majestie was made privy, there came to this town my Lord of Moray and Laird of Lidington, in the receiving of whom there was nothing omitted that might be thought for your Majestie's honour or contentment to have them well used.

"The first night the time was passed over by their consent rather in familiar talk, than that any thing of either part was mov'd of that matter we had to treat of: The next morning was thought the fittest time. At our being together, we sought as many means as we could to have had them have begun to speak; to that by no means we could bring them, affirming that their coming was to hear what

¹ Calig. B[ook] X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

would proceed from us, that either might concern the continuance of amity, or furtherance of that motion made by your Majestie concerning my L. Robert. In these terms, after we had stood a little space, we thought it for the best to let them understand your Majestie's good will towards their sovereign, the desire that your Grace hath to continue friendship with her, and earnest will that the same may be confirmed in such sort as no doubt may be but the same may long endure. And having left nothing unspoken of that which for the time was convenient, or that we might think agreeable to your Majestie's will, according to our Instructions, which being declared at good length, as well from what the beginning of this motion did spring, as also of the continuance of the same, we gave them place to say what they thought good. To all that was by us said there answered my L. of Lidington, who acknowledged the great benefits that his country had received, besides the particular commodity of diverse; he confesseth that there were no small tokens that have proceeded from your Majestie towards his sovereign, and that not the least that your Majestie is so mindful of her estate, and careful of herself, as to have her well bestowed in marriage. He allowed all that was spoken of my Lord of Leicester for his worthiness, and added more than we ourselves would speak of his virtues, and good liking the world hath of him; but withal he desired us (as he was assured your Majestie doth) to have regard to their mistress's honour, and willed us to have in mind the three principal points which your Majestie, by advice in her marriage, willed her to observe, wherein we in this talk seemed to have little respect, and only looked upon that which tendeth most to our own commodity, and little or nothing to their sovereign's advantage, as to take my Lord of Leicester to husband, and nothing more offered with him but in general terms to say, that great good would ensue to both the Realms, and that as the Queen's Majestie your mistress hath begun to advance him, so she will go further as she may perceive good liking of him from thence: This importeth nothing else but a desire in your mistress that ours should not marry great, and herself to be at liberty to do what she will, and dispose of our mistress as she listeth; for plainly I must say, that my L. Robert, as only

Earl of Leicester, is no fit match for our sovereign,¹ nor in that respect her honour so considered as friendly and sisterly as it ought to be. And in this long proposition of you, my Lord of Bedford, to speak frankly, and not to offend, what was there more spoken than was a year since? Or, what is my mistress the nearer to have demanded your mistress's advice in her marriage, and offer made by her to follow the same, as in honour she might, and with the contentment of her subjects, of whom, though she have free liberty to marry where she will, yet she would be loth to be noted for want of circumspection in her choice, besides the danger that might ensue to us, in whom she hath reposed no small trust, that we will do nothing but only what is most for her honour and surety? It is now two years (saith he) since this advice was demanded, a year since my Lord Robert was offered and named to us: Thus long our mistress hath depended upon you, we have show'd no token of misliking of him: what is the issue, or to what end are we come unto? And of that which now we hoped for most, which is, that we should have known in what state and condition your mistress would have been content to have imparted with him, we are altogether frustrate of our expectation, and have lost our labour; for nothing is said more than was (formerly by you), nor other answer can be given on our part than this, That without it seemed good unto the Queen's Majestie, your mistress, to deal more frankly, and give further signification of her mind than hitherto she hath done, that neither she in honour can assent unto her, nor we in duty perswade with her to that end, as otherwise we would be glad.

"To this, and like your Majestie, it was my L. of Bedford's will that I, who from the beginning had dealt in this matter, and by reason thereof better acquainted with it, should give answer; to whom I said, that I did well approve in him the acknowledging of the benefits received, and his testimony of your Majestie's good will towards his mistress, but where he desired that we would have in mind the advice from your Majestie in the three principal points to be observed

¹ Yet Sir James Melvil observes, that Queen Elizabeth thought the creating him Earl of Leicester would be a ground of our Queen's higher esteem of him.—[Memoirs, folio, p. 47.—E.]

in marriage, I said, that that was the principal point that yet your Majestie had regard unto in this motion of marriage for my L. of Leicester: For if their sovereign sought either mutual contentment in respect of their private persons, or in such a man in whom unfain'd allowance might be of him by her Realm and subjects, or continuance of amity with those, with whom in times pass'd they have had enmity, there was never more likelihood that all these three respects should concur in one, than in that offer of your Majestie for her to join with my L. Robert. To confirm this, I desired no other judge but themselves, whether that if it were proclaimed in Scotland with sound of trumpet that my L. Robert of England should marry their sovereign, whether any man would do or say against it; or, whether that the most part would not prefer him either to Don Carlo of Spain or Austria, to the Duke of Orleans, or Prince of Condé: I will speak nothing of Ferrara; he is too warm placed in the East to remove his habitation so far North; so that your Majestie's advice being well mark'd, there was no cause why he should think that your Majestie sought only your own commodity, and nothing that tended to his sovereign's advantage. To offer my L. Robert as he was only Earl of Leicester, I said, that I thought it was not your Majestie's mind; but to utter what you would do for him, as well in respect of kindred, amity, and good liking of their mistress, and good will born to my L. Robert, I believed that your Majestie would not, nor no man would that your Majestie should, except some things should proceed from their mistress, whereby your Majestie might have some understanding, conjecture, or, at the least, an inkling, how her offer should be embraced; and before that that were done, we could not find it reasonable that your Majestie should proceed any further. And where that he alledged generalities and uncertainties in your Majestie's offers, I said, that your Grace's offers had already pass'd those bounds, in offering yourself to deal with their mistress as a sister, and with him as with a near kinsman or nephew. I did bid them weigh well these words, and to consider to what end they tended. Where they ask'd, what was profer'd at this time more than was before? I said, no small testimony of good will that, notwithstanding the small

regard had to your Majestie's offers, your Majestie continued in the same mind, to do her and her country good, which I desired them to make such account of, as worthily they might be thought well of, and to have done their duty to their sovereign. Where they say, that the time hath been long, I answer, That in great matters good consultation ought to be had; and yet, that if their mistress had at any time declared her mind, the matter long before this time had been ended. You say also, that you are frustrate of your expectation, and nothing taken effect that you came for; I said, That you have much more than I thought to have delivered unto you, seeing you came only to learn and know of us what you could (as by some letters of yours lately to the Court it was signified), and to impart nothing that might do good, or further the cause that is in hand. Where they alledged fear and doubt in themselves, I told them they needed not so to do, having power to perswade with their mistress what they would, having credit to do what they list, and their sovereign's good assurance, that whatsoever they found good, boldly she might give her consent thereunto. But as boldly and frankly, and under correction they had spoken an earnest word; so I desired without offence to have another, which is, That if they think by fineness, policy, practice, or any other means, to wring any thing out of your Majestie's hands, they were but abus'd, and did deceive themselves.

"To this, and like your Highness, much was said, too long to be rehearsed; much talk there was to and fro, not without some passions of either part. Our talk ended at that time, to be continued after dinner: at what time my Lord of Moray beginneth merrily in this sort, What means this? Can we find no means to bring any thing to pass that may keep these Queens together? The answer was given, that it stay'd in them. Why? (saith he) you offer us ever one man, and take from us our liberty and choice: It is good (saith he) for Queens to know that they have their will, and yet peradventure may be perswaded to yield unto that they would not. To that it was said, that we would be content to take that as a peradventure, and that yet your Majestie had not taken from her that liberty, nor was not willing to bring her to any constraint, but at the

first offered the best, herself being desirous, and almost importunate to have him nam'd; and that your Majestie knew only who were not meet, rather than that you would appoint any unto her. We look'd here to have had my L. Darnly nam'd, of whom, for all that, there was not one word spoken. You might (said the L. of Lidington) restrain us within England. We bid him name whom he liked best. To confess you the verity (saith he), I like as well of L. Robert as yourself, and wish him the same that you do, and will affirm the same also for my L. of Moray. It was ask'd, whereupon it stay'd? The answer was, That he was not a king. It was said, that kingdoms were hard to come by, but where Queens were to be married. They wish'd him the best; and we confirmed the same. Many things pass'd our mouths merrily, not worth the rehearsal. In the end, thus saith the L. of Lidington, for both our weals I wish it might be thus, that your mistress would let mine marry where she lists, saving in those places where she desireth her to forbear, and give her some yearly revenue out of the Realm of England, and by Parliament establish unto her the Crown, if God of your Majestie do His will, and leave you without children: In this doing, your Majestie may have the honour of having made the marriage, and be known to the world to have used her as a dear and loving sister; and yet he doubted not but that should take effect that yet your Majestie desireth in my Lord of Leicester. Many perswasions were made on his part, that your Majestie should find it good; and as much was said to the contrary as we could. We did put him in remembrance of the uncertainty of her right, and variety of judgments for the title; and ask'd him in reason, why your Majestie should so much seek her contentment, seeing she would do nothing that would satisfie your Majestie's desire? In the end, it was said by my Lord of Moray, That there was nothing more needful for their mistress than to have these matters put out of doubt, and that she could not long remain in these terms, to be in an assured friendship with no man. Their advice was to their sovereign that she should marry; the people crav'd it at her hands; her estate required it; and they the more earnest to press her to it, because some envious men have spread abroad, that

they would not that she should marry, that they alone might have the government: Wherefore they warned and assured us, that if it took not effect in England shortly, it must needs do elsewhere; and if that with these conditions above specified by him, or any other reasonable, your Majestie would shew yourself contented, they promised that they would do to the uttermost of their power to perswade their sovereign that it might take effect, as your Majestie desireth, towards my Lord Robert.

" This, and like your Majestie, was the effect of our negotiation with these Lords; in the which, as near as we could possibly, we observed that which was given us in special charge, nowise to exceed our Instructions, nor yet to have any diminution of the old friendship, which we have done to the uttermost of our powers. Always we think it our duties to signifie unto your Majestie, that by as much as we can gather by their talk, their mistress intendeth so shortly as may be (within these five months, as one of them said) to join herself in league with some Prince or other, that her subjects remain no longer in these doubtful terms that hitherto she hath held them in.

" This being the sum of what we thought worth to report to your Majestie, trusting that our good wills, and hearty desire to deserve well in all charges, shall be acceptable towards your Highness, we pray Almighty God to preserve long your Majestie's life, to send your Grace a prosperous government, and after many happy years perpetual joy in the kingdom of Christ. At Berwick the 23d day of November 1564.

" Your Majestie's most humble and

" obedient servants and subjects,

" F. BEDFORD.

" THO. RANDOLPHE."

This original letter is not only well worth the perusal, as it serves to disclose unto us the true fact as it then passed, but likewise as it serves (like many others of these letters) to confirm the authority of what Mr Camden relates of our Scottish affairs, in his "*History of the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth*."¹ By the accounts given by that historian,

¹ [Camden's "*Annales of the True and Royal History of the Famous*

and by Sir James Melvil, we have ground to believe that the Earl of Leicester had no mind to be very warm in the business of the marriage, and that Queen Elizabeth was herself afraid lest it should take effect, and she be thereby deprived of the presence of her favourite.¹ And indeed if some such thing was not at bottom, one may justly wonder to see such trifling in the affair, if the Queen of England had it as much at heart as she pretended. This the Scottish Commissioners have so handsomely urged at the conference,² that they leave nothing for persons that come after them to observe. And both these authors deliver it as their opinion, that this jealousy was the chief motive that induced Queen Elizabeth to allow the Lord Darnly to go into Scotland, at the request of his mother, for the space of three months, under colour of enjoying a share of the satisfaction in his father's restoration,³ which was confirmed in the Parliament

Empresse Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c., True Faith's Defendresse, of Divine Renowne, and Happy Memory," 4to. London, 1625, p. 111-115.—E.]

¹ ["Leicester himself was aware that he had been proposed, by the malignity of Cecil, to involve the man whom he hated in a difficult predicament between the two Queens, and Elizabeth, to gratify her own envy, persevered in her purpose to embarrass and mortify Mary.—Elizabeth was disappointed in her dubious purpose of marrying the Scottish Queen to the Noble, without whom she could not live, in the hope of perplexing the Queen, whom she hated.—Leicester himself, as we learn from Cambden, in the hope of enjoying Queen Elizabeth, secretly warned Bedford by private letters that he should not be eager in the matter."—Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 118, 119.—E.]

² ["The English Commissioners proposed inviolable amity, perpetual peace, and assured hope of succession, if the Scottish Queen would marry Leicester; for upon this condition Elizabeth *had promised* to declare her, by Act of Parliament, her adopted daughter, or sister, *as soon as she should be married*. The Scottish Commissioners maintained that it stood not with the dignity of a Queen, who had been sought unto by so many Princes, to condescend to the marriage of a new-created Earl, a subject of England, *upon hope only*, without dowry, neither stood it with the Queen of England's honour to commend such an husband to so great a Princess, her kinswoman; but it would be a most certain argument of her love if she would permit their mistress to choose for herself a proper personage at her pleasure, which would embrace peace with England, and, withal, assign unto her some annual pension, and confirm the title of succession by Act of Parliament. Thus ended this conference on a very serious subject without any fruitful issue."—Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 119.—E.]

³ [The rescinding of the forfeiture of his father the Earl of Lennox. It thus appears that Darnley was not accompanied to Scotland by any of his relatives.—E.]

of Scotland in the month of December following.¹ All our historians are at pains to inform us that this Parliament was summoned only to take off the Earl of Lenox's forfeiture, and Mr Knox farther says, that "though some articles were given in by the Church.....there was nothing granted."² But besides the two Acts of this Parliament which are made publick (neither of them respecting the Earl of Lenox), we will see by the abstracts of the English Resident's letters,³ that something else did likewise pass in the Parliament; and by the same abstracts we will in like manner get a more clear and certain light into the publick transactions, than the private historians afford us.

An abstract of Mr Randolph's letters out of Scotland, from the 2d of December 1564 to the 17th of March following.⁴

To Sir William Cecill, 2d December 1564.

"RANDOLPH misliketh that Darnly should come; suspecteth his religion. The Earldom of Angus is confirmed to the young Earl,⁵ from my Lady (Lenox) and her heirs, by

¹ Mr Knox says, the Parliament was ordered to meet on the 13th day of December, the printed Acts bear its date to be the 15th; and Mr Randolph takes notice, that our Parliament had already done business on the 3d day of December. Mr Buchanan says, this Parliament was in the month of January following. It is surprising that so small credit is to be given to his very dates of Parliaments, not only with respect to days, but even months. We shall find grosser mistakes of the same kind in this author afterwards.—[The Parliament met on the 15th day of December 1564. Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 545. The records of its proceedings are lost.—E.]

² [Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, folio, p. 368.—E.]

³ We have abstracts only of his letters from the 2d of December this year to the 17th of March following.

⁴ Cotton Library.—[British Museum.—E.]

⁵ The Countess of Lenox was the sole heir of her father the Earl of Angus, and the entailment of that estate and honour to the male heir was not very strong; so it seems the Queen and Countess of Lenox have thought it advisable, in order to procure the Earl of Morton, and other friends of the Family of Angus, to be favourers of the Queen's marriage with Lord Darnly, to confirm the estate and honour of Angus to the male representative, who was then young. The readers will know that the male heir of the Family of Angus has attempted to set aside the Countess of Lenox's right upon the head of illegitimacy, because her mother separated from the Earl of Angus for adultery.

the Queen ; and that she taketh to be better than to have her declared illegitimate, which was labour'd. Scots Queen offereth to be directed by Moray in her marriage."

To Sir William Cecill, 3d December.¹

" LENOX restored, by Parliament called only for that purpose. Moray and Lidington write to Sir William Cecill, to know whether the Queen meaneth the marriage with Leicester. This Queen made an oration in the Parliament, shewing the reason of restoring Lenox ; and the rather, because it was at the request and suit of her sister of England.² Moray has his Earldom, and Grange, Ormiston, and Melros,³ their lands confirmed in this Parliament. Mass made forfeiture of goods, lands, and life, except in the Queen's chappel. Raulet, her Secretary for the French, is clean out of favour, for being, as it was reported, too familiar with one ; and Rizio,⁴ an Italian, supplieth that place.

¹ Perhaps this should be 13th, and so the difference of the date of the sitting down of our Parliament would not be so wide.—[The Parliament met, or at least was sitting, on the 15th of December 1564. *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. ii. p. 545.—E.]

² This was as publick a declaration of the fact as our Queen could make, and it is to be presumed that this, together with her letter, p. 232, 233, to Queen Elizabeth, will render the fact indubitable.

³ [The Earl of Moray did not procure his legal " Ratification " to that Earldom until the 19th of April 1567, when it was passed by the Parliament (*Acta Parl. Scot.* vol. ii. p. 553). Grange, Ormiston, and Melrose, are territorial designations of the proprietors, indicating Kirkaldy of Grange, Cockburn of Ormiston, and probably one of the Morton branch of the Family of Douglas ; at least the Abbacy of Melrose was, in 1568, granted to James Douglas, second son of William Douglas of Lochleven, afterwards sixth Earl of Morton, and nephew to the Regent Moray. See "*Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*," Edin. 4to. 1837, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Preface, p. v. vi.—E.]

⁴ This being the first time we have had occasion to hear of this man, who afterwards made so great noise in our country, it is fit here to give the reader some small account of him. His name was David Riccio, born at Turin in Savoy. His father, who was but poor, bred him up and the rest of his children to musick. David went to the town of Nice, where the Duke of Savoy then kept Court ; and it was his chance to be taken into the service of Mons. Moret, who was shortly to go ambassador from that Duke into Scotland. The Queen had at this time three valets de chambre, who sung three parts in musick, but they wanted a bass to sing the fourth part ; and David Riccio being a good musician, and a merry fellow, they told her Majesty of him, as a person fit enough to make the fourth concert. It seems he had the art to please her Majesty so far, that

Lenox reporteth, that he hopeth the Queen will marry his son."

To Sir William Cecil, 24th December.

"THE DUKE, Argile, and Ariskine,¹ like well of this English marriage with Leicester. Shan-O-Neal² desireth support

she thought fit to employ him some time in writing her French letters, upon the disgrace of her former secretary for that language.—[Some additional particulars by the Editor respecting this unfortunate foreigner are in a subsequent note in this volume.—E.]

¹ [The Duke of Chatelherault, the Earl of Argyll, and Lord Erskine, sixth Earl of Mar of the surname of Erskine, afterwards Regent of Scotland.—E.]

² An account of this person, and others of Ireland who disturbed the peace of the English Crown in that Realm, may be had from the English historians.—[Shane, or John O'Neal, or Oneill, was the son of Con Baccagh O'Neill, Prince of Tyrone, who upon relinquishing his royalty as the representative of one of the ancient independent Princes of Ireland, and submitting to the English Crown, was created Earl of Tyrone, or Tir-Owen, in 1542, by Henry VIII. This Shane O'Neill and Hugh MacNeill Oig, Captain of Claneboy, are mentioned some years before the date in the text in a letter from the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to the Duke of Northumberland, dated 6th May 1552, as in league with the Scots.—(Harleian MSS. British Museum, No. $\frac{55}{3}$). Shane O'Neill had usurped the paternal property and sovereignty of his clan in opposition to the declared will of his father, who had appointed as his successor an illegitimate son named Matthew, whose mother, Shane asserted, was a low woman, the wife of a smith in Dundalk. The turbulent life of Shane O'Neill is sufficiently set forth in the Irish history of that period. See also Sir George Stanley to Fitzwalter Earl of Sussex, dated Trim, the "laste" of February 1560. Cecil to the Earl of Sussex on Shane O'Neill's rebellion, dated 19th June 1561, 25th July 1561, 12th August 1561, 7th January 1561:2; Shane Maguire, Lord or Chief of Fermanagh, to the Earl of Sussex, 15th August 1562; the Bailiffs of Dundalk to the Earl of Sussex, 8th October 1562; Shane Maguire to the Earl of Sussex, 9th and 20th of October 1562.—Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 69-68, 70, 86-93, 110-113. Shane O'Neill and the Earl of Argyll, from the proximity of the latter's country to the North of Ireland, were intimate correspondents. Randolph writes to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 7th February 1565.—"My Lord of Argile and Shane O'Neil have mett, and accorded to take each other's part." Shane O'Neill was killed in 1567. The O'Neills were the ancestors of the Noble Family of O'Neill, Viscounts O'Neill in the Peerage of Ireland. John O'Neill, Esq. of Shane's Castle in the county of Antrim, was created Baron O'Neill in 1793, and advanced to the dignity of Viscount O'Neill in 1795. He died in 1798, and was succeeded by his elder son Charles, who was created Earl O'Neill and Viscount Raymond in 1800. This Nobleman died without issue in 1841, when the Earldom became extinct, and his only brother John succeeded to the Viscounty.—E.]

out of Scotland, and offereth this Queen his service. Argile is willing to do any thing against him."

In the end of the month of January 1564-5, the Queen made a short progress into Fife,¹ visiting the towns and several of the gentlemen of that country. And while her Majesty was at St Andrew's, we understand by the next abstract that the English Resident presented to her Majesty letters from her cousin of England.

To Sir William Cecil, 5th February 1564-5.

"RANDOLPH presenteth the Queen's letters at St Andrew's to the Queen,² desiring to know her Majestie's answer to the

¹ [Queen Mary crossed from Edinburgh to Fife, with a part of her train, on the 19th of January 1564-5. Randolph followed her thither about the 1st of February, with Elizabeth's letters, desiring an answer to the propositions discussed at Berwick respecting her marriage with Leicester, and found her at St Andrews. He writes to Queen Elizabeth—"Her Grace lodged in a merchant's house, her train were very few, and there was small repair from any part. Her will was, that for the time that I did tarry I should dine and sup with her. Your Majesty was oftentimes drunken unto by her at dinners and suppers."—E.]

² [Randolph's account of his interviews with Queen Mary at St Andrews, as transmitted by him to Queen Elizabeth, is very interesting. After dining and supping with the Scottish Queen on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, he tells his royal mistress that, in compliance with her Instructions by Secretary Cecil's letter, he introduced the subject of the propositions arranged at Berwick between the Earl of Bedford and the Earl of Moray and Maitland of Lethington, and requested her "resolution" concerning them. He says that he had no sooner spoken than Queen Mary replied—"I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment. I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastime with your great and grave matters. I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassy until the Queen come thither, for, I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of Estate, nor such appearance, that you may think there is a Queen here, nor I would not that you should think that I am she at St Andrews that I was at Edinburgh." Randolph answered, that he was sorry to hear these sentiments, for he had heard her Majesty say at Edinburgh that she loved his mistress more than any other, and now he was afraid she had altered her mind. The Queen at this became "very merry," and called him "by more names than were given him in his christendom. "But well, Sir," said Mary, "that which then I spoke in words shall be confirmed to my good sister your mistress in writing. Before you go out of this town you shall have a letter unto her, and for yourself go where you will, I care no more for you." The next day, however, it appears he

matter at Berwick, touching her marriage. She answer'd after, That if the Queen will use her as her born sister or daughter, she will obey as a sister ; but if not, she must not look to be so far rul'd by her : For my mind to my Lord Robert is as it ought to be to a noble gentleman, and such an one as your mistress would marry, if he were not her subject ; but in it your mistress may rule me, if she please." —(i. e. As we may conjecture, by declaring our Queen presumptive heir to the Crown of England," &c)

dined with Mary, and says that the only person who sat between him and the Queen was " worthy" Mary Beaton, who had been a Maid of Honour from her infancy. " Very merrily," writes Randolph to his royal mistress, " she passeth her time. After dinner she rideth abroad. It pleased her the most part of the time to talk with me. She had occasion to speak much of France, for the honour she received there, to be wife unto a great king, and for friendship shewn unto her in particular by many, for which occasions she is bound to love the nation, to shew them pleasure, and to do them good : Her acquaintance is not so forgotten there, nor her friendship so little esteemed, but yet it is divers ways sought to be continued." Other conversations followed between Mary and Randolph on the subject of her marriage, and the proposed match with the Earl of Leicester. Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 123-127.—E.]

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTINUATION OF STATE-AFFAIRS FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE LORD DARNLY INTO SCOTLAND IN THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY 1564-5, UNTIL THE MARRIAGE OF THIS LORD WITH THE QUEEN OF SCOTS, IN THE MONTH OF JULY 1565.

THOUGH the period assigned to this Chapter includes not a space of time much larger than the former, yet the variety of incidents that here occur will afford a far larger compass of reading ; and, like some others that follow, will prove an entertainment so much the more agreeable to the minds of the readers, as the things herein to be mentioned are not suspended upon the uncertain and desultory accounts of either partial or private intelligencers, but are conveyed to them from the very purest and most defecated chanel, the mouths of the then two British sovereign ladies, the determinations of their cabinet-councils, and the dispatches of their immediate servants and ministers of state.

To Sir William Cecill, 19th Feb.—"DARNLY comes to Court,¹

¹ Her Majesty was then in the Castle of Wemyss in Fife. Mr Buchanan fixes the date of the Lord Darnly's arrival about the 13th of February ; Mr Knox about the 20th ; Mr Stow of England says, his Lordship went from London on the 3d day of February ; and Mr Holinshed, that he came to the Queen's presence, in the Wemyss, the 9th day of February.—[The dates in this note, as cited by Bishop Keith, *are all wrong*, as will subsequently appear. Meanwhile some notice is necessary of the locality. Wemyss Castle, in which Lord Darnley first saw Queen Mary, is situated a short distance east of West Wemyss, or "*the Wemyss*," as it is locally called, a burgh of barony about four miles east of Kirkcaldy in Fife, on the shore of the Frith of Forth. The castle—a large massive edifice, without any architectural pretensions, though it has received considerable additions, especially in the middle of the seventeenth century by David second Earl of Wemyss, and subsequent proprietors descended from the Noble Family of Wemyss—occupies a cliff between thirty and forty feet above the level of the sea, conspicuously overlooking the Frith. The date of the erection of the original part of this fine baronial residence is uncertain, but a portion of the east wing is said to be as ancient as the adjoining ruinous castle of Easter Wemyss, also on the shore, which is traditionally designated *Macduff's Castle*, from its alleged founder Macduff, created Earl or Thane of Fife about A. D. 1057, and on whom King Malcolm Canmore conferred many remarkable privileges. Queen Mary,

and well received.¹ It is suspected that his presence may hinder other purposes, and that his religion is

after her interviews with Randolph, who left her on the 3d of February, in quiet and unostentatious retirement at St Andrews, as mentioned in the end of the preceding Chapter, departed from the old archiepiscopal city on the 11th, and proceeded to Landie, near Leven, about fourteen miles south-west of St Andrews, and nine miles east of Wemyss Castle, on the 12th. On the 13th the Queen rode to Wemyss Castle, which was then inhabited, it is said, by the Earl of Moray, though the property of Sir John Wemyss of Wemyss, the great-grandfather of the first Earl of Wemyss. On the 11th of February Lord Darnley reached Haddington from Dunbar, on his way to Edinburgh to join his father the Earl of Lennox. The Countess of Lennox's request to Queen Elizabeth, to permit her son to visit his father in Scotland, was granted without much difficulty, and Lord Darnley, with letters of recommendation from the English Queen, Cecil, and Leicester, had set out on horseback from London to Edinburgh during a winter which is recorded as uncommonly severe. He passed a night with Secretary Maitland at Lethington, and arrived at Edinburgh on the 12th of February. (MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 12th February 1564-5.) He brought with him a diamond ring as a present from his mother to the Queen her niece, a diamond from the same lady to the Earl of Moray, a watch set with rubies and diamonds to Secretary Maitland, and a ring with a ruby to Sir Robert Melville, the brother of Sir James Melville the envoy. The Countess of Lennox was also not behind, in conjunction with Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, in sending many prudent advices to Mary. When Darnley arrived in Edinburgh, he was informed that the Queen was in Fife, and crossing the Frith of Forth, he was introduced to Mary on the *sixteenth* of February, which is the date in Cecil's Diary from Randolph's letters. Darnley was well received, and was lodged in Wemyss Castle with the Queen, by consent of the Earl of Moray, who assumed that his journey into Scotland was approved by Elizabeth. After remaining a few days in Wemyss Castle, Darnley journeyed to Dunkeld, where he saw his father, and then hastened to Edinburgh, whither he arrived before the Queen, who set out for that city from Wemyss Castle, by Kirkecaldy, Bursatland, Inverkeithing, and Queensferry, where she crossed the Frith, and reached the Palace of Holyrood on the 24th. Mary was induced to hasten to Edinburgh by the tidings of repeated outrages in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood by the fanatic followers of the new doctrines. John Knox sarcastically observes (*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 368), that the Queen, during this residence in Fife, and "visiting the gentlemen's houses, was magnificently banqueted every where, so that suche superfluity was never seen befor within this Realme, which caused the wyld fowl to be so dear that partridges were sold for a crown a-piece." Although Darnley was suspected of "Popery," he seems to have put himself under the guidance of Moray, for we find him resorting to hear John Knox preach in St Giles' church; and on the 26th of February, after a sermon, and supper in Moray's residence at Edinburgh, he saw the Queen and some of her ladies dance, and on that occasion he danced a "galliard" with the Queen at Moray's request.—E.]

¹ Sir James Melvil says: The Queen "took very well with him, and said he was the properest and best proportioned long man that ever she

Popish.¹ Glencairden and Morton² much dislike him, and wish him away."

To Sir William Cecill, 4th March.

"MURRAY of Tillibarden³ come from Bothwell out of France,⁴ to sue for some favour, either liberty to return, or means to live there: They think him worthy of no favour that conspir'd to kill the Queen, and those in credit about her. The Cardinal⁵ practiseth to match the Queen, either to the Duke of Orleans, or the French King; and for that purpose, D'Osell sent to Rome for a dispensation. The Queen distasteth her uncle's

had seen; for (adds he) he was long and small, even and straight." He was then only in the twentieth year of his age. Camden reports—That he obtained liberty to come into Scotland by the importunate suit of his mother. And it is true that Sir James Melvil had a secret charge to deal with my Lady Lenox, to endeavour to procure liberty for him to go to Scotland. See his Memoirs, p. 48. But if Queen Elizabeth was so highly offended at the father's good reception in Scotland, why did she at all allow the son to go after him, especially since Mr Randolph had already advertised her that Lenox had hopes that our Queen would marry his son? And by the Conference at Berwick in November last, it is evident the Ministry of England were aware of such a project. There must have been some Court-mystery here.—["The writers of Scotland," says Chalmers (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 130), "would have us believe that Mary fell desperately in love with Darnley at first sight.—Robertson, one of the best of those historians, imagines Mary to have been captivated by his *gigantic figure*, yet let us recollect that Darnley was merely a *long lad of nineteen*." The writers of England, however, also maintain that Mary fell in love with Darnley at first sight. See Camden's History and Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 4to. London, 1625, p. 116. Mr Tytler judiciously observes—"His reception was flattering, and his manners and address created a prepossession in his favour, not only amongst the Scottish courtiers, but in the more severe and caustic mind of Randolph the English ambassador.—His courteous dealing with all men deserved praise, and is well spoken of." MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Randolph to Leicester, 19th February 1564-5; Ibid. Randolph to Cecil, 27th February 1564-5." History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 314, 315.—E.]

¹ [It will be seen from the narrative that the imbecile Lord Darnley was not particular in his religious notions.—E.]

² [Alexander fifth Earl of Glencairn, and James fourth Earl of Morton, afterwards Regent.—E.]

³ [Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, father of Sir John Murray, who was created Lord Murray of Tullibardine in April 1604, and Earl of Tullibardine in 1606, ancestor of the Dukes of Atholl.—E.]

⁴ [James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, subsequently the cause of Queen Mary's misfortunes, had been compelled to retire from Scotland in 1563 for a supposed or real plot against the Earl of Moray.—E.]

⁵ [The Cardinal of Lorraine, the Queen's uncle.—E.]

meddling, and is willing to be directed by her sister of England. An Italian Piemontese,¹ a singer that came hither with Mons. Moret, is, in place of Raullet, her Secretary for the French. The King of Denmark warneth her subjects to traffick no more with Sweden, nor to pass the sound."

To Sir William Cecil, 15th March.

"THE Queen misliketh Bothwell's coming home, and hath summoned him to undergo the law, or be proclaim'd a rebel. He is charg'd to have spoken dishonourably of the Queen, and to have threatned to kill Moray and Lidington. David Pringle, one of Bothwell's servants, will verifie it."

To Sir William Cecil, 17th March.

"THE Scottish Queen desireth a passport for Lidington to go through England into France. The Cardinal of Lorrain and Grandville have advised her not to be over-hasty to match with England. The Queen here grieved at the Queen's answer, and mislikes to have any more delay mov'd, for she hath abus'd her in spending of her time,² and now will not declare her title, until herself be married, or declare she will not marry."

By the above abstract, we are informed of a design in the Queen to send her Secretary into France.³ But whatever intention might have been given out, I suppose it will appear by the sequel, that that gentleman went no farther than England at this time. Mr Knox says,⁴ the Queen was at Stirling when she gave order to Secretary Lethington to pass into England, and that the chief point of his message was to declare to the Queen of England, that the Queen was minded to marry her cousin the Lord Darnly. And Mr Cambden says, Lethington was sent to Queen Elizabeth, to gain her consent for consummating a marriage with the Lord Darnly, and that she might not be debarred so natural a privilege upon hopes and

¹ [This was David Riccio, whose abilities as a musician were additional recommendations to Queen Mary.—E.]

² Observe how exactly Mr Cambden narrates this same thing.—[History and Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 4to. 1623, p. 117.—E.]

³ [Secretary Matiland of Lethington, not Riccio, the Queen's new French Secretary.—E.]

⁴ [Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 369.—E.]

prospects merely precarious.¹ To confirm in part the message entrusted to the Secretary, I have put into the Appendix² a copy of the commission and full powers delivered to him by the Queen in most ample form.

We have been informed in the general by the historians, that our leading men were not very well pleased with the prospect of the Queen's marrying the Lord Darnley.³ But for a more particular detail of what was a doing *here* betwixt them and their friends in England, and of some other state-

¹ [Our Historian here scarcely brings out Camden's plain statement. His words are—"As soon as the Queen of Scotland saw him (Darnley) she fell in love with him; and to the end to keep her love secret, in discoursing with Randolph, the English ambassador in Scotland, she oftentimes intermixt her discourse with the marriage of Leicester, and at the sametime seekes a dispensation from Rome for Darnley, she being so neere in blood (his cousin-german), that according to the Pope's ordnance they stood in neede of one. This being come to every bodie's knowledge, she sends Lidington (Maitland of Lethington) to Queen Elizabeth, to have her consent to contract with Darnley, and not to be any longer detained with a vain hope of marriage." History and Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 4to. Lond. 1625, p. 116, 117.—E.]

² Number V.

³ [Such writers as Knox and Buchanan maintain this as it respects the "leading men," or the Nobility, who were always divided into factions on matters of far less importance, and it was not to be expected that an affair of such consequence as the Queen's marriage would escape their jealousy. But Darnley, after his arrival, became a favourite with the people, and as Chalmers observes (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, 4to. vol. i. p. 130)—"every eye was now turned towards Darnley, as his defects were not yet seen." Mr Tytler observes—"His conduct since his arrival in Scotland, if we may believe Randolph—a witness whose feelings against him gives weight to his praise—had been prudent and popular. He had come to the Scottish Court not only with the full approbation, but with the warm recommendation, of Elizabeth; and this Queen had repeatedly assured Mary that, although she decidedly opposed her marriage to a foreign Prince, she might choose any of her English Nobility, and be certain of her approbation. When, therefore, she selected Darnley, the Scottish Queen had reason to expect the approval of Elizabeth, and, if we except Knox and his party, the concurrence and support of all classes in the State.—MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 27th February 1564-5; Bedford to Cecil, 11th February 1564-5." History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 321. This confirms Sir James Balfour's statement—"Darnleye's marriage secretly favoured by Dudley (Leicester), zeal, by Queene Elizabeth herself, as the wysest and best-sighted thought."—Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 332. Sir James Melville expressly asserts—"My Lord Darnley was a lusty young Prince, and apparently was one of the two that the Queen of England had *told me* she had in her head to offer unto our Queen, as born within the Realm of England." Memoirs, p. 42.—E.]

business at the time, we can have no better information than by the following letter.

*A Letter from Mr Randolph to Sir William Cecill,
20th March 1564-5.¹*

" WHATSOEVER I have wrote unto my Lord of Leicester, I doubt not but your Honour is privy thereunto, and therefore to write the same again should be double pains. Of this Queen's answer, and how the matter was taken that I broke last with her Grace touching the Queen's Majestie's resolution, I have written to his Lordship; and because there are diverse other things here which I desire should come to your Honour's knowledge, which put me in great doubt that either troubles shall arise among themselves, or some unkindness grow between the Queen's Majestie and her wellwillers here, I thought good to put that in a letter to yourself, to be considered of as you find just cause.

" I hear daily so many and grievous complaints of the state and government of this country, that either there is great lack of wisdom in these that have the chief charge to direct all things as they ought to be, or great fault in the subjects, that through their disobedience, no good order (be it never so well devised) can be observed. What troubles have arisen in this country for religion your Honour knoweth. All things are now grown into such a liberty, and her Grace taken unto herself such a will to do therein what she lists, that of late, contrary to her own ordonances, as great numbers have repaired to her chappel to hear mass, as sometimes come to the common church to hear sermon. To have her mind alter'd for this freedom, she desireth to have all men live as they list; she can hardly be brought, and thinketh it too great a subjection for her being a Princee in her own country, to have her will broken therein. The subjects that desire to live in the true worship and fear of God offer rather their lives again to be sacrificed, than that they would suffer again such an abomination, yea, almost permit herself to enjoy the mass, which is now more plainly and openly spoken against by the preachers than ever was the Pope of Rome. This kindeeth in her a desire to revenge, and breedeth in

¹ Calig. B. 666 f. X. an Original.—[British Museum. E.]

others a liberty to speak, and a will to attempt to mend *that* by force, which by no other means they can get reformed. What may this grow unto, except some speedy help be put unto it, I leave your Honour to think. For myself, I would I were far enough from the sight of it. (There were) two notable blasphemies against God, yet not worthily punished, though somewhat with difficulty enough to have the doers committed to prison. A schoolmaster at Haddingtoun made a play to exercise his scholars against the ministers, and baptised a cat in the name of the Father, the Son, &c. One of the Queen's chappel, a singing man, said, that he believed as well a tale of Robin Hood as any word is written in the Old Testament or the New.¹ Her own mass, and the resort unto it; such blasphemies as these unpunished; her will to continue Papistry, and her desire to have all men live as they list, so offendeth the godly men's consciences,² and so many besides that desire alteration, that it is continually feared that these matters will shortly break out to some greater mischief. By the way I will tell your Honour a merry tale, but very true, which commonly tales are not. There is one that attendeth upon this Court called Moffet, who commonly once in three years entreth into a phrenzy. Within these twenty days his passion taketh him with such an imagination

¹ Mr Knox relates the same story, but with this adjection, viz.—“*Except it were confirmed by the Doctors of the Church.*” Which adjection, however, makes a considerable alteration; though it was still a very rash and imprudent manner of talking, since it is probable the man (whose name was Alexander Stephan) meant no more than that the Scripture is believed to be the Word of God upon *external evidence* only—a position which has been held by a great many both good and learned men.—[Knox's version of this story is worth inserting by way of contrast:—“During the Queen's absence the Papists of Edinburgh went down to the Chappel to heir Mess, and seeing there was no punishment, they waxit more bold. Some of them, thinking thereby to please the Quene, upoun a certane Sunday in February they made an Even-Song of their awn, setting two priests on the one syde of the Quene, and one or two on the other syde, with Sandy Stevin, menstrall (baptizing their children, and making marriages), who, within eight days after was convinced [convicted] of blasphemy, alleging that he ‘would give no more credit to the New Testament than to a tale of Robin Hood, except it were confirmed by the Doctours of the Church.’” *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 368. The observation of “Sandy Stevin, menstrall,” was very irreverent, but it must be admitted that the *qualification* was of some importance.—E.]

² And yet these *godly* men begged only that liberty some few years ago. Some of them were *ungodly* enough.

that he is the Queen's husband. A great Protestant he is, and very godly when he is in his wits: He came one day into the Queen's chappel, and finding the priest at mass, drew out his sword, drove the priest from the altar into the vestry, broke the chalice, and throw and pulled to pieces all the robes and reliques; cross, candlesticks, and all that was there, were cut and broken. The mass-sayer was the Doctor of Sorbon, and at the hearing of it was the Queen's physician, and (as he saith himself) never in greater fear of his life, and hid himself behind the tapestry untill this execution of this mass-god was past. This doth as much anger the Queen, as it doth please many others, to have her sacred place thus disturbed.

These often debates, these common controversies between her Nobles, must needs bring great disliking; and so often renewed, yea, almost daily, to her Grace's grief to hear of them, must needs grow to a mischief, and as they say, *crumpere in arcum*. Above all the rest this is that is feared (that will be the breach of all good accord and quietness of this estate, though the rest be born with), that is, if she match herself with a Papist, by whom she may be fortified to her intent. Of this point there is no small care taken, and much doubt risen what shall become of those who in times past have so far attempted as to establish here churches, &c. without her consent. Sometime they take advice to be suitor unto the Queen's (of England) Majestie, that she will be so careful of this estate, and with those that with all reverence and humble sort are ready to serve her, and obey her next unto their own sovereign, that she will so work and travel, yea, and so provide for her in marriage, that they may be void in that care which now they do doubt, which they think can be no way so well, as if these matters that have been so long in consultation took effect, as to match her with my Lord of Leicester, being himself a Protestant, should easily enough bring her to be of the same religion, or, at the least, cause her deal more moderately in these matters than yet she doth. If this take not effect, whereunto she is now meetly well inclined, assuredly, whomsoever she doth marry, it shall be greatly to their discontentment; besides other things that are to be doubted of the inconveniencies that may arise between the two Realms, as

if she either ally herself with France again, or match with Spain, whereof what likelihood there is, or how she is able to bring it to pass, your Honour may know much more than I. But to what end this journey of my Lord of Lidington is to the Cardinal,¹ and what devices are between Grandville and him, I know no further than what I wrote in my last letter. One thing I must also say, that men here that either love the commonwealth, or know what benefit it is to live in peace, think this country happy, if they may get (as they call him still here) my Lord Robert.²

“I have over long held your Honour in one purpose, having so many matters to write, which I will lay before your Honour’s eyes as plainly and truly as I can, and leave the judgment to yourself; for further is not my part to wade.

“I have been always of opinion, that my Lord Lenox’s coming into this country might do more hurt than good, wherein I never had so much respect unto himself, or any other man here, as I did what these men should judge of my sovereign; or whether it might be an occasion of altering diverse men’s affections towards her Majestie,³ who was, and yet is accounted a protector and defender of the godly of this Realm, and in whom they had always such trust and hope, that as she hath delivered them out of their enemies’ hands, so would she have a continual care over them, and keep off from them such inconveniencies as may fall upon them. My Lord of Lenox is come home, restored and established in his lands, in place and credit with the Queen, an instrument, and ready to serve her against any, especially those whom she most disliketh. To this end he fortifieth himself; he joineth with these in most strict familiarity that are noted greatest enemies to all vertue, as Athole

¹ This confirms Mr Knox’s account of the Secretary’s message into France.—[Our Historian is here in error as it respects Maitland of Lethington’s “message into France.” Knox (*Historie*, Edin. edit. p. 369) expressly mentions that he was ordered to “pass to the Quene of England,” and our Historian himself previously acknowledges that he went “no farther than England.”—E.]

² [Dudley, Earl of Leicester.—E.]

³ Is not this a plain insinuation that his mistress has had a hand in sending Lenox into Scotland?

and Caithness,¹ Earls; Ruthven² and Hume, Lords; the Lord Robert, vain and nothing worth,³ a man full of all evil, the whole guider and ruler of my Lord Darnly. These things being spied and noted unto the world, it is easy to see whereunto they are bent that in their hearts are enemies to the truth, and desire nothing so much as the subversion of those that have been maintainers of the same; as in special the Duke, the Earls Moray and Argyle, who, now perceiving their intents, seek, by the best means that they can, to prevent the same. Their chief trust next unto God is the Queen's Majestie, whom they will repose themselves upon, not leaving in the mean season to provide for themselves the best they can.⁴ My Lord Argyle has taken into his defence in all his just actions the Earl of Montgomery, alias Eglintoun, and intendeth to make a marriage between the Earl of Cassils and the Duke's daughter; or if that cannot be, between him and the Countess of Crawford his near kinswoman,⁵ and the greatest marriage in Scotland. To both these Earls, my Lord of Lenox hath actions, who being now thus join'd in friendship, shall be able enough to defend themselves, or, if he intend any thing by way of deed, shall be able enough to debate their quarrels; always they are loth to come to this, and are sorry that any such

¹ [George Sinclair, fourth Earl of Caithness.—E.]

² Yet this Lord was a great reformer of the vices at Court when he butchered Riccio.

³ [Lord Robert Stewart, Prior or Commendator of Holyroodhouse, afterwards Earl of Orkney, illegitimate son of James V. by Euphemia, daughter of Lord Elphinstone.—E.]

⁴ Here the Association is a forming, which afterwards broke out into open rebellion.—[Patrick third Lord Ruthven, father of the first Earl of Gowrie.—E.]

⁵ [It is difficult to ascertain who this Lady was, for it appears that there was no *Countess of Crawford* at the time, unless Margaret, daughter of Cardinal Beaton, who married, in 1546, David ninth Earl of Crawford, was alive, and it is not likely that she would in 1564-5 be a suitable match in point of years for a young Nobleman, even though she had been a widow, which was not the case, for her husband the Earl was alive in 1573. The marriage of the Earl of Cassillis to the daughter of the Duke of Chateaubault did not, however, take place, notwithstanding the match-making projects of the Earl of Argyll, assisted by his new ally the Earl of Eglintoun; for Cassillis married Margaret Lyon, only daughter of John ninth Lord Glamis.—E.]

guest is suffered to come amongst them, that may give occasion to enter into such terms as now they are forced unto. It is now found by the wisest among them, how great an oversight it was in them to give their advices to let him come home, and because it was much easier to have been stay'd by the Queen's Majestie, than to be withstood here, when this Queen's affection towards his return was known. They are sorry that her Majestie did so much yield unto her will to let him come, who may and is like enough to be the occasion of so great troubles. Of my Lord Darnly they have this opinion, that in wisdom he doth not much differ from his father. The honour, countenance, and entertainment that he hath had here, maketh him think no little thing of himself. Some perswade him that there is no less good will born unto him by many of this nation, than that they think him a fit party for such a Queen. How easily a young man so born in hand, daily in presence, well used, continually in company either of the best or next about her, may be induced, either by himself to attempt, or by perswasions of others to imagine, I leave it to the judgment of others. Of this Queen's mind hitherto towards him I am void of suspicion;¹ but what affection may be stir'd up in her, or whether she will be at any time mov'd that way, seeing she is a woman, and in all things desireth to have her will, I cannot say. This is also needful for your Honour to understand, that this Queen hath conceived displeasure towards my Lord of Argile. Her hatred is still mortal towards the Duke, which lately burst out in over many words, and in too many men's hearing. He thinketh himself in evil case: I find him more pitied, and better beloved than ever he was.² He keepeth continually at home; few of his name repair to the Court; they seek all quietly to live, and through innocency, or not-offence of late, to avoid all dangers that are intended, or what mischief soever shall be practised against them, whereof they do most assure themselves, if this Queen do marry any other than my Lord of Leicester, but especially

¹ Mr Randolph seems to have been duped here by our Queen. Other people remarked her affection rise very quickly towards this young Lord.

² By Moray no doubt and his associates, who wanted only to serve a present turn of his Grace.

if she shall take my Lord Darnly. This putteth no small fear also among the Douglasses, for what cause your Honour knoweth:¹ With diverse of them of late I have had some talk; I maintain them in good hope the best I can, that there is no danger that way. From the Duke I have received this message, that he cannot be without fear of the overthrow of his House, if the Lord Darnly marry the Queen. As he hath hitherto shew'd himself friend and servant unto the Queen's Majestie, and he hopeth not a little but he shall always have occasion to serve and honour her during his life, and makes his whole life bound unto her for ever; he did put me in remembrance of a letter written unto him by the Queen a little before his sovereign's home-coming, assuring him of her Majestie's favour and support if any thing should be unjustly attempted against him, he doing his duty to his sovereign. He will, therefore, repose himself wholly upon the Queen's Majestie, and desireth her Highness to have her care over him, as one willing to serve her, and may hereafter be able to be a friend at commandment.² Of this message was my Lord (Gavin Hamilton, Abbot) of Kilwinning messenger, and the same again confirmed by my Lord of Argile, who for his own part offereth all service that lyeth in his power, and of whom I have received the effect of that which I have written in my whole letter. These things I doubt not shall be weighed and considered by your Honour.

* To help all these unhaps, I doubt not but you will take the best way; and this I can assure, that contrary to my sovereign's will let them attempt, let them seek, or let them send to all the Cardinals, or devils in hell, it shall pass their power to bring any thing to pass:³ so that that be not refus'd her that in reason ought to content her. How long the kindness will stand between my Lord of Moray and Lord of Lenox, your Honour may judge by this, that my Lord of Lenox hath join'd himself with those whom my Lord of Moray thinketh worst of in Scotland; what opinion the

¹ By reason of the just claim the Countess of Lenox had to the Earldom of Angus.

² Had this noble Peer dealt less with the Queen of England, he had made a better figure in Scotland.

³ [Randolph is here peculiarly valiant. He knew well the irresistible influence of English gold.—E.]

young Lord hath conceived of him, that lately talking with Lord Robert, who shewed him in the Scottish map what lands my Lord of Moray had, and in what bounds, the Lord Darnly said that it was too much. This came to my Lord of Moray's ears, and so to the Queen, who advised my Lord Darnly to excuse himself to my Lord of Moray.¹

“ Though these be no matters to make or take quarrels for, yet these suspicions, doubts, and heart-burnings between these Noblemen may break out to great inconveniencies. And for my own particular, I would not greatly care (though this be unadvisedly spoken, for I know there is of many of these much good will born unto me) which end were forward,² so that the Queen's Majestie may ever be thought of, and repair'd to, to be a patron and friend to this nation, as presently she is.—Most humbly I take my leave. At Edinburgh the 20th of March 1564.

“ Your Honour's bounden ever at command,

“ THO. RANDOLPHE.”

Upon the arrival of the Scottish Secretary at London,³ his commission was laid before the Privy-Council of that Kingdom, wherein several vigorous resolutions were taken to impede our Queen's marriage with the Lord Darnly, as may be seen in Camden and Knox.⁴ However, the following original Papers will let us in to a more circumstantiate view of some succeeding events, than what the private writers have related; as likewise into the knowledge of others which they have either omitted, or had not the opportunity themselves to know.

¹ [Darnley's conduct at this period, after his favourable reception by the Queen, was a prelude to his future rashness and misfortunes. Moray was a dangerous enemy, and Darnley's observation that his property was too extensive would not soon be forgotten. Darnley became the tool of a faction at this early stage, and his father Lennox connected himself with those whom Moray hated and despised. Though Lennox at his arrival neglected Moray, an apparent reconciliation had been effected between them; but the sagacious Randolph saw that it would be of no long continuance.—E.]

² This gentleman will easily obtain credit in this. He was indeed a complete tool for his mistress's evil purposes.

³ He arrived at Westminster the 18th April.

⁴ [Camden's History and Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 4to. London, 1625, p. 117, 118; Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 369. See also Tytler's History of Scotland, Edin. 1842, vol. vi. p. 324, 338, 339.—E.]

A Determination of the Privy-Council of England upon the Marriage for the Queen of Scots, 1st May 1565.¹

“ THE Queen’s Majestie having understood from her good sister the Queen of Scots, by her principal Secretary the L. of Lidington, that the Queen his mistress continuing in her former intention to require the advice of the Queen’s Majestie in her marriage; and having for her sake, as he saith, foreborn to hearken to the matching with any foreign Prince, hath thought meet to send him hither to understand her Majestie’s mind in a matter mov’d to the Queen his mistress, for a marriage with the Lord Darnly, what her Majestie liketh thereof; and further, to let her Majestie understand, that if the Queen his mistress may have her Majestie’s good will and assent thereto, she could incline herself to the same. Hereupon, although her Majestie at the first found this matter very strange and unlikely on the part, as well of her sister, as on the part of the parents of the Lord Darnly himself, being her Majestie’s subjects,² and so much bound to her and the Crown of England, as none could be more: Yet her Majestie thought it very fit to communicate this message to her Privy-Council, and to understand their advices in the same; and to this intent, the Counsellors whose names be underwritten were made privy to the message above mentioned, and to all other circumstances thereunto conveniently belonging.

“ And after sundry conferences and long deliberations, and many arguments among themselves, they all with one assent and judgment thought this marriage of my L. Darnly, being attended with such circumstances as therein do appear to be unmeet, unprofitable, and directly prejudicial to the sincere amity between both the Queens, and consequently perillous to the continuance of the mutual good, concord, and tranquillity that at present is known to be, and were to be earnestly desired on both parts to be made perpetual betwixt both the Realms; and therefore the said Counsellors did for further advice therein think meet that if

¹ Calig. B[ook] X. a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

² They might be called in truth subjects of the Crown of England, from the time that Matthew Earl of Lenox surrendered himself to King Henry VIII. of that kingdom.

the proceeding in this intended marriage with the L. Darnly should depend upon the Queen's Majestie's assent, she should do well not to accord thereunto, but according to the procession of the sincere amity that is betwixt their Majesties, and in respect of the continuance of the common tranquillity, should move her to forbear from this, as a thing plainly prejudicial to them both, and consequently dangerous to the weal of both their countries,¹ and offer unto her an free election of any other of the Nobility, either in this whole Realm or Isle, or in any other place, being suitable to her place, and agreeable to both the Realms;² and therein also for her satisfaction, to yield unto her as much friendship and benefit, as upon further conference might be devised to be; first, as honourable as this is that is intended; and secondly, more commodious to both the Princes, and more profitable and plausible to the Nobility and common people of both the Realms.

“Wherein the said Counsellors (thinking the like of the rest of the Nobility and sage men of the Realm) did for their parts, according to their most bounden duties, humbly offer unto her Majestie, that whatsoever should seem meet, and would be advised for the Queen of Scots, with some other meeter marriage, being agreeable to the honour of God, and justice, and convenient, to maintain the concord and amity already begun between the two Realms, the same should be allowed with their advices, and furthered with their services at all times, when her Majestie should command them, according to their most humble and loyal duties: whereupon they do firmly trust, that if the matter may be firmly thought upon and considered by wise and good men on both parts, good success may ensue, to the honour and comfort of both the Princes, and to the

¹ It is a pity this wise Council had not condescended on some particular prejudices and dangers this marriage might bring to the two Queens and their Realms. However, though it were no difficult matter to apprehend some of them, yet the readers will see in the Appendix, Number VI., a more authentick account of these drawn out by Sir William Cecil.

² In other words, either to have no husband at all, or to have a certain person imposed. One of which was no doubt the chief and sole view of the Queen and Ministry of England. “The sharpest thorn,” says Castelnau, “that ever the Queen of England dreaded, was a potent alliance to be made by the Queen of Scots.”

establishing of a perpetual concord, peace, and tranquillity betwixt the two nations.¹ *Primo Maij 1565, Anno septimo Elizabethæ Reginæ.*

“ WINCHESTER.	E. ROGERS.	RY. CAKEBYLE.
NORTHFOLK.	F. KNOLLYS.	EDWARD DERBY.
PEMBROKE.	WILLIAM PETRES.	W. HOWARD.
E. CLYNTON.	JOHN MASONE.	W. CECILL.”

At the end of this determination, the following note is set down by Sir R. Cotton, viz.—“ This is the copy of the Paper delivered to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.”

Upon the breaking up of this Council, the Queen of England lost no time, but gave immediately orders to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to repair into Scotland, and commune with our Queen concerning her intended marriage. The contents of that gentleman's Instructions, and the Answers he received, will best appear by what follows.

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen of England, concerning his Negotiation with the Queen of Scots, 21st May 1565.*²

“ MAY it please your Majestie to understand, that by my former letters of this instant from Berwick to the Earl of Leicester and Mr Secretary, you might perceiue such intelligence as I had received, both from Mr Randolph, your Majestie's agent in this country, as also otherwise concerning the forwardness of this Queen's affection in the matter of her marriage, as also of such former honours as were intended by the said Queen to be conferred on the Lord Darnly. Since which time, accompanied with the L. of Lidington,³ I passed from Berwick to the castle of Dunbar, the 12th of May, and lodged there that night, where I found the L. Gordon, eldest son to the Earl of Huntly, a condemned man

¹ What Mr Camden writes concerning *military force* resolved upon about this time will appear to have been true enough by subsequent original Papers. ² Calig. B[ook] X. a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

³ By abstracts of Letters out of Scotland, &c. written by Secretary Coll's own hand, it appears that Sir Nicholas and the Scots Secretary came in company together from London. These abstracts are continued from the 18th of November 1564, till the 19th September 1565, and shall be entirely inserted in the Appendix; and therefore to save the trouble of making continual notes and observations, I would wish my readers to read these along with this part of our history, and to adjust the one by the other.

for high treason : there the L. of Lidington made me a very good supper. The next day we arrived together at Edinburgh, where I did communicate with Mr Randolph your Majestie's Instructions given unto me for this legation : There the L. of Lidington received a new commandment to seek and use some means to stay me at Edinburgh, three or four days, alledging the Queen's infirmity at that present, and also that no order was as then given for my lodging at Stirling. Nevertheless the said L. of Lidington departed in great diligence towards Stirling, and left me at Edinburgh, making me privy to his charge, and remitting me to my own liking ; where I learned by the means of Mr Randolph, that this Queen intended to make the L. Darnly Knight and Baron, and also to create him Earl of Ross the 15th of May, and the 16th to create him Duke of Albany. The collation of all which honours her mind was should be past and accomplished before my arrival at her Court. Whereupon the 14th I departed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and lodged there that night. The 15th I arrived in the morning at Stirling, and descended from my horse at the Castle gate, having sent before my cousin Middlemore, your Majestie's servant, to demand my audience. At my arrival at the Castle the gates were shut against me, whether it proceeded from fear, or of some other passion, I know not. I thus remaining some time before the gate, there came unto me the Master of Arskine and the Justice-Clerk, who desir'd me, on the Queen their mistress's behalf, to retire unto my lodging which was appointed in the town, saying that after I had reposed myself the Queen did mind to give me audience. I press'd to have audience forthwith, in as much as I did understand the creations were to take effect that day ; which I thought meet, for your Majestie's better service, to prevent, and to defer by all the good means I could. Notwithstanding, my request could not be admitted, and thereupon I departed to my lodging ; to which place, about two of the clock in the afternoon, the Lords Arskin and Ruthven (two of the Queen's Privy-Council) came unto me, to accompany me from thence unto the Queen, whom I found in the Castle accompanied with the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argile, Moray,¹ Morton, Athole,

¹ Mr Buchanan seems to say that the Earl of Moray chose to be absent

Glencairden, and sundry other Earls and Barons, so as it appears there were absent very few of the Nobility of this Realm.¹ I delivered your letter to this Queen, and proceeded with her according to your Majestie's Instructions;² and after I had declared unto her your Majestie's good acceptation of her conformity to use your advice in her marriage, as you did well perceive in her ambassador the L. of Lidington; I did set forth your Majestie's disliking³ and disallowance of her hasty proceeding with my Lord Darnly, as well for the matter as for the manner, wherein she err'd by unadvisedness and rashness; and the said Lord

from this Convention; he says likewise that it consisted mostly of Court-favourites, but the Register here will shew that few Parliaments have been so numerous in Nobility.

¹ In the abstracts of the Privy-Council I find the following one:—"15 Majj 1565, *Presente Regina: Sederant Dux, Comites Morton, Murray, Glencairne, Athole; Domini Erskine, Ruthven, James Maxwell de Terregleis; Secretarius, Clericus Justiciarie, Registri, Advocatus, Thesaurarius. Extraordinarii, ratione conventionis, Comites Crawford, Eglington, Cassils, Rothes, Caithness; Domini Home, Gray, Glamis, Borthwick, Zester, Fleming, Levinston, Sempil, Ross, Lindesay, Lovet, Boyd, Somerveil; Magister de Graham, Magister de Sinclair.*" At this Convention Mr Buchanan takes notice, that not one person opposed the Queen's marriage, except Andrew Stewart, Lord of Ochiltree; and yet in the above list, Lord Ochiltree is not so much as marked to have been present. Thus we see the slender trust people ought to give this author, when not supported by better credentials than his own bare and bold assertion. Mr Knox was married on this Lord's sister; and yet he mentions no such thing concerning him, though he takes notice of this Convention pretty largely. The list given here by the abstract is exactly the same with that copied out of the Register by Mr Robert Miln, with the Christian names of the members at full length; only in this copy are added, *Robertus Commendatarius Sancta Crucis, Garvinus Commendatarius de Kildgubing, Andreas Commendatarius de Jedburgh, Jacobus Commendatarius Inula Sancti Coluadi, Joannes Commendatarius de Balmernagh.* And Mr Miln adjects this *Nota, viz.* "This is the first time that Commendators have sat in Council after the Queen's return from France."

² In which it may be thought was contained the determination of that Queen's Privy-Council, according to Sir Robert Cotton's observation at the bottom of the preceding Paper.

³ Both Buchanan and Knox acknowledge that this marriage was very generally believed not to be contrary to the Queen of England's liking, whatever grimace she might put on. And I have thought fit here to set down the French agent, Mons. Castelnau de Mauvissiere's sentiments of this matter. This gentleman, speaking of our Queen's marriage with foreign Princes, saith—"But all these great alliances were equally disagreeable to the Queen of England, who never dreaded a sharper thorn in her foot than some potent foreign alliance to be made by the Queen of

Darnly and his parents had fail'd in their duties, by their arrogant and presumptuous attempts to enterprize a matter

Scotland, whose kingdom lyes so close upon hers, that they are only separated by a fordable river ; and so she might be easily annoyed from thence by a bad neighbour.—This the Queen of England foreseeing, cast her eyes on the young Lord Darnly, to make a present of him to the Scottish Queen—and found means to perswade the said Queen of Scots, by several powerful considerations, that there was not a marriage in Christendom which could bring her more certain advantages, together with the eventual succession to the kingdom of England, which she (the Queen of Scots) pretended to be lodged in her person, than this with the Lord Darnly ; because they two being joined in matrimony, with the consent of the Queen of England and the wisest men in both the kingdoms, would fortify each other's title, and so take out of the way many scruples which in the event of time might come to disturb these two neighbouring States.—Now this purpose was the more speedily executed, that it was approved by those in whom the Queen of Scots reposed most confidence, namely, the Earl of Moray, bastard brother to that Queen, who had the management of all her affairs, the Laird of Lethington her Secretary of State, and their confederates, who were all gained over to perswade their mistress not only to receive the said Lord Darnly kindly, and to give him a new title to his father's estate, but likewise to yield a favourable ear to the marrying of him, as being more useful to her for obtaining the Crown of England than any other : and, moreover, to represent to her, that if she should think of marrying either in France or Spain, the expences and difficulties of accomplishing the same would be greater than Scotland could well bear. Besides, that such a marriage would not fail to create a jealousy in the Queen of England, who could take none at all against the Lord Darnly, her own subject, and her own blood, as the Queen of Scots herself was." Then after he has told how fond our Queen became of this marriage, and that she sent *him* into France to obtain that King and the Queen-mother's consent to the marriage, he adds—" On my road I met the Queen of England, who had been travelling into some parts of her kingdom ; but her Majesty did not outwardly shew the joy and pleasure which was in her heart, when I told her that this marriage was advancing apace ; on the contrary, she affected not to approve it : which thing, however, did rather hasten than retard it." After he had been in France, and obtained their Majesties' consent to the marriage, he returns through England, and then says—" I found the Queen of England much colder towards the Queen of Scots than formerly, complaining that she had subtracted her relation and subject, and that she was intending to marry him against her consent and approbation. And yet I am assured that these words were very far from her heart ; for she used all her efforts, and spared nothing to set this marriage a-going." Now, if these observations be well founded, what shall we say of some Princes and Princesses ? It will manifestly appear by subsequent and authentic Papers that the Lord Darnly had a licence from Queen Elizabeth to come into Scotland, and here to remain a certain space ; yet in her Instructions to Sir Henry Norris, her Ambassador in France, expresseth herself thus—" It chanced that a young Nobleman, our near kinsman, brought up in our Court, named the Lord Darlie, was secretly enticed to pass into Scotland, upon

of so great consequence, without making you privy thereunto, being your subjects.

“ The Queen answered, That she had not fail’d on her behalf to communicate the matter unto your Majestie in time (that was to say) as soon as she was resolv’d of the manner and the matter; for other promise, she never made any than to communicate unto your Majestie the person whom she would like to chuse. And as for your Majestie’s misliking of the match, she marvelled not a little thereat, because she did but use her choice according to your Majestie’s prescription, fortifying her sayings and doings by your Majestie’s mind declar’d not long ago by Mr Randolph, to this effect unto her, as she alledged; that is to say, what time she did advertise your Majestie of the motion made unto her of Charles Duke of Austria, your Majestie disswading her from that match, and from any of the Emperor’s House, and likewise from the Houses of France and Spain, you are contented that, these Houses only excepted, she might take her choice of any person within the Realms of England or Scotland, or any other country. And because she thought none might be more agreeable to your Majestie and the Realm of England, and likewise to her subjects and Realm of Scotland, than the Lord Darnly (he being your Majestie’s kinsman and hers, and participating of the English and Scottish blood), she did with the less preciseness proceed so far forward in this matter as she had done.

“ Thereupon I replied, and took occasion to impugn her sayings by the very words of Mr Randolph’s Commission, containing these three Articles: *First*, For her own contentation. *Next*, The allowance of her people. *Thirdly*, That her choice be such, as the amity which is now betwixt us, not only for our own persons, but also for our nation, may

other pretences, for private suits for lands, and such like (the Lord Darnly neither had nor could have any suit for lands, and there without our knowledge, according to the same former practices, whereof we were not altogether ignorant, though we would not seem so jealous of the same, he was suddenly accepted by that Queen to be ally’d in contract of marriage with her, as one thought to be a meet person to work troubles in our Realm for her advantage, yet contrary to the advice of the wiser sort of her Council (this is said without sufficient foundation), and consequently contrary to our will and liking, was married to her in all haste.” See Sir Dudley Digges’s *Complete Ambassador*, p. 13.

be continued, and not dissolved nor diminished ; proving to her by many and probable arguments, that L. Darnly did not satisfy the contents of that liberal permission, whereupon she did chiefly ground herself to have your Majestie's allowance.

“ About this matter we spent long time, and had many and sundry disputes, which I do omit to declare till my access unto your Majestie, and so also of all my other negotiations with this Queen and her Council, severally¹ and together. And in the meantime, because your Majestie may be truly advertised of the state of this matter, to the end you may consider of it in good hour, and to direct your Councils and proceeding as shall be meetest for your own surety and commodity, it may like your Majestie to understand, that this Queen is so far past in this matter with my Lord Darnly, as it is irrevocable, and no place left to dissolve the same by perswasion and reasonable means, otherwise than by violence : albeit, though the matter be not yet consummate, neither shall be (as she hath willed me to ascertain your Majestie) these three months, in which mean time she meaneth all the best means she can devise to procure your Majestie's acceptation and allowance of the matter, offering in general words to leave nothing undone that she may honourably, safely, and conveniently do, to win your Majestie's favour to this matter. And for this purpose, she meaneth (as I understand) shortly to send some one of her own (but not the Lord Lidington, who standeth presently not in the best terms with her) to treat and negotiate with your Majestie in this matter, and to procure that it may like you to send some Commissioners to treat with some of her Council, at a place appointed by you for that purpose.

¹ Sir James Melvil, p. 56, narrates how that this Ambassador had Instructions, in case our Queen would not follow Queen Elizabeth's advice, “ to perswade the Lords, and so many as were of the Protestant religion, to withstand the marriage, till the Lord Darnly should subscribe a bond to maintain the Reformed religion, which he had *ever* professed in England.” And truly herein, as to the principal aim, Sir Nicholas effectually prevailed. Perhaps *ever* in these Memoirs is erroneously printed for *never* ; for in many other narrations concerning the Lord Darnly, he is represented to have been of the ancient *Form* in religious matters. Or if he has professed the *new Form* at any time, he has at least not been thought very zealous in it. And the truth is, his years might abate of his keenness either way. His mother continued still Popish.

“ The Lord Darnly received the honours specified after my audience the 15th of May,¹ the creation of Duke of Albany only excepted,² the conferring of which honour, this Queen at my leave-taking (which was the 19th of May) did promise to defer till she might hear how your Majestie would accept the proceedings and answer to my legation. Nevertheless I do find this Queen so captiv’d, either by love or cunning (or, rather to say truly, by boasting or folly), that she is not able to keep promise with herself, and therefore not most able to keep promise with your Majestie in these matters.

“ The day before my departing from this Queen she made me dine with her at her own table only; and Mr Randolph, accompanied with the Duke and the rest of her Nobility, in another chamber. After I had taken my leave, she sent the L. of Lidington to my lodging with my dispatch, who brought me in present from her a chain of gold weighing fifty ounces.

“ May it further please your Majestie to understand (notwithstanding rendring the accomplishing of my charge, as is before specified), I do well perceive that it is in your

¹ [Darnley was created Lord of Ardmanach and Earl of Ross after the Queen gave an audience to Throgmorton, who had been introduced by Lords Ruthven and Erskine, and on that occasion protested on the part of Elizabeth in the strongest language against the intended marriage. “ Mary,” says Dr Gilbert Stuart, “ repressing her indignation, informed him that matters were gone too far to be recalled, and that Elizabeth had no solid cause of her displeasure, since by her advice she had fixed her affections not upon a foreigner, but an Englishman; and since the personage she favoured was descended of a distinguished lineage, and could boast of having in his veins the best blood of both kingdoms.”—*History of Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 100. Previous to all this, Darnley had made a proposal of marriage to Queen Mary, which she affected to discourage, and even refused a ring which he offered to her. This incident of royal coquetry is mentioned by Sir James Melville, who was then at the Court, and enjoyed Mary’s confidence. The Queen is supposed to have fixed her affections on Darnley in March, before Maitland of Lethington reached London, but Elizabeth had been well informed of her sentiments before his arrival. Lord Darnley received the honours conferred upon him at Stirling. His promotion as Duke of Albany was delayed for a short time, and this so much annoyed him, that when he was first informed of it by Lord Ruthven, he threatened in a fit of passion to stab that Nobleman with his dagger. As he had no proper establishment, the Queen directed her French Secretary Riccio to attend him, and to receive and pay money for him;—*Il.*]

² This serves to adjust the time when these honours were conferred, in which our historians have not been precise enough.

Majestie's power either to dissolve this matter betwixt my L. Darnly and the Queen of Scotland (if you shall like to use your power), as at my coming I shall declare particularly unto your Majestie; or it resteth in your pleasure to end the matter more amicably, with such conditions as may be (in my simple judgment) to your honour, surety and felicity. And the rather, to bring the one or the other of these to pass, it may please your Majestie to put in execution such Memorials as I have presently addressed to my Lord of Leicester and Mr Secretary.¹

"I do mean (God willing) to be at Berwick the 23d of May—And for that I have learned by good means that there is a dangerous practice intended in Yorkshire, I do mean to return by York, and to give the Lord President such warning as he may foresee, and provide for these inconveniencies in time.

"Herewith your Majestie shall receive a memorial of several honours which this Queen did confer upon the Lord Darnly the 15th of May, wherein is inserted the very form of the oath which he made to the Queen of Scots, for some respects not convenient for any of your subjects to make to any foreign Prince, as you may perceive by the contents of the same.

"This Queen resolves to summon the Estates of her Parliament the 20th of July next,² and likewise intends to assemble the ministers of her clergy about the 10th or 12th June next, to the end they may put in readiness for the Parliament some matters concerning religion and ecclesiastical polity. It is look'd for that they should shew the conformity to this marriage, and tolerate to the Queen the

¹ The Memorial he wrote at this time to the Earl of Leicester and Mr Secretary shall be immediately presented to the reader.

² The same thing is related by our historians, and the following authentick voucher may not be disagreeable :—" *Abstract Privy-Council, 19th May*—The Lordis of Secret-Counsale, with aviss of the Quene, hes thoct expedient that ane Parlement be called at Edinburgh 20 July, and that the Directour of the Chancellarie direct precepts for the said Parlement in form as effeirs. And to effect that things neidful to be treated in Parlement may be fullie agried betwix the Quene and Lordis befor the said tyme, and that sche may undirstand what they will requyre of hir Majestie to be done, and als what sche will command thame with, it is appoynted that the saidis Lordis of Secret Counsale schall convene inwith upon the 10 of June next."

retaining her private mass without contradiction. About this matter I perceive there will be much ado.¹

"This Queen hath travel'd very earnestly since my leave-taking to compound all differences betwixt her Noblemen, and namely betwixt the Earl of Argile and Earl of Lenox. She intends to depart from Stirling to St Johnston,² as soon as my Lord Darnly shall be able³ to travel, which is thought to be within these four or five days.

"The Duke of Chatellerault, the Earls of Argile, Moray, and Glencairden, do retire themselves all to their own houses forthwith for a time.⁴

"May it please your Majestie, I do understand that this Queen doth mean (if her mind alter not) to send in legation to your Majestie the Master of her Requests, and one of her Privy Council, named John Hay,⁵ who hath reputation here to be a wise and honest man: I take him to be most affected towards the Earl of Moray, which may peradventure stay him from that charge.

"Forthwith this Queen doth send an express messenger into France to her ambassador the Bishop of Glasgow,⁶ who hath in charge from her to employ himself by all the good means he can to make this match agreeable to the French. I do understand that of marriages hitherto mentioned unto

¹ Perhaps it is the account of this Assembly we meet with in Knox, but that author rambles so hither and thither, that I dare not aver the truth of it.

² [Mary had summoned a Convention of the Nobility to be held at Perth, or St Johnston, on 22d of June, to obtain their final consent to her marriage with Darnley, and to fix the day.—E.]

³ By an abstract 30th April, we learn that this Lord was then sick of the measles.—[Randolph duly informed Cecil of Darnley's illness, and of the Queen's "marvellous care of him." Darnley, however, was not so unwell as to be unable to attend to his own affairs.—"My young Lord, lying sick in his bed, hath already boasted the Duke (of Chatellerault) to knock his pate when he is whole."—Randolph to Cecil, 3d May 1565. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 330.—E.]

⁴ These were the secret cabal with the Queen of England to oppose the marriage.

⁵ There is but one person here intended, viz. Mr Hay, who was Master of Requests and a Privy Counsellor. Mr Knox says, he was likewise Prior of Monimusk, a cell belonging to the Priory of St Andrews, as that Priory was a pendicle to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse; but we are assured that he was Commendator of Balmerinoch. The Queen did send him into England, as we shall presently see.

⁶ James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow.—E.]

her, her uncles did most desire her match with the Prince of Spain, which I perceive was in greater towardness than was look'd for in England.

“ This matter, as I can learn, was chiefly overthrown by the Earl of Moray and Lord of Lidington. As to the Duke Charles, I cannot find that ever she was thereunto bent, neither earnestly any of her Council. True it is that the Cardinal of Lorrain did carry Spain in his right hand, and Austria in his left : and of all men within England or Scotland, he did prefer the choice of him that now she hath. Almighty God preserve your Majestie in all health, honour, and felicity. From Edinburgh this 21st of May 1565.

“ Your Majestie's most humble, faithful

“ subject and servant,

“ N. THROCKMORTON.”

Together with the above letter, the reader, I perswade myself, will be much pleased to see this that followeth, written the said day by the same person.

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Sir William Cecill, Principal Secretary of State. Edinburgh, 21st May 1565.*¹

“ BY my former letter to the Queen, you will find the business of the marriage indissoluble, though she granted a protract of three months, and a suspension of the creation of Darnly Duke of Albany. Notwithstanding this precipitation, I perceive the Queen's Majestie hath it in her power to dissolve the same violently, for it will admit no other cure ; or by allowance thereof, and by reasonable composition proceeding therein, according to my former Memorial.

“ Sir, I should be sorry if Demoniser (who comes into Scotland) should be able to give this Queen intelligence that her proceedings with L. Darnly is not so ill taken there by her Majestie and her Council as I pretended in all my negociations ; for that would much hinder the purpose the Queen would be at. I say the same of Graham, Lidington's servant, and of one Menzies, another Scotsman, who entred England when I came to Berwick, and so of all others who may give the same intelligence to the Scottish Queen.²

¹ Cotton Library, Calig. B[ook] X. F. 285.—British Museum.—E.]

² By a letter of Mr Randolph to Secretary Cecil, it appears that our

You may receive a letter from Moray. I hope you will have some consideration of Mr Randolph, who is at great charges to serve her Majestic here. He spent largely that he might be more capable to do the services expected. Now receiving nothing but words, and that there is no money to gratifie those as give him intelligence, he is glad to be recalled, and live privately; which he calls here the putting his head in a hole, since he finds the service so ill rewarded."

Here follows the memorial of the honours conferred by our Queen on the Lord Darnly, transmitted by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to his mistress, and mentioned by him in his letter to her Majesty.

*The Oath of a Knight made by my Lord Darnly, 15th May.*¹

"I SHALL defend the Christian Faith at my power.

"I shall be leel and true to my Princess my sovereign lady, Queen of Scotland, and her successors.

"I shall honour and do reverence to all wise Orders of Nobility, and to the Office of Arms.

"I shall fortifie and maintain justice without feed or favour.

"I shall use and exercise myself in the Office of Chivalry, and help all them that are in the same Order, if they have need.

"I shall defend the Realme of Scotland from all aliens and strangers.

"I shall never fly from my Princess, Master or Fellow, with dishonour, in time of need.

"I shall defend all orphans, widows, and maidens of good fame.

"I shall do diligence wherever I hear is any murderers, robbers, or masterful thieves, that oppress the people, to bring them to the laws at my power.

"I shall enquire and do diligence to seek all articles contained in the Books of Chivalry, and keep them all at my power.

Queen had received intelligence from the Countess of Lenox, that Queen Elizabeth's displeasure against the marriage was full of affectation. But this letter is the most bare fac'd discovery of the mystery that one could wish.

¹ Catlg. B[ook] X.—[British Museum.—E.]

“ I shall fortifie, maintain, and defend the Noble Order of Knighthood which I am ready to receive, and horse, arms, and knightly habilement after my power. So help me God, the holy Evangel, by my own hand, and by God Himself.”

The Oath of an Earl that the said Lord Darnly made.

“ I SHALL be true and leel to my sovereign lady, Queen of Scotland, maintain and defend her Highness’ body, realm, lieges, and laws, at the uttermost of my power. So help me God, the holy Evangel, by my own hand, and by God Himself.”

“ AT Stirling the 15th day of May 1565, by our Sovereign the Queen’s Majestie, MARIE, Heretrix of Scotland and Dowager of France, HENRY STUART, eldest son to Matthew Earl of Lenox, was created Lord, and made Knight; and gave his oath thereupon. 2dly, Was made Baron, Baronet, and nam’d Lord of Ardmanach, and Lord of our Sovereign Lady’s Parliament. 3dly, The said Henry afore the Queen’s Majestie, made the oath of an Earl, and was beltit Earl of Ross. And after were created by the said Henry, afore the Queen’s Majestie, fourteen Knights, whose names follow, and gave their oath thereupon: Sir Robert Stuart of Straighton, Sir Robert Stuart of Largis, Sir Alexander Stuart of Dalswinton, Sir James Stuart of Doun, Sir William Murray of Tillibarden, Sir William Stuart of Hawick, Sir Patrick Houston of that Ilk, Sir John Maxwell of Nether-Pollock, Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth, Sir John Murray of Caldwell, Sir Robert Drummond of Carnoch, Sir James Hume of Fynlawis, Sir James Stirling of Kier, Sir William Ruthven of Baldenie.”¹

*A Memorial from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, sent to the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Cecill, to communicate the Matters contained therein to the Queen of England, 27th May 1565.*²

“ IMPRIMIS, That her Majestie, and all you of her Council, do make it appear evidently to all folks, that the proceedings

¹ These names and titles are copied exactly.

² Calig. B[ook] X.

of the Queen of Scotland with the Lord Darnly are so grievously taken and disliked, that her Majestie must needs chasten the arrogancy of her subjects, and revenge the indignity done by the Queen of Scotland. And for the better insinuation thereof, to use all the good means you can devise, as well by publishing the sending down my Lord of Bedford to his charge,¹ with some supply of new force; as also, admonishment to be given by you to the Wardens of all the Marches to stand upon their guards, and to be in readiness to serve in good order, when they shall be commanded; with further charge, to shew no more favour to this nation than the forbearing the breach of peace will suffer.

“*Item*, To stay the Earl of Northumberland at London, and to send down Sir Richard Chomley² to York to the Council there, to receive ordinary process for his disorders there depending; which, as I hear say, will procure him ordinary imprisonment there: And also to command the Lord President and Council at York to have a good eye to the doings of the Earl of Northumberland,³ and the Lady Lenox’s faction; and further, by no means through the Realm to suffer the Papists in the Realm, neither in Court nor out of Court, to have any cause to think themselves in any credit or estimation.

“*Item*, To have some greater restraint put upon the Lady Lenox, and some harder sequestration, than she now hath; so as she may have conference with none but such as are appointed unto her: And specially, that there be no means left unto her to have intelligence with the French Ambassador, but chiefly none with the Spanish; for there the matter importeth most, as I do certainly know”—(*from the Earl of Moray, &c. no doubt*).

“*Item*, That my Lady Somerset⁴ do find some more

¹ It has been already told that this Noble Lord was Governor of Berwick.

² [Or Cholmondeley.—E.]

³ This was Thomas Piercy, one of the heads of the Popish party in England. Further mention will be made of him in a short time.

⁴ This, I suppose, was the Lady Katharine Grey, second daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and wife to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son to the Duke of Somerset, who was uncle to King Edward VI., Lord Protector under that Prince, and afterwards beheaded by his authority. See the English history for this Lady’s misfortune.

gracious entertainment in the Court than heretofore she hath done.

“*Item*, That the Queen’s Majestie ly in good wait, that the Lady Lenox neither directly nor indirectly have any intelligence of the Queen’s Majestie’s doings or speech, other than that severity is intended.

“*Item*, It shall be to very good purpose, that as well from her Majestie, as from my Lord of Leicester and you, it be commonly brought to the Lady Lenox’s knowledge, that you all marvel how Lidington, being a man of knowledge and judgment, can be so blinded, to further and prosecute this marriage, whereof besides your certain intelligence from hence, you did too well espy it in his last legation there.¹

“*Item*, To use all good means to keep yourselves in opinion with France and Spain, to the end you may bring your matters better to pass here; which I trust will well succeed, in case these matters will be well put in use, and some other things which I will communicate unto you at my coming.

“These things are to be done without delay, and either a breach of the matter”—(viz. of the marriage)—“will follow, or a good composition.”

An Abstract of a Letter from Mr Randolph to Sir William Cecill, 3d June.²

“QUEEN of Scots Counsellors are now these she before liked worst;³ Moray lives where he listeth; Lidington hath not much credit; David⁴ now worketh all, and is only governor to the King⁵ and his family; great is his pride, and his words intolerable. People have small joy in this new master, and find nothing but that God must either send him a short end, or them a miserable life. The dangers to those he now hateth are great, and either he must be taken

¹ This has probably been with a view to create some difference between the Family of Lenox and the Secretary Maitland. And it is a sure indication that this gentleman has been a favourer of the marriage.

² Calig. B[ook] X. —[British Museum.—E.]

³ From this period we see a strange alteration in this gentleman’s letters.

⁴ [David Riccio, who courted Darnley, and assiduously advanced his suit with the Queen.—E.]

⁵ This must be said by way of derision, for as yet there was no King.

away, or they find some support, that what he intendeth to others may fall upon himself.¹ With England this Queen meaneth to make a divorce, though she will make fair weather; but with France she will join. She doteth so much upon her husband,² that some report she is bewitched; the parties the tokens are named that contain the mysteries.

“Athole and Argyle gather power to offend each other’s, but the Queen sendeth Lidington to pacify them.

“The Convention at St Johnston was to work those present to like the match with Darnly; and a rumour spread, that the next Parliament there shall be a law for religion. Darnly saith, that if there were wars with England they should have more friends than the Queen. The friends they have here are Athole, Caithness, Errol, Montrose, Fleming, Cassils, Montgomery, Hume; Ruthven and Lindsay, who shamefully have left the Earl of Moray.³ This Queen wooeth all she can to her part. The Lord Robert shall be Earl of Orkney, Areskine of Mar, Hume of March, and Fleming of Wigton.”

Our Queen being still desirous to cultivate a good understanding with the Queen of England, and, in particular, to gain, if possible, her consent to her marriage with the Lord Darnly, had been advised to send an ambassador to that Queen’s Majesty for this purpose. But if Sir Nicholas Throckmorton had right information concerning the person who was now sent, as it is presumable he had, we may take the freedom even to say, her Majesty has been under a bad influence and direction, and that her counsellors must have been either weak, or wicked, which is worse, as cannot fail to appear by the following Letter and Instructions.

*Letter from the Queen of Scotland to the Queen of England.*⁴

“RICHT excellent, richt heich and michtie Princesse, oure derrest sister and cousyne, in oure maist hartie maner we

¹ It appears the death of Darnly, or Riccio, or both, is already hatched.

² This is a continuation of the derision. Buchanan, and some others, relate such a story of witchcraft. If such a thing was said in our days it would be justly derided.

³ Probably this respects the two last named Lords, and perhaps they have been rather spies upon the Queen than real friends.

⁴ Shatter’d MS.

commend ws unto zow. For certane materis of importance tending to the mantainance and conservatioun of the gude intelligence and amytie standing betwix ws, we haif publiclie directit towertis zow the berare heiroy, oure trustie and weillbelovit Counsalour, Maister Johne Hay, Commendatore of Balmerinock,¹ oure principall Maister of Requeistis, praying zow thairfoir, gude sister, to grant him audience ; and in sic thingis as he sall declair unto zow in oure behalf, to gif him firme credit as unto oure self. And so, richt heich, richt excellent and michtie Princesse, oure derrest sister and cousyne, we commit zow to the tuitioun of Almichtie God. Gevin undir oure Signet at oure toun of Sanct Johnstoun the 14 day of Junij, and of oure regime the xxiii. zeir 1565."

"Instructionis to oure weillbelovit and trustie Counsalour, Maister Johne Hay, Commendatore of Balmerinock, oure principall Maistir of Requeistis, and Ambassatour presentlie directit to oure derrest Sister and Cousyne the Quene of Ingland, datit at Sanct Johnstoun the 14 day of Junij 1565.

"IN the first, eftir oure maist hartie recommendationis maid to oure said gude sister, ze sall declair unto hir, that quhairas be the message of S^r Nicholace Throkmortoun, Knight, hir late Ambassatour heir, we hard, althoch besydis oure expectatioun, of hir greit discontentatioun and mislyking of oure choyse of the Erle of Ross to be oure husband, ane mater quhillk at the first apperit to ws maist strange and uncouth, thinkand rather to haif ressavit gude will and approbatioun of oure intentit purpois, principallie in consideratioun that be the space of ane haill zeir past, or thairby, be the declaratioun of Maister Randolph, hir agent in this oure Realme, schawin in maner of advyse, we haif allways undirstand, and takin it for hir meanyng, that in caiss we could be contentit to forbeir to deale with the Houses of France, Hispanzie, and Austriche, in marriage, and joyne with ony subject of this haill Ile, and speciallie of Ingland, that then she wald maist willinglie embrace and allow our doing.² And when as we, following the same hir

¹ [In a previous note this personage is designated Prior of Monymusk.—E.]

² This remark is most plain and certain.

advyse and counsall movit be it, and takand a greiter regaird of the same, nor of the advyses of ony oure uther nerrest freindis, quhilkis for hir respect we passit over, and disdaynit to use, had thus inclynit oure self to matche with ane of this Ile, hir awin subject and neir cousyne, thinkand thairby to haif fullie applesit hir: and be the contrar, undirstude hir said mislyking and discontentment, we culd not winder aneuch, finding oure sincere meanyng swa mistaking. And although befor the cumming of hir ambassatour we had fullie condescendit with oure self, and in our hart wer determinat to haif my said Lord of Ross in husband, and thairupoun had writtin to our freindis, oure haill Nobilitie agreing but variance to the purpos, as baith thai and we continew in the same mynd; zit having consideratioun of oure amytie, and regarding hir message declarit be hir said ambassatour, we war contentit to delay and suspend the finall accomplishment and solemnizatioun of oure marriage for a convenient seasoun, that thairby oure said gude sister nicht weill persave, that as heirtofor we haif alwayis usit hir advysses speciallie in this maist weichtie caus of oure marriage, and thinkis we haif done na utherwayis—esteme as sche plesis, but according to hir meanyng, sa bef—ding of it all occasounis of doubt, suspicion and mislyking, quhilk—samyn apperantlie could procede, nicht be gude—be composit and takin up, that by this fact the gude and—intelligence quhilk sa lang hes continewit, being confirmit and—establisst, all thingis tending to the rapture of it may be ex—cut off. And for this purpois, gif it may pleis oure said gude sister to send men of trust and gude credeit, sufficientlie auctorizit to—with utheris of the lyke trust and credeit to be sent be ws at the—ze sall offir on oure behalf, that oure commissaries sall meit at—day, as ze think gude and can aggre unto; and in cais ze be—condiscend in speciall upoun the names of thame to be sent be—name oure richt trustie and weillbelovit cousingis and counsallouris, James Erle of Murray, Lord Abirnethy; James Erle of Mortoun, Lord of Dalketh, Chancellor of Scotland; Alexander Erle of Glencarne, Lord of Kilmauris; Patrick Lord Ruthven; William Maitland of Lethingtoun, zeunger, Secreter; S^r Johne Bellenden of Auchnowle, Knight

Justice Clerk; and Sr Robert Carnagie of Kinnard, Knicht;¹ or ony four, thre, or twa of thame, upoun conditioun alwayis that the commissaris for the part of oure gude sister be semblabillie nominat, quhois namis ze sall requyre and bring with zow. And this ze sall declair at lenth with all gude and honest perswasionis, tending to this fyne and purpois.

“ *Item*, Ze sall declair unto oure said gude sister, how we can nocht but think verie strange and fremmit, the scharpe intertreating and handilling of oure deir cousyne the Lady Margarit Dowglas, Countes of Lennox, oure fadir sister, and can juge na uther, as we wait baith oure awin subjectis and the subjectis of Ingland estemis, bot that this hir evill and hard intreatinge is for oure caus, seing that the day immediatlie preceeding the cumming of the L. of Lethingtoun oure Secretar, and lait ambassatour toward oure said gude sister, it plesit hir to vesit the said Lady in her awin chalmer, doand hir thairthrow greit honoure, and schawand hir als greit humanitie in that point as of the Prince be the subject could be askit or luikit for; although that conceit continewit not lang, for evin on the morne, and ay sensyne, hir cais hes bene sic to oure knowledge that we pitie it;² and scho himself being oure said gude sisteris subject, and sa neir cousyne, we doubt not bot the same will be reparit, and scho relevit of hir present trouble; at leist, gif it wer for na uther caus, bot to maik the sowaris of rumoris disapoynted, quhilk thinkis and makis all men to beleive that hir hard intreating is for oure saik;³ quhilk opinioun, as we knaw to be vane and untrew, sa wald we——wysche——be hir libertie and restitutioun, it micht be cuttit off and deleit furth of memorie.

“ *Item*, Ze sall declair to oure said gude sister with quhat

¹ The Queen could not have made a worse choice than the first four of these Counsellors.

² Lethington arrived at the Court of England the 18th day of *April*. But Mr Stow says, the Countess of Lenox had been confined to her lodging in Whitehall from the 22d of *February*. Perhaps that Lady was under confinement the time Queen Elizabeth came to visit her, or Stow is in a mistake, as he sometimes is.

³ Whether it has been to testify a further displeasure against our Queen, or to shew an utter contempt of her intercession for my Lady Lenox, I shall not say; but in the abstracts we see that the same day Mr Hay arrived at the English Court, this Lady was committed prisoner in the Tower of London.

gude hart and affectioun oure cousyne the Earl of Lennox is myndit to do hir humbill service; and becaus his leving lyis bayth in Scotland and Ingland, and he thairthrow oblist and devinct to ws bayth, and bayth oure kingdomes; that thairfoir it may be the plesour and gude will of oure said derrest sister to graunt and giff full licence and libertie to the said Erle to pas and repas betwix this oure Realme and the Realme of Ingland, als oft as he thinkis gude, without prescriptioun, or ony certane tyme of returnyng or remaynyng. And in eais be that libertie it may perchance be suspectit, that he is abill to do or procure thingis in hurt or prejudice of oure said gude sister and hir Realme, it may be answerit on this behalf. That during his remayning in Scotland, his lady and youngast sone¹ sall remayne in Ingland as plegis for the loyaltie and gude behaviour of the said Erle to oure said gude sister, and towart hir Realme and liegis; swa that on the uther part his saidis lady and sone may remayne in Scotland quhen he is in Ingland."

Before Mr Hay could have been arrived at the English Court (which was on the 24th June)² the Queen of England had upon Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's home-coming, wrote separate letters to her cousin of Scotland, to the Earl of Lenox, and the Lord Darnly, all which were delivered to the proper persons by the hands of the English Resident: And not only will the principal things contained in these letters become obvious to the reader, by the perusing of that gentleman's returns to the Secretary of his own nation, but several other private transactions will likewise by that means come to our knowledge.

Letter from Mr Randolph to Sir William Cecill,³ 2d July.⁴

"BY thys tyme your Honour lookethe, I am sure, to here

¹ Charles, who succeeded to the estate and dignity of Earl of Lenox.

² [Chalmers says that Hay arrived in Westminster on the 22d of May, the very day on which Darnley's mother, the Countess of Lennox, was committed to the Tower. Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 138.—E.]

³ Cotton Library, Calig. B[ook] X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

⁴ In this and the following letter of the 4th July, the readers will find several points of our Scottish history touched at, which I should have been obliged otherwise to mention, but shall now satisfy myself with their being touched here: And of this my readers will be pleased to take notice.

more amplye then I had tyme to wryte in my laste letters, of the answer receaved upon the deliverance of the Queen's Majestie's letters to thys Queen, the Lord of Lenox, and the Lord Darlye. According to the commandement given me, the nyxt daye after their licence was expired I did putt their Lordships in remembrance thereof, which theie said theie knew verre well, but thoughte that the Queen's Majestie dyd not so shortlye looke for their retorne, seinge the Queen's Grace here had wrytten in their favours, and that theie trusted her Majestie wolde be good unto them, seinge nothinge was done by them, but that which myght be done withowte offence to the Queen's Majestie. I saide not much unto these answers, but left them for the tyme. The vti¹ of thys instante, fyndinge no lykelyhood of their retorne, I delivered to the Lord of Lenox and his sonne the Queen's Majesties letters in their severall lodgings, fyrste to the father, next to hys sonne. I founde the father greatlye astonysed, for that he thoughte no such charge sholde have byne geven unto hym before the embassadorr's (Mr John Hay) retorne at leaste, that the Queen's Majestie wolde be no more favorable, but so to deal wyth hym. After the readinge of the letter, and I desyeringe his Lordship's answer, he sayethe, that he could not gyve me the answer so shortlye, for that yt was to hym a matter of greate importance, and therfor he wolde tayke some advisement. I confessed that the matter was wayghtie, and that hys refusall myghte breede greate inconvenience, but yet I thoughte he had before hand taken sufficient advisement, seinge he knewe when the tyme of licement expired, and what daynger he myghte fawll into, yf he did not retorne before the same was ended, and therfor I belived that he had hys answer reddie, and that he neaded not tarrie farther advise. Other answer I coulde not gette, but what within an hower I sholde not fayle but to have ane answer. From hym I departe incontynente to the Lord Darlye, and he immediatlye goethe to the Queen. The Lord Darlye havinge reade the letter, sayethe to me these wordes—"Mr Randolphe, thys is verre sore and extreme, and what wolde you do, yf you were in my case?" To thys I gave hym a longe tyme

¹ So it is precisely in the original, and possibly it respects the 5th of June.

no answer, but desyred that I myghte knowe what hys Lordship wolde do. "I wyll do," sayethe he, "as you wolde do, yf you were in my case, and yet do I not mynde to retorne." I asked hym, yf I sholde reyte that for an answer? "No," sayethe he, "you shall gyve me some tyme to thinke upon the matter." I tolde hym, that I thoughte that he was at a poynte with hymself what he wolde do, and therfor as good to gyve that then, as after. "You shall not longe tarric for that (said he), and yet I cane not gyve that at thys tyme." In thys sorte I departe from hys Lordship, beinge in mynde not to delyver this Queen her letter from the Queen's Majestie untill the nexte daye; but heringe that she wolde ryde owte of the towne, and retorne no more for five or six dayes, I desyered to have licence to speake with her Grace before her departeur: I was receaved in straynger sorte then ever I was before, as a man newe and fyrste come into her presence, whome she had never scene. I delivered the Queen's Majesties letter, which the L. of Lidingtone dyd reade to her Grace. She requyred me to speake that which I had to saye: I told her, that the moste parte therof was contayned in that letter, which yf her Grace dyd performe at the Queen my mistres' requiste, I had no more to saye. At these wordes she smyled and saide—"I trowe my good sistar wyll otherwyse then so; and yf I wolde gyve them leave, I dowte what theie wolde do themselves." I saide, theie muste do that, or worce; howe sayethe I, theie runne into the Queen my mistres' displeasure, which what it is, your Grace self maye knowe. "Peradventure," sayethe she, "your mistres is of another mynde by thys tyme." I saide, that I dowted not, but as her Majestie sawe obedience in them beinge her subjects, so she wolde be good unto them. "I see no wyll in them," sayethe she, "to retorne." I saide, that I was sorrie that I sawe in them so greate tokens of disobedience; but desyered, that her Majestie wolde well advyse them, and consider what daunger myghte insue to herself and countrie, to reteyne anye such: And thus farre I wolde be bolde to saye unto her Grace in the Queen's Majestie my mistres' behalfe, that yf theie refused to retorne, and that her Grace comforted them in so doinge, that the Queen my mistres hathe bothe power, minde, and will to be revenged upon them, beinge her subjects, and also to lette

her Grace understande how greatlie she hathe fayled in freindschip, as by her late deads yt is manifeste, and that the world shall be wytnes howe juste cawse her Majestie hathe so to do. "I truste," sayethe she, "that the Queen your mistres be of another mynde by thys tyme: You knowe that I have sente thyther my embassadorr (Mr Hay); I have wrytten to the Queen my good systar to tayke these matters in good parte, and yf these letters had not byne dyspatched before hys arrivall, I thynke theie had not byne sente, and therfor I can gyve you no other answer of these letters for thys tyme, but I desyre to live in good amytie with the Queen my good systar; and I truste that she wyll be of another mynde bothe towards me and the Lord Lenox and his sonne, then when those letters were wrytten." Other answer of her Grace I coulde gette none; and to that self same effecte were the wordes bothe of the father and the sonne, with maynie excuses and greate protestations, that my Ladie's Grace¹ was ignorant of all their doings here, and most humblye desyered her Majestie that so she myghte be thoughte.

"These letters at the fyrste I am sure dyd mervileusly abashe them all; yt appered in her Grace's self by her wepinge, in the father by hys sadde countenance, in the sonne leaste; for as I am informed, and somewhat thereof hath appered in privat tawlke, that he dothe assure hymself that the daunger is not so greate as yt is made;² hys behavior is suche, that he is runne in open contempte of all men, even of those that wer hys cheif freinds. Whate shall become of hym I knowe not, but yt is greatly to be feared that he cane have no longe lyfe amongste thys people.³ The Queen herself beinge of better understandinge, seekethe to frame and fashion hym to the nateur of her subjects. No perswation can alter that which custome hath made old in hym: he is counted prowde, disdaynefull, and suspicious, which kynde of men this sayle (*soil*) of any other cane worse

¹ Viz. the Countess of Lenox, whom the Queen of England had now shut up in prison from displeasure against her husband and son.

² We have had already pretty much certainty that there was affectation in all this displeasure of the English Queen.

³ i. e. His life shall be taken away by means of those who cabal'd with Mr Randolph

bear. Towards her Grace's self, I never sawe men's myndes so greatly altered,¹ yea, I may saye almost to utter contempte of her behavioure, withowte the fear of God, regayrde to princelye majestie, or care that she ought to have over her subjects and countrie. I wrote that there was a Convention appoynted at St Johnstone the xxii. of thys instante, to which there were speciallye named these—the Duke, Earles Argile, Murraye, Morton, and Glencarne; onely Morton came, the other some taried at their howses, as the Duke and Earle of Murraye; other, as Argile and Glencarne, came to Edinbourge the xxiv. to the Convention² of the Protestants there. With thys her Grace is greatlie offended, and layethe the whole fawlte hereof to the Earle of Murraye and Argile, which bothe had come to St Johnstone, but that my Lord of Murraye was assuredlye advertysed, that yt was intended that he sholde have beyne slayne there. The manner sholde have byne thys;³ there is a quarrell betwene the Captaine of the Garde James Stewarde, and one Grant, servant to the Earle of Murraye, who gave the Captaine the bastinado. Stewarde was sent for, and advysed to take hys revenge at St Johnstone, whear he sholde have the assystance of the Lord Atholl's freinds and Lord of Lenox; and that my Lord of Murraye, ether takinge parte agaynste the Captaine, or being present to rydde them, sholde hymself be slayne. Of thys he being advertysed, he came not to the Courte, nor at any tyme intendethe;⁴ but when he shall be habil (i. e. able) to make hys parte good agaynste the greatest, hys soveraigne excepted. The Queen knowethe that thys is come to hys care. She excuse the yt in as good wordes as she cane, and sayde openlye one daye in the hearinge of divers, that she was lyttle beholdinge to some that wente abowte to put evill wyll

¹ There was no such thing found some short space after this, when her Majesty's subjects had an occasion given them to manifest their disaffection to her, had the thing really been as this Resident would represent it.

² Kirk Assembly.

³ Compare this account of the story, and that which is contained in the following letter, with Mr Buchanan's relation of it. Truth is always uniform, but falsehood ever puts on different faces.

⁴ May we not justly enough infer from this, that the disease which the Earl of Moray gave at this time for the reason of his not coming to Court has been but pretended?

betwene her and her brother.¹ She is nowe in suspicion of all men; her Courte keapte vere secrete; she dynethe seldome abroad as she was accustomed, but ether in her owne chamber, or with the Lord Darlye, whose lodgeinge joynethe unto hers, and a previe passage betwene them. The father lodgethe farther off, and keapethe howse with hys sonne, whose charge the Queen defrayethe; for monye of our owne we have not, and have extended our credit allreddie so farre as yt wyll streatche.² She is nowe offended with the moste parte that serve her. Her Maries cleane owte of credite, and tarrie nowe ever at home whearsoever she rydethe. Lidingtone is nowe rather to (at) Counsell more for neade of hys service then anye truste that she hath in hym;³ thys he knowethe and confessethe. The Lord Ruthen is enterde into the lyke suspicion. The Earle of Athall yet keapethe hys owne with the Queen, the father and the sonne. The Lord Robert, nowe Earle of Orknaye, mislyked of the Queen, but kept in by the Lord Darlye, whom he serves with hys cappe in hys hande, as also (doth) the Lord Fleming, which bothe were present when I spake to the Lord Darlye, and hearde all that was spoken.⁴ To Ruthven her Grace went upon Mundaye at nyghte to her supper, one myle from

¹ See the Acts of Privy-Council, 17th and 19th July.

² He means the Earl of Lenox and his son were in want of money.—["So much pride, such excess in vanities, so proud looks and despiteful words, and so poor a purse, I never heard of. My Lord of Lennox is now quite without money; he borrowed five hundred crowns of my Lord of Lethington, and hath scarcely enough now to pay for his horse meat; if he have no more from you, we shall see him presently put to his shifts. His men are bolder and saucier both with the Queen's self and many Noblemen, than ever I thought could have been borne; divers of them now resort to the mass, and glory in their doings. Such pride is noted in the father and the son, that there is almost no society or company amongst them."]—Randolph to Cecil, 3d May 1565. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 330.—E.]

³ Her Majesty had good reason to be displeased with him for returning into Scotland contrary to her order, which found him on the English road in company with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

⁴ The readers will easily observe the inaccuracy of Mr Buchanan, who refers the advertisement from the Queen of England to Lenox and Darnly, for their return into that kingdom, to have been made by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. That author likewise talks of another embassy into Scotland in this month of July preceding that by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton: all which, however, is nothing else but a complete contexture of incongruities and misrepresentations.

St Johnstone; there remayned that nyghte and the whole daye untyll after supper, when she tooke her horse accompanied with onlye these, the father and sonne, the Earle of Athall and Lord Ersken, David Riccio the Italian,¹ and my

¹ [David Riccio was a constant attendant on the Queen in his capacity of French Secretary. As this unfortunate foreigner has been occasionally mentioned previously, it may be here stated that he was born at Turin in Piedmont, where his father had earned a precarious subsistence as a musician, a profession in which the son was a great proficient. Sir James Melville describes him as a "merry fellow and a good musician." Riccio had followed the Piedmontese Ambassador into Scotland as one of his attendants, and as Mary was at the time collecting a band of musicians for her amusement, he attracted her notice. "Her Majesty," says Sir James Melville, "had three valets of her chamber who sung three parts, and wanted a bass to sing the fourth part; therefore they told her Majesty of this man, as one fit to make the fourth in consort." Sir James Melville's statements, however, are contradicted by Chalmers (*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 156), who has traced the source of Riccio's advancement to the more authentic authority of the Treasurer's Accounts, and who has shewn that he was first appointed a valet of the Queen's chamber. On the 8th of January 1561-2 the sum of L.50 was paid to Riccio as "virlet in the Queen's chalmer," on the 15th of April 1562 he was paid L.15 as "chalmer child," usher or page, and in 1564 four quarterly payments were made to him at the rate of L.80 per annum as "virlet of the Queen's chalmer." As to the Queen's musical establishment, the Treasurer's Books record that she had five *sungsters*, five *violaris*, or violin players, three lute players, trumpeters, and *lutebois*, yet the same Record omits the notice of Riccio as a musician of any kind, though he may have joined in the Queen's concerts. When her French Secretary Raulot was dismissed for improper conduct, Riccio was appointed to the situation. He appears to have been unpopular from the first, and his officious interferences soon rendered him an object of bitter hatred. Riccio was suspected to be a pensioner of the Pope, which by no means alleviated the odium towards him. He interfered with the administration of justice in the Court of Session, and by the presents he received to secure his influence he soon became very rich. His situation necessarily led him much into the private parties given by the Queen, who liked his polite and obsequious manners, his superficial talents, and his fidelity. Sir James Melville (*Memoirs*, p. 54, 55), relates a conversation he had with Riccio, who, he says, was not without his fears—"lamented his estate to me," says Sir James, "asking me one day my counsel how to behave himself." Sir James advised him to conduct himself with humility becoming his station, not to intermeddle with state-affairs, and always to give place to the Nobility, and when they are present to retire from the Queen. "And that he might desire the Queen to take that way," says Sir James, "I told him, for an example, how I had been in so great favour with the Elector Palatine, that he caused me to sit at his own table, and that he used frequently to confer with me in presence of his whole Court, whereat divers of them took great indignation against me; which, as soon as I perceived, I requested him to permit me

countrie-man borne in Kent, Fowler;¹ with these women, the Ladie Erskene,² the Ladie Seton,³ and Rawlie the French

to sit from his own table with the rest of his gentlemen, and no more to confer with me in their presence, but to call me by a page to his chamber when he had any service to command me, seeing otherwise he would prejudge himself and me, both by giving ground of discontent to his subjects in too much noticing a stranger, and so expose me to their prey; which I obtained, and that way my master was not hated, nor I any more envied. I advised him to take the like course, if he was resolved to act as a wise man." Riccio admitted the prudence of these suggestions, and said he would follow the advice recommended, but he afterwards told Sir James Melville that "the Queen would not suffer him, but would needs carry himself as formerly." Sir James relates a conversation he had with Mary respecting Riccio, advising her to be cautious as to the favour she evinced to one who was suspected to be a pensioner of the Pope, and to "alter her carriage" to him, reminding her of the unfortunate affair of Chatelard, her affability with whom had done her serious injury. Soon after Darnley's arrival, an extraordinary intimacy was formed between him and Riccio before he married the Queen. This is explained by Sir James Melville—"I know not how he came to fall into acquaintance with Rixio, but I found he also was his great friend at the Queen's hand, so that she took ay the longer the better liking of him, and at length determined to marry him." Darnley, in short, had a powerful advocate to promote his suit and secure the hand of Mary in the obsequious foreigner. As to Riccio's personal appearance, he was by no means prepossessing. We are expressly told that he was advanced in years and deformed. Buchanan says of him—"Non faciem cultus honestabat, sed facies cultum distruebat." This is corroborated by other writers, who speak of Riccio as an *old man* when he was employed at the Scottish Court. "Elle tratioit ordinairement," says Caussin, "avec David Riccio, son Secrétaire, *homme aage et prudent*, possédoit son oreille." Blackwood observes—"Etoit bien respecté de sa maitresse, *non par aucune beaute ou bonne grace qui fust en luy, estant homme assez aage, laid, moine et mal plaisant*, mais pour sa grande fideléte, sagasse, et prudence," &c.; and a fourth writer says of him—"Senex quidem, et corpore deformis." Buchanan's *Historia*, lib. xvii. Caussin, *apud* Jebb, vol. i. p. 37; Blackwood, *Martyre de Marie*, *apud* Idem, p. 202; Con, *Vita Mariæ*, *apud* Idem, p. 24.—E.]

¹ [This man was the confidential servant of the Earl of Lennox. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 328, 329.—E.]

² [Annabella Murray, daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, one of the fourteen gentlemen knighted by Lord Darnley on the 15th of May, when he was created Earl of Ross and Lord Ardmanach. She married John fifth Lord Erskine, afterwards sixth Earl of Mar of the name of Erskine, and Regent of Scotland.—E.]

³ [This "Ladie Seton" appears to have been Mary Pierryss, or Paris, a French lady, who came into Scotland with Mary of Guise, Queen Mary's mother, and was the second wife of George fourth Lord Seton. The only other Lady Seton at this time was Isabel daughter of Sir William Hamilton, who married George fifth Lord Seton, son and successor of the fourth Lord.—E.]

woman,¹ and went that nyghte to Donkell to a house of the Lord Atholl,² whear she remayneth four dayes ; from thens she wyll to St Johnstone agayne,³ and there tarrie one nyghte or two ; so to the Calander,⁴ a howse of the Lord of Livestens, to baptyze hys barne : farther of her Grace's designes I knowe not. Thus muche I thought fitte also to lette your Honour understande, that at her being at St Johnstone, she sente for sixtene of the cheifest merchants of Edenboure, to have borrowed of them in reddie monie, and theie sholde become suretie for so muche in wares as mounteth unto fyftie thousande ponds Scots, which is abowte twelve thousand ponds English.⁵ Thys theie have refused as a thinge paste their powers. Nowe she is travaillinge with the whole towne to be suretie unto certayne that she will have to do with in Flanders for the same somme. Theie are nowe in consultation what theie maye do, and have yet six dayes to gyve their answer.⁶ With Francee I knowe she hath a continual trafique, and seemethe to be loathe to loose their freindshipe. Sence the arrival of Malvasier,⁷ who pleased her but lyttle, there is come no man hyther from thens ether by see or lande. I perceave lyttle intelligens that she hath from any parte, savinge that I am borne in hande that my Lord of Lenox receaved latlye a letter from my Ladie's Grace, that all that the Queen's Majestie intended was but to make them afrayde, and willed them to ende that whearabowte theie went. I

¹ [Probably the wife of the dismissed French Secretary Raulet, whom Riccio succeeded.—E.]

² [The then Earl of Atholl was John Stewart, fourth Earl of that branch of the Stewart Family. He zealously promoted the match between Mary and Lord Darnley, who was his near relative. The mansion visited by the Queen at the old episcopal city of Dunkeld was the ancient one near the present Dunkeld House, the seat of the Dukes of Atholl.—E.]

³ [Perth.—E.]

⁴ [Calendar, near Falkirk, the patrimonial and family residence of the Lords Livingstone, afterwards Earls of Calendar and Linlithgow.—E.]

⁵ By this we are assured that the money of Scotland was at this time about one-fourth of the money of England.

⁶ See this story in Knox : But neither now, nor at any time hereafter, does this Resident adject the unlikely circumstances mentioned by that author.—[The story to which Bishop Keith alludes, whatever it was, is not to be found in Knox's " Historie," relating to the Queen's pecuniary affairs.—E.]

⁷ This seems not at all to agree with this gentleman's Memoirs.

am not hastie to beleve thys untyll I knowe farther, or see greater apparance of trothe, excepte Archibalde Grechame,¹ broughte anye suche letter, to whome I wyshe ther sholde be a good tye taken so longe as he remaynethe with you. My whole credit in thys Courte is utterlye decayed. Thys whole tyme that I have byne at St Johnstone, never man that keapte me compaignie but he was noted, and open defence geven to some not to have to do with me, which made some to wake at midnyghte that were wont to keape compaignie at nonedayes. I spake to her Grace but twise in twenty-four dayes that I was at St Johnstone: My Lord of Lenox and Lord Darlye never spake to me, nor I to them, or gave token or countenance of anye approvinge of their doyngs, farther then that your Honour hathe hearde of the deliverance of the letter. Your Honour hathe hearde the moste parte of that, which I am habil to wryte of the state of matters here, and here willinglye wolde mayke an ende both for your Honour's cawse and myne owne, savinge I knowe that your Honour lookethe to here somethynge of thys Convention at Edenbourge. Thys fyrste your Honour shall knowe, that the Assemblie was never greater of Protestants, never more constante or more erneste; I send your Honour the coppie of their whole doyngs, with the Supplication to the Queen.² The Commissioners are these, the Earle of Glancarne, the Larde of Cunninghamhed, the Larde of Spotte, the Larde of Graynge of Anguiss, the Larde of Dune, and Larde of Londie.³ These yesterday passed towards her Grace, and not looked for these three

¹ The reader will remember that Sir Nicholas Throckmorton wished that one Graham might not come to get knowledge of Queen Elizabeth's mind, though it be likely this Graham is another person.

² It is to be seen in Knox, and I shall have occasion to touch this in the Ecclesiastick Part.

³ This agrees not precisely with the names set down by Mr Knox.—[Knox's list consists of the Lairds of Cunninghamhead, Lundie, Spott, and Grange of Angus, and James Barron, Burgess of Edinburgh, for the "Broughs."—*Historie*, edit. 1732, p. 375. He consequently omits the Earl of Glencairn, and the Laird of Dun. Calderwood's list (*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, 1843, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 289) is the same. The parties mentioned by Randolph in the above letter were Alexander fifth Earl of Glencairn, William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, George Horne of Spott, William Durham of Grange, John Erskine of Dun, and Walter Lundie of Lundie.—E.]

or four days agayne. In the begynninge of this Assemblie, or one daye or two before, I receaved the Queen's Majestie's letters of the xiii. of June, and fyndinge in the same verre comfortable matter to the greate advancement of God's glorie and contynuaunce of amytie betwene the two Realmes,¹ I thoughte no tyme better then to communicat so muche as I thoughte good to the chieftest of those that were ther present; and bycawse I coulde not withowte greate suspicion be there myself, I wrote th' effecte of thys onlye to certayne of the beste, and beste to be trusted, that were ther assemblede, that in those two poyntes the Queen's Majestie wolde assyste them, and concur with them. To the answer wherof theie gave God prayse, and most humblye thanke her Majestie to have that care over them, and promes that never thyng shall be attempted by their consents that ether shall tende to the breache of amytie, or alteration of religion from that state that standethe, but to better yf yt maye be; which two poyntes beinge by her Majestie observed, theie dowte not but God wyll prosper her, and sende her manie happie and good dayes, which most humblye theie crave of hym to sende her Majestie that is everlastinge. With my Lord of Murraye I have latelie spoken; he is greved to see these extreme follyes in hys soveraign; he lamentethe the state of thys countrie that tendethe to utter ruine; he feareth that the Nobilitie shall be forced to assemble themselves together, to do her honour and reverence as theie are in deutie bounde, but so provyde for the State, that yt do not utterlye peryshe;² the whole countrie beinge now broken, and everie man lyvinge in suche dyscontentement as theie do. The Duke, the Earle of Argyle, and he, concur in this divyse; maynie other are lyke to joyne with them in the same: What wyll ensue, lette wyse men judge. I cane thynke but lyttle good to those that are the chiefe occasion of these greate alterations that latlye are come amongste us, which so greatlye apperethe in thys Queen from that which she was, as she is not knowen to be the same, and before God semythe to be nether in face,

¹ Exclusive no doubt of one of the Queens.

² This Lord is still on the reforming hand, except when he himself is at the helm; but he and this Resident did not find matters go at this time as they no doubt expected.

countenance, or majestie, that men thynke she hath a mislykinge of her owne doyngs, and before God so muche to be pyttied and lamented, that I never beholde her but I am greved in my harte, and sorrie to see in her, that which I do, farre from her accustomed manner of governmente of herself in all cases.

“Thynkinge here to have ended, and sorrie that I had thus longe troubled you, I receaved your Honour’s letter of the xxii. of thys instante, in the which yt pleased your Honour to advertyse me of the arrivall of Mr John Haye¹ there, and also what is become of my Ladie’s Grace, and some other matters in the same. I dowte not of Mr John Haye good usage,² as in my laste I wrote; but the lesse comforte that thys Queen be put in, that the Queen’s Majestie will allowe of her doyngs, the souner shall her Majestie brynge that to passe here that she moste desyrethe, and mo at her Majestie’s devotion then at thys tyme she hathe ther were never in Scotlande. Some that allreddie have hearde of my Ladie’s Grace imprisonment,³ lyke verre well thereof, and wyshe bothe father and sonne to keape her compaignie. The question hath byne asked me, Whether, yf theie were delyvered us into Barwick, we wolde receave them?⁴ I answerde, That we coule nor wolde not refuse our owne, in what sorte soever theie came unto us. Whatsoever the embassador reported from this Queen’s Grace here, yf those reports which I have hearde from such as I maye truste be trowe, and by some thyngs that myself I have hearde, you wyll fynde that the ende of all will be but

¹ [John Hay, Master of Requests, already mentioned as sent by Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.—E.]

² This serves to confirm the bad choice our Queen had been advised to make of this person.—[Mr Tytler, on the other hand, describes Hay as “a prudent and able man, a favourer of Moray, and a friend of Randolph.” *History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 342.—E.]

³ This is meant of my Lady Lenox; she was put in the Tower of London the 24th day of June, and from the 20th day of April before, or thereabout, had been confined in her own dwelling-house at Whitehall. Her Ladyship remained prisoner in the Tower of London until the news of her son’s murder, King Henry, reached the Queen of England, and then she was immediately released. See Stow, and Abstracts in the Appendix.

⁴ i. e. The cabal had projected to seize the Earl of Lenox and his son, and convey them privately to Berwick. See Melvil’s *Memoirs*, p. 56. Knox takes some small notice of this, and Buchanan would fain turn it into an idle and ridiculous story.

to gyve you wordes for good meaninge: I assure you I cane fynde none. Yt is no small comforte to all those that favour God's worde to hear that the Queen's Majestie is determined to advance the trewe religion, and to abasse the contrarie: I dowte not but in so doinge God wyll sende her Majestie maynie good dayes, and a prosperous reigne. Of her Majesties (of England) marriage we tawke more then we knowe for certayne. We hear bothe of Charles and the Frenche Kinge, but wyshe yt souner to the Earle of Leicester, yf hys happe be so good, for whose cawse yt wyll be here undertaken, that France and Scotlande shall never be so grette, that Englande shall neade to dowte their allyance. I thynke that I maye well excuse the L. of Lidington to be previe to the book that latlye was founde, for that I do believe he never sawe the other: but more I cane knowe of thys in tyme.

Thys nowe being all thinge that presentlye I have to wryte, savinge thys onlye that for wante I maye not in maynie neadfull matters do as I sholde, I must moone (*bemoan*) my case agayne to your Honour, and purposlye sende thys bearer, my servant, to brynge that with hym, that her Majestie thinkethe may releve my neade, and mayke me hable to contynue her service to her Majestie's Grace. I am forced in all places, savinge thys town, to keape howse; how largelye I muste spende, laye owte and gyve, whear nothyngc cane be come bye but with monie, or bye rewarde, your Honour cane judge; and in the more dowtfull and harder termes the Queens do stande, the more is my care, the greater is the charge;¹ howe good cawse I have also to looke unto myself, if her Majestie were otherwyse, I wolde I had had other cawse to thynke then I do. These thyngs maye move her Majestie by your good advise to be favorable in this my sute, which hathe dryven me to farther shyftes then I will troble your Honour with the rehersall.

² I have at other tymes wrytten in the favour of Grehame; to some I have wysshed some good ende of hys sute,² as yet

¹ i. e. He was obliged to lay out more money to get intelligence, and debauch the subjects of Scotland.—[Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 373. Buchanan's History, Translation, vol. ii. p. 302.—E.]

² In the Shatter'd MS. I see Archibald Graham recommended to the

I do, but fynde so lyttle favour amongste the Counsall of thys towne, of the which he ys one, in a sute that Clerke¹ hathe before them, that I cane but desyer that he maye hear therof, and knowe howe lyttle he deservethe. Moste humblye I take my leave. At Edenbourge the seconde of Julye at nyghte.

“ Your Honour’s bounden at commande,

“ THO. RANDOLPHE.”

*Another Letter from Mr Randolph to Secretary Cecil,
4th July.²*

“ MAY yt please your Honour : Of thys Queen’s journaye to Athall, and howe she was accompagnied thyther, your Honour hath hearde by my last letters of the seconde instante.

“ Upon Saturdaye her Grace came from thence³ to St Johnstone, whear worde was broughte her that the Earle of Argile and Earle of Murraye had assembled maynie of their frends and servantes, and intended to tayke her and the Lord Darlye rydinge betwene that towne and the Lord of Liveston’s howse,⁴ and to have carried the Queen’s Grace to St Andrews, and the Lord Darlye to Castell-Camell,⁵ a howse of the Earle of Argile.⁶ These tydings dyd put her

Queen of England by our Queen, to obtain redress of a ship and the loading that had been wrecked in the north parts of England.

¹ And in the same Shatter’d MS. there is likewise a recommendation from the Queen of England in favour of one William Clerk, who had his ship seized on the coast of Scotland.

² Cotton Library, Calig. B[ook] X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

³ The Queen has been to visit the Earl of Athole perhaps ; for her Majesty had been at St Johnstone (i. e. the town of Perth) sometime before Mr Randolph wrote his last letter. And Knox observes, that the Queen about this time went to Dunkeld, which place is in the bounds of Athole, and stands nine miles north of Perth.—[Dunkeld is fifteen English miles from Perth.—E.]

⁴ This is the Palace of Calendar, about eighteen miles west of Edinburgh.—[Calendar, which had never any pretensions to be a “ Palace,” and never was considered as such, is in the vicinity of Falkirk—a town twenty-four English miles from Edinburgh. Probably the word “ Palace” is a misprint for *Place*, a very common designation in Scotland of a family mansion.—E.]

⁵ [Castle-Campbell, now a solitary ruin, then the property of the Argyll Family, at the base of the Ochill Hills near Dollar.—E.]

⁶ This Castle is about eight miles east from Stirling, at the foot of the Ochil Hills, and about six miles west of the road the Queen was to pass.—

and her whole compaignie in greate feare, who thoughte St Johnstone no place of suretie for her to remayne in; but determinynge to keap her promes to the Lord of Liveston to be with hym upon Sondaye at nyghte, caused the Earle of Athall and Lord Rathen,¹ wyth other gentlemen thereabout, to sende for their forces wyth speede, whoe being assembled to the number of three hundred persons, she tooke her horse by fyve of the clocke in the morninge, and roode wyth greate speede, havinge onelye three women in her trayne,² untill she came to the Queen's Ferrie,³ passinge thorow a little towne called Kinrosse, harde by Loughlevin, whear my Lord of Murraye was in a howse in the Loughe⁴

[Scottish miles are again meant. Castle-Campbell is at least twelve English miles from Stirling, and nearly nine English miles west of the road mentioned.—E.]

¹ [Lord Ruthven. See previous notes in this volume.—E.]

² This gentleman in the former letter was pleased to say, that the Queen's Maies went now no where with her; and yet here, notwithstanding the suddenness and celerity of her journey, her Majesty has three women about her; which Mr Randolph seems to think somewhat rare, by his adjecting the word *only*. It is a good thing to write consistently.

³ [An ancient and principal passage across the Frith of Forth, about nine miles from Edinburgh, so called, because St Margaret, the canonized Queen of Malcolm Canmore, always crossed at it in her progresses to and from Dunfermline to Edinburgh. The Frith contracts at this place to a mile and a quarter. The royal burgh of Queensferry is on the south or Linlithgowshire side.—E.]

⁴ This Lord's mother was married to Robert Douglas, Laird of Lochlevin.—[The Earl of Moray's mother, Margaret, second daughter of John fourth Lord Erskine, and properly fifth Earl of Mar of the Family of Erskine, married Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven. It is stated in a subsequent note by the Editor that this imperious dame scrupled not to assert that she had been secretly married to James V., and that her son was not only legitimate, but the rightful heir to the Crown. The "house in the Loughe" mentioned by Randolph in the letter, in which Moray lay sick of the "fluxes," was Lochleven Castle, the ruins of which are still an object of interest as connected with Queen Mary, on one of the islands in Lochleven. The "little towne called Kinrosse" is pleasantly situated in the county and parish of its name on the north-western shore of Lochleven, 27 miles from Edinburgh, and is a place of considerable antiquity, on the road from Edinburgh to Perth. The island on which Lochleven Castle is situated is no great distance from the promontory near the town on which is the splendid mansion of Kinross House, erected by Sir William Bruce, architect to Charles II., and said to have been originally intended as a residence for the Duke of York, afterwards James II., in the event of the threatened Bill of Exclusion having been passed against his succession. The site of Kinross House was anciently occupied by a castle of great strength.—E.]

with hys mother and the Larde of Loughlevin his brother, with a smale number of hys servantes, having byne sycke of a flux¹ not four dayes before, intending for all that to have mette the Queen, and to have convoide her as farre as her Grace wolde gyve hym leave; but heringe that her Grace was paste that towne three or foure houres before that he looked for her, he remayned still, and went not forth. My Lord of Argile also being at Camell, not above ten myles from Loughlevin,² heringe that the Queen wolde come that waye, and that my Lord of Murray was ther, thynkinge that the Queen wolde dyne ther as she was accustomed, determined to meete her at that place the tyme of her dynner; and because divers brutes were sprede of hym, that he was the cheif setter forward of all matters moved at the Convention³ at Edenbourge, he purposed to have spoken unto her somewhat of that matter, and to have moved her Grace to accepte their doinges in goode parte, as thyngs tendinge to the honour of God, beneficiall to herself, and that which sholde breede a quietnes to her realme to have the same of one accorde. Two howers before thys Lord came to that towne, the Queen was paste, and yet he thoughte that he wolde dyne wyth the Earl of Murraye, and so returned home. To augment thys suspicion,⁴ the

¹ [Knox pretends that the Earl of Moray, when on his way to Perth to attend the Convention summoned by the Queen, "chanced to fall sick of the fluxes in Lochleven, where he remained till the Quene came forth of Saint Johnstone to Edinburgh, where the General Assembly of the whole Church of Scotland was held the 24th of July."—*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 374.—E.]

² [Castle-Campbell is at least nearly fifteen English miles from the county town of Kinross.—E.]

³ By this is meant the Assembly of the Kirk, already referred to from Knox and Spottiswood.—[Dignified with the title of the "General Assembly." See Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 374, 375; but, notwithstanding Bishop Keith's reference, Archbishop Spottiswoode, in the ordinary editions of his "History," omits this "General Assembly," narrating at some length the proceedings of the "General Assembly held in December 1564," and then proceeding directly to the murder of David Rizzio.—E.]

⁴ The case was certainly suspicious enough, when all circumstances related here are considered, as likewise what a convenient piece of ground for such an affair that was through which the Queen was to ride. Knox and Buchanan do both take notice of such a thing having been rumour'd abroad, and Melvil speaks of it as an attempt that had failed. *Note*, the Path of Dron, mentioned by Mr Knox, where the Queen was

Duke was at Keneel¹ in her verre waye ; and thoughte of hym ther was nothyng reported, yet becauſe ſhe had hearde that theſe three above named had made a bande to defende each other, and to aſſiſte eache other in lawfull cauſes,² ſhe took the more feare. Alwayes ſhe came fauſely to her journeyes ende to the Calander (the Lord Livesteſen's houſe), and ſawe in her whole waye not ſix perſons mo then thoſe whiche ſhe broughte wyth her for her defence.³

to have been ſurprized, is a very ſteep and wild paſs about three miles ſouth of Perth. And Beath, mentioned by Sir James Melvil, is a tract of cumbersome ground ſome few miles north of the Queen's Ferry. The Hill of Beath, about three [five Engliſh] miles eaſt of the town of Duffermline, was the place where our *Congregationners* firſt aſſembled to form themſelves into a ſociety, and from that remarkable event has by ſome been termed *Congregation-hill*.

¹ [Kinniel Houſe, near Borrowſtounneſs in Linlithgowſhire.—E.]

² They were certainly rebellious cauſes.

³ Though this were true, yet it is nothing at all to the purpoſe, ſince now the Queen had a force about her, which theſe Lords were not able to cope with, and ſo would not think it adviſable for themſelves to peep out. —[The plot referred to in the above letter was connected after the Reforming party, led by the Earls of Argyll and Moray, had not only made repeated attempts to overawe Mary, but actually debated among themſelves whether they ought to murder Darnley, or ſeize him and his father, and deliver them up to Elizabeth, whoſe aſſiſtance they were earneſtly ſoliciting. We have already ſeen that Mary had ſummoned a Convention of the Nobility to be held at Perth on the 22d of June, chiefly to procure their conſent to her union with Darnley, and to fix the day of the marriage. But a moſt formidable and ſerious oppoſition was organized to annihilate all the Queen's projects. Moray, on the pretence that Darnley had formed a conſpiracy againſt his life, reſuſed to proceed to Perth ; and Argyll, in concert with John Knox, appointed the "General Aſſembly" of the Reforming preachers to be held at Edinburgh on the 25th of June, which accordingly met on that day. (Booke of the Univerſall Kirk of Scotland, printed for the BASSATYSE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1839, Part I. p. 57). John Knox was to convene a meeting of the citizens of Edinburgh in the fields in the ſuburbs, at which officers were to be choſen, and the weapons of all who were ſuppoſed favourable to the Queen's marriage to Darnley were to be ſeized. Meanwhile, on the 26th of June, the Queen left Ruthven in the vicinity of Perth, and rode to Dunkeld, where ſhe remained till the 30th, on which day ſhe returned, and ſlept at Perth. Mary ſeems to have continued at Perth till the 4th of July. The plot for ſeizing Mary, conſigning her to Lochleven Caſtle, and ſending Lennox and Darnley to Berwick as priſoners to Queen Elizabeth, now demands our attention. Moray had furniſhed Lochleven Caſtle with ammunition and artillery, and was himſelf in that inſulated ſtronghold pretending that he was ſeized with the "fluxes." The Earl of Rothes and a party of armed followers were poſted at a locality no great diſtance from Lochleven called the *Powrie Well*. Moray, Argyll, and

“ The Lorde Ersken¹ beinge in thys compaignie passinge with the Queen harde by Loughlevin, sent in worde to knowe what my Lord was doynge, and howe yt came to passe that the Queen had taken so greate feare of hym, that she

Lord Boyd, had previously held a secret meeting in Lochleven Castle, and had sent a confidential servant to Randolph to ascertain if Elizabeth would secure Lennox and Darnley as prisoners at Berwick ; and his encouraging reply was, as stated in his letter to Cecil of the 2d of July, (p. 307), that his royal mistress would receive her own subjects “ in what sort soever they came.” Argyll stationed himself at his own residence of Castle-Campbell near Dollar, and the Duke of Chatelherault, who was also in the plot, was purposely at his seat of Kinnell near Borrowstonness, little more than eight miles west of Queensferry. The plan was to seize Mary either in the wild narrow defile called the *Pass of Dron*, a few miles from Perth, or near the parish church of Beath, on her route from Perth by Queensferry to Callander to be present at the baptism of Lord Livingstone’s child ; and so confident were the parties of success, that even Cecil in his Diary, under date 7th July 1565, says—“ A rumour spread that the Queen of Scots should have been taken by the Lords Argyll and Moray.” If we are to credit Randolph, the project in the first instance was to carry Mary to St Andrews, and Darnley to Castle-Campbell ; but the ultimate agreement was that Moray was to murder Darnley, seize the government, and imprison the Queen for life in Lochleven.—(Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 349, 350). When Mary returned from Dunkeld to Perth on the 30th of June, she obtained some information of the plot, and she immediately directed the Earl of Atholl and Lord Ruthven to convey her to Callander House near Falkirk on the following morning. The Queen mounted her horse at five in the morning, and left Perth accompanied by Atholl, Ruthven, and an escort of three hundred horse. Without drawing bridle she passed through Kinross, close to Lochleven, before Moray had the least suspicion of her movements, reached North Queensferry, which is thirty-three miles from Perth, crossed the Frith of Forth, and proceeded directly to Lord Livingstone’s house of Callander, where she arrived in safety, eluding every ambuscade of her enemies for her seizure and imprisonment. Two hours after the Queen passed Argyll appeared at Kinross, but her activity and resolution defeated the conspirators, whose treacherous enterprize, when it became known, created the utmost indignation against them. Mary remained at Callander House till the 4th of July, on which evening she returned by way of Linlithgow to Edinburgh. Moray, Argyll, and Boyd, deliberated in Lochleven Castle on the 1st of July, and, relying on Elizabeth’s protection, they resolved to take arms, appear in open rebellion, and solicit the English Queen for the sum of £3000, which she had engaged to pay. They were unable, however, to proceed to their ulterior measures, as the Queen had not only sent Maitland of Lethington and the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden to order Argyll, who was about to attack Atholl, to disband his forces, but had prohibited a gathering of Moray’s adherents in Glasgow under pain of treason, and summoned her subjects to meet her instantly in arms at Edinburgh with fifteen days’ provision, that she might proceed against his enemies.—E.

¹ This Lord was uncle to the Earl of Moray.

passed in so great haste, and rayseed the whole countrie to accompagnie her. The messenger founde hym scarce owte of hys bedde; but hearinge of thys message, he wrytethe to my Lord to this effecte—That he marvelled muche of her Grace's haste and feare, whear no daynger was, or anie matter intended: the cawse of hys beinge ther was the fluxes that took hym att Edenbourge, which stayed hym from comynge to St Johnstone, and that he left Edenbourge for the suspicioe the Queen his soveraigne had of the Earle of Argile and hym: but seing other in Courte had farther credite then he, he was contente that her Grace sholde take triall of bothe; but was sorrie to see her so suspicious over those whom she oughte beste to truste, and so far ledde by her newe counsellors, to her owne dyshonour, and ruen of her countrie.¹

* Thys letter was delivered to the Lord Ersken, whoe dyd shewe yt unto the Queen. Nothyng can wyepe awaye the dowte she hathe of these two Lords. Yt is not a lyttle augmented bothe by the Lord of Lenox and hys sonne, whome yf I did not now meetlye welle knowe by their government and usage in thys Courte, I coulde scarcelye believe that ther wer so lyttle wysdome as ther is, and so fewe wayes to wyne men's hearts as I see, foundinge on such termes as theie do, beloved of fewe, counted by manye the plague and destruction of thys countrie, and hated allmost mortallye by the greateste parte.

* The brute of thys greate haste and feare the Queen was in is runne throughe the whole countrie; divers brutes and tales there are of yt, but your honour shall fynd thys the moste certane and trewe.

* As vehementlye as the Queen dothe suspect these two Earles in speciall, and generallye all other of the religion, so do theie consider in what daynger theie stand themselves, nether hable, but wythe greate dyfficultie, to avoide her displeasure, nor willinge to see the Realme thus guyled, religion overthrown, and the amytie broken betwene the two countries, for the mayntenance of which theie have

¹ The readers will judge for themselves if all this be genuine, when they examine it by other parts of this gentleman's letters and this Lord's behaviour. They will likewise observe if in this discourse there be any foundation to credit a plot against this Earl.

geven their faythes, and promesed upon their honours rather to yeelde their lyves then to give their consentes. Divers consultations have byne had hereupon howe these two poyntes may be preserved, their soveraigne being knowne unto them to be enemye unto them bothe, and theie not offend in deutie towards her. Divers humble letters have byne wrytten unto her, divers godlye advyses gevin her, the daynger laid before her eyes,¹ not so muche as her povertie left undeclared, yf anye thyng be attempted agaynste her ether from abroode or at home. These thynges move her Grace nothyng, nor yet are her intents so quietly keapte within herself but theie burste owte, and come so farre abroode that theie increase much mischief and malin daylie more and more. The Lords are determined to stande upon their garde, not to come to the Courte bot in suche sorte as theie may be habil to debate and defende themselves; yt is resolved that whensoever anye thyng be attempted ether agaynste the religion or amytie, that theie wyll withstande yt wyth all their forces. Yf yt chance that anye one of them do fawle into their ennemies' hands, that he shall be relieved by the reste.

“That her intente is to prosecute those that are of the religion, besyds that which she speaketh openlye, besyds that which theie do knowe of her devyses and counsellis, of her messages, of her offers and promesses, she hath yesterdaye made full declaration of her mynde, and sente unto thys towne from Calander, the Lord of Livenston's house, a commandement to the Provost and Baylies,² to apprehend and comytte unto straye ward four of the chief Protestants, men of greates honestie and of good welthe, viz.—Alexander Guthrie,³ Alexander Clerk,⁴ Gilbert Lauder, and

¹ One is at a loss to find out the ground of all this noise. Was it only because the Queen had a mind to marry the Lord Darnly, a young man without experience, without friends, without money, in a word, without every thing that could render him terrible? What if the Queen had been to marry in the Houses of France, Spain, or Austria, as had been projected?

² [The Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1565 was Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, who held the office till 1568. See “Historical Sketch of the Municipal Constitution of the City of Edinburgh,” 12mo. 1826.—E.]

³ He was Town Clerk.

⁴ [This gentleman was probably Alexander Clerk, or Clark, of Balbirnie, who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1579 to 1583.—E.]

Andrew Selatter.¹ Thys hathe moved suche an alarom in thys towne, and the Queen havinge sente for suche of her friends that she trustethe beste, that theie thynke yt shall be putte unto the sack. Theie begyne allreddie to mayke away wyth their chief wares, and nowe do wyshe that their chief substance were in the towne of Barwicke, whear theie thynke to have yt surer then in the Castell of Edenbourge, where yt was laste in the tyme of comber.

¹ The very names and number of these persons are likewise in Mr Knox. But it is strange to find this Resident and that author appear to be in the least surprised at what the Queen did herein, since Knox expressly tells, that "the brethren assembled themselves at St Leonard's Crag (a hill adjacent to Edinburgh), where they concluded they would defend themselves; and for the same purpose elected eight persons of the most able, two of every quarter, to see that the brethren should be ready armed." Yet when this comes to the Queen's ears, Mr Knox is in a sort of astonishment how her Majesty, "without any trial, or perfect notice taken in the case, could send to the Provost and Baillies of Edinburgh, commanding them to take and apprehend the four above named persons, and put them in prison in the Castle." A sober person should, methinks, rather wonder how her Majesty could do otherwise. The English Resident is now one of the faction, which makes him talk at the rate we now find him doing in this and other his letters, and by which he discovereth some things that private historians could not easily come to the knowledge of. Archbishop Spottiswoode speaking of this story, saith, "In the town of Edinburgh the people (at the instigation of Knox, &c.) began to mutiny, and assembling themselves in companies on St Leonard's Crag, took counsel to put their burgesses in arms, to assign them Captains, and to disarm such of the townsmen as they knew to be affected to the marriage. The Queen highly incensed at this mutiny, did hasten to the town, at whose coming the heads of the faction, Andrew Selatter, &c. fled forth of the town, and were denounced rebels." In all this account there is not a word of an order having been sent by the Queen to the Magistrates of Edinburgh before her Majesty's own arrival; and I can assure my readers, that neither is there the least appearance of it in the Register of the Town-Council, which could not, I suppose, have been omitted, had any such thing been. All other messages from the Queen are faithfully recorded in that Register. And here I cannot but take occasion to offer my opinion concerning Archbishop Spottiswoode, viz. that wherein he narrates matters different from Knox or Buchanan, he is generally in the right. It is that good Prelate's fault to have taken things upon too much trust of these two writers.—[The affair of St Leonard's Crag is subsequently noticed. The passages cited by Bishop Keith in the above note occur in Knox's "Historie," Edin. edit. 1732, p. 377, and Archbishop Spottiswoode's History, London edit. 1677, p. 190, and the affair is mentioned as having happened in 1564. The Archbishop enumerates William Harlaw, Michael Rhind, James Inglis, and James Young, as implicated in the projected "mutiny." Harlaw, or Harlow, had been a tailor in the Canongate, and was at the time one of the Reformed preachers.—E.]

“ These thyngs beinge knowne unto the two Earles, theie thynke yt tyme to putte to that remedie theie cane ; theie depende greatlie upon the comforte received from the Queen’s Majestie our soveraigne ; theie knowe that yt as well tendethe to her Majestie’s suerty for that which may insue, as the present hurt and daynger to themselves. Wherefore, havinge considered her Majestie’s godlye and friendlye offer to concurre wyth them, and to assyste them, and seinge that ther is nothyng purposed herein, but the grounde thereof is good, honorable, and deutfull, as from subjects that see how farre their soveraigne is ledd by unadvised persons, from her deutie to God, and care that she ought to have of the weal of her countrie, theie most humblye desyer performance of her Majestie’s promes ; and for signification of their myndes in their owne names and names of their bretherne, have sente unto me thys letter inclosed, by a gentleman of good truste, whose credite is thys in effect— That the said Earles do see their soveraigne determined to overthrowe religion receaved,¹ sore bente agaynste those that desyer the amytie to be continued. Which two poynts theie are bound in conscience to mayntayne and defende, and therefore are determined to withstande all attemptes that shall be made agaynste the same, and are resolved to provyde for their soveraigne’s estate, better then at thys tyme she cane consyder thereof herself.² Wherefore their Lordships become moste humbil suiters unto the Queen’s Majestie, that yt wyll please her Highnes to give unto them some suche supporte as may be habil to bear them owte to that ende ; and bycawse theie do knowe and consyder howe before tyme her Majestie hathe byne greatlye burdayned to their supporte and releef agaynste the Frenchemen, and in manye other just actions synce that tyme, to the comforte of manye a godlye persone, they are loothe so farre to charge her Majestie as to desyer anye number of men to take their parte ; but that yt wyll onlye please her Majestie to healpe

¹ Her Majesty had never yet done one overt deed to make them see this. But it is now as of old, *Quoties vis fallere plerum, finge Deum.*

² Some of our own historians, and Mr Cambrden of England likewise, inform us, that these questions were now tosted among the faction, viz. “ Whether a Papist might be lawfully made their King ? Whether the Queen was at liberty to make choice of a husband to herself ? and, Whether the States ought not to appoint a husband to her ? ”

them with some suche somes of monie as for a tyme may be habil to keape themselves together,¹ be yt that theie determine to be whearsoever the Queen's self is, or to remayne in Edenbourge, whear theie maye beste putte order unto all those grievous enormities that latlye are spronge up amongstest them, to the utter confusion of the whole State, and full resolution taken by their adversaries, that yf in thys theie cane prevaile, theie wyll leave nothyng unattempted that maye moleste or troble their neighbour,² Lest also that theie sholde seem to desyre anie suche some as the greatnes therefore sholde seem a burdayne to her Majestie, and altogether that waye discourage her from doynge any thyng at all, theie thynke that yf her Majestie wolde bestowe onlye three thousand lib. sterlinge for thys year, excepte some forraigne force be broughte in agaynst them, that theie shall be habil verre well to bringe thys Reaulme in reste and quietnes, and the same to be bestowed as theie wyll answer to God to be most apparante to the weale of bothe the countrys, and furtherance of those two principall cawses, in the defence of which theie promes and have sworne to adventour their boddies, and spende their goods to the uttermost of their powers.

— Thys beinge their requeste and credite commytted unto that gentleman, and their desyer to me to advertyse the same to her Majestie wyth diligence, I thoughte yt my deutie so to do, and wythall knowinge howe neadfull yt is that some suche healp were geven unto them nowe in due tyme, I thoughte yt my parte thus farre to testifie, that I do certaynlye beleve that yt wyll torne to no small advantage in the ende, and muche to her Majestie's honour, whoe hathe nowe the full divotion of the chiefeste and beste of thys nation;³ the sooner also, for that these troubles are growne

¹ The Earl of Moray is succoured by the Earl of Bedford, as it were without the Queen's privity, to avoid suspicion and blame of the Scots Queen; and the factious Lords of Scotland desire no succour of men, but money this year from the Queen of England. Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*.—[London, folio, 1709, vol. i. p. 475.—E.]

² How came they to know this resolution? We have not seen to this day any proper voucher of it produced.

³ It did not appear so by the event. But one thing appears evident, that all Queen Mary's enemies have been animated and supported by Queen Elizabeth.

by suche over whome her Majestie had power to have retayned, who are nowe the cawses of these troubles and ennemies unto her Majestie's self."

Here follow some Reasons he gives to Cecill for writing so particularly.

" Yt is wysshed that the Lord Hume,¹ who is the onlye man of the Marche or Lodian² that she trustethe in to serve her torne, sholde wyth some showe of the Queen's Majestie's displeasure towards thys Queen, be sometymes keapte wakeinge, that some suche good fellows were lette loose that would take of his gear to gyve him occasion to keape home.³

" Yt is saide that the Earle Bothwell and Lord Seton⁴ are sente for, which hathe appearance of trothe, and are knowne to be feet men to serve in thys worlde. Yt is wysshed, if theie do arryve in Englande, that theie myghte be putte in good suerty for a tyme, passe their tyme ther. I am requyred agayne to move your Honour to do in the favour of the Master of Marshall,⁵ ether that he retorne upon bande, or be putte unto some ransome that he is habil to paye, not to his utter undoynge. In thys tyme suche a man of whome my Lord of Murraye dothe assure himself,⁶ were evle spared. Yt were no matter thoughe the

¹ [Alexander fifth Lord Home. See the first note, p. 96 of this volume. After the failure of the plot concerted by the Earls of Moray and Argyll to seize Queen Mary and Lord Darnley on the road from Perth to Lord Livingstone's house near Falkirk, an attempt was made by Moray and his associates to excite the people to insurrection. They also implored the aid of Elizabeth, and besought her to let loose "some strapping Elliots" upon Lord Home, Mary's great partizan, on the marches towards Lothian, who might keep his hands full at home.—Randolph to Cecil, 4th July 1565. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 351.—E.]

² [Properly the Merse, now Berwickshire, and East Lothian, or Haddingtonshire.—E.]

³ Here is added on the margin by Mr Randolph himself—"That thirty or forty of the strapin Elliots myght be hired to oblige him to take care of his corn and cattle."

⁴ [Moray and his associates were anxious to impress upon Elizabeth that the Earl of Bothwell was the mortal enemy of the English influence. Lord Seton appears to have been on intimate terms with Bothwell.—E.]

⁵ This gentleman (called Lord Keith by Mr Holinshed) had been taken prisoner at an inroad in the year 1558.—See Holinshed.

⁶ My Lady Moray was sister to the Master of Marischal.

Lord Graye¹ were called upon for hys entrie, thoughe he be lyttle good worthe.

Shortlye ther shall be wyth your Honour a Prelate of thys countrie, the yonge Byshope of Domblane;² I wolde wyshe that his budgets myghte be ryffed by some good slyghte or other. Yt is made me beleve that he postethe to Rome,³ thoughe he wolde seem it were onlye to Paris to the scholes, whear he hathe byne longe tyme before, as also in Joalye (*sic*) latelye arryved from Lovayne, from that good compaignie ther. I have recommended hym to Barwicke, by the L. of Lidington's requeste in the Queen's name; he lykethe so well his owne crafte, that he wyll not be called a Byshope, but ys named a man of credite. Thus muche I thoughte to wryte, that your Honour sholde not be unwarned of hym.

Yt is tolde me, that ther are greate somes of monie promised from the Hollye Father to thys Queen, and that thys messenger is sente thyther; I knowe not what to beleve hereof. Ther arryved a shippe owte of Flanders upon Mundaye laste; in the same ther was a servante of the Earle of Lenox, who broughte wyth hym a cheste, in the which, by the weighte, yt was suspected that ther was some good store of monie.⁴ Yf that waye theie have ether meanes or credite, yt is so muche the worse.

¹ Lord Gray had been likewise some short time after made a prisoner, and was allowed, as would seem, to come home on his parole.—Holinshed.

² [William Chisholm succeeded his uncle, also called William Chisholm, in the Bishopric of Dunblane. He was appointed coadjutor by Pope Pius IV. in 1561. His uncle died in 1564. Bishop Chisholm was much employed by the Queen Mary in public affairs. See Bishop Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, 4to. 1755, p. 105, 106.—E.]

³ Our historians talk of our Queen's having sent William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, to Rome, in order to obtain a dispensation from the Pope for her marrying the Lord Darnley, her Majesty and that Nobleman being related together within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by the Church of Rome for contracting of marriage.—[The statement is correct that Bishop Chisholm was sent to Rome to obtain a dispensation from the Pope, and he arrived with it about the end of July.—E.]

⁴ Sir James Melvil, Mem. p. 37, speaks of 8000 crowns in gold having been sent from the Pope to the Queen; but the ship was broken on the coast of England, and the Earl of Northumberland, though a friend to our Queen, yet would not deliver the money. Such is the power of money with some people.

“Thys nyghte the Queen comethe to thys towne, some saye to lodge in the Castell, which I do not beleve, but rather whear she was wonte at Hollyrood-howse.—¹ At Edenboure fourth of Julye 1565.

“Your Honour’s bounden at commande,

“THO. RANDOLPHE.”

Another letter was wrote by this English minister to the Secretary of that Crown on the 6th day of this same month of July, which, however, has not come to our hand: But we can easily guess at the contents of it, not only by the two preceeding ones, but much better by the Queen of England’s answer to this her servant, dated the 10th of this month, and which upon sundry accounts will merit to have a place here.

The Queen of England’s Letter to Mr Randolph,
10th July 1565.²

“WE have seen your letters of the 4th and 6th to our Secretary, by which we perceive, to our no small grief, appearance of troubles to arise in that Realm, if God do not prevent the same, as we hope He will; for we cannot judge that the Lords there with whom the Queen is mov’d to be offended have any intention but to the weal, surety, and honour of their sovereign, for otherwise we would not endure to allow them. If you shall find occasion to speak to the Queen, you may say, That we, hearing by common report, and especially by means of such as come in her name to the French ambassador, how troublesome the estate of that Realm begins to be, did pity the same, and wills her to understand our compassion and advice in two things: 1.³ That her late dealings with us in her marriage without her knowledge and consent. 2. Lest at this time she should think us willing to intermeddle in her affairs without her own contentation. And if these two causes had

¹ Here followeth a paragraph which concludes the letter, begging money for himself, as usual, and a great many compliments to Cecil, but contains nothing material: only he adviseth to send the Earl of Bedford to Berwick, to countenance and support the Lords of the religion.

² Calig. B[ook] X. F. 309. a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

³ The transcriber here has not done his duty well.

not been, you may assure her we would have (shewn) presently some demonstration of our sisterly good will toward her. Nevertheless we wish her to be well advised how to suffer her Council and Nobility to nourish any suspicion one of the other, for thereof can come no good to her Realm, nor comfort to herself; and if she shall attempt any innovation, whereby her Nobility, that have truly and faithfully served her, should perceive trouble growing to the State, and peril to themselves, she is evil counselled, and the causes of the offence given us cannot but give her warning. And let the Nobility know what advice we willed you to give their sovereign. And for their part, as long as they intend nothing but the maintaining of religion to the honour of God, and consequently uphold their sovereign's estate, and, *thirdly*, nourish the amity between the two Realms, we shall allow them, and so esteem of them, as in all just and honourable causes they shall find us to regard their state and continuance. And because such great matters are fittest to be remedied in the beginning before they take root, we wish they make the Queen understand plainly the sincerity of their intentions, and to offer unto her all manner of service by counsel and advice, so as they may be safe from the intrappings of their private adversaries laid. In this sort, if they with one accord proceed dutifully and plainly, it is to be hoped that you will open her eyes to behold their sincerity and honour. In the mean time, whilst she is advised by their adversaries, we wish the Nobility forbear to resort in companies together, that they be not ensnared in any one place by their adversaries.

“ Finally, you shall assure them, that they doing their duty, if they shall by malice or practice be forced to any inconveniency, they shall not find lack in us to regard them in their truth. And as we shall hear further from you, so shall we impart more of our mind to be delivered unto them in this cause.

“ And where it seemeth by your writing, that the Nobility are determined to keep great forces for their defence, we are of opinion that thereby the Queen takes most suspicion of their intentions, and by this they shall be driven to greater charges than is expedient: upon which you shall do well,

as you see cause, to give them advice, neither to make greater expence than their security makes necessary ; nor less, which may bring danger——.”¹

Our Queen being now returned from her progress to her Palace of Holyroodhouse, began immediately (and not without good reason) to examine into the late tumultuous assembling of the citizens of Edinburgh. We learn from Knox and the agent of England, that the disturbance had solely arisen from the Lords and Kirk ministers, opposers of the Queen’s marriage, who, knowing well that nothing could so effectually thwart the same as to raise false surmises concerning religion, as if her marriage with the Lord Darnley would enable the Queen to overturn the *new*, and introduce the *ancient* form (though it be no easy matter to see what mighty accession of power for effectuating this could accresce to her Majesty by that marriage). In this view, however, they had exhibited certain Articles to the Queen, but she chusing to defer her answer for the space of eight days, until she should return to Edinburgh, and have a great many of the Nobility present : “ at the same time, says Mr Knox, as the General Assembly was holden in Edinburgh, the brethren perceiving the Papists to brag, and trouble like to be, they assembled themselves at St Leonard’s Crag,”² (&c.

¹ This letter is an evident demonstration of the English Queen’s fomenting and supporting a rebellion in Scotland : and the rebellious Lords knew too well what they had to trust to.

² Some people well acquainted in the places about Edinburgh have told me, that the hill above the Caltoun (now called the Caltoun Crag) was formerly called St Leonard’s Crag. But there was likewise a chapel, called by the name of St Leonard’s, on the side of the rising ground, on the top whereof the wall of the King’s Park on the west side now runs, and where is a stair over the wall giving entry into the Park. A little north from this stair, and on the rising ground, there may be seen at this day a large stone or two, with some hollow cutting sunk into the ground, which seems to have pertained to St Leonard’s Chapel.—[Bishop Keith’s informants were decidedly in error when they asserted that the Calton Hill at Edinburgh was at any time designated *St Leonard’s Crag*s. The Calton Hill, which is in the parish of South Leith, was known as the *Caldton*, or *Wester Restalrig*, and in Slezer’s “*Theatrum Scotiæ*” it is also termed *Neil’s Crag*s, the origin of which is unknown. The Town-Council of Edinburgh purchased the superiority of the *Caldton*, or *Wester Restalrig*, from John fifth Lord Balmerino, half brother of the unfortunate Arthur sixth Lord, and in 1725 obtained a charter from George I. erecting the

as before-mentioned). This unwarrantable and illegal proceeding of the brethren having been told to the Queen while she was at Calendar,¹ she was very much displeased, and at

street under the west precipices of the Hill, called the *Loe* or *Loigh Calton* into a burgh of barony.—See Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, 1753, p. 212. The proper locality called *St Leonard's Hill* is on the south side of the city, immediately in front of Salisbury Crags, and is now included in the suburbs. St Leonard's Hill overlooks that portion of the royal parks of Holyrood which slopes down to the base of Salisbury Crags, and forms a deep, retired, and verdant valley. The street called St Leonard's Hill is a part of the ancient road of the *Dumbiedykes*, immortalized by Sir Walter Scott. Here stood St Leonard's Chapel and Hospital, the few vestiges of which mentioned by Bishop Keith have entirely disappeared. Maitland (History of Edinburgh, folio, 1753, p. 176) states that in his time were to be seen the font and holy water stone, and that the site of the chapel was a cemetery for those who committed suicide. According to Knox's narrative (Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 377), the Queen, while at Callander House, was informed "by word and letters of false brethren, that a great part of the Protestants of Edinburgh had lately convened upon St Leonard's Crags, and there maid a conspiratioun against her; and chosen for the same purpois certane captanes to govern the rest." Whatever Knox may assert about the "word and letters" of "false brethren," by which he insinuates that no such gathering at St Leonard's Crags was contemplated, it is certain that the Earl of Glencairn came to Edinburgh to concert an insurrection, but the Queen's unexpected arrival frustrated this attempt to overawe her.—E.]

¹ Both Randolph and Knox inform us, that the Queen's visit in this place was to witness the baptism of a child of the Lord Livingston, and Mr Knox further acquaints us that here her Majesty gave her presence to the Protestant sermon. But this condescension he seems to vilify in these words—*which was verbeem'd*, says he, *a great matter*, and no doubt it was so. And had that person behaved himself with more discretion, her Majesty might have been gained over to relish other things, but his impolished and insolent *manner* kept her still at a distance. He had told a little before, that the Queen declared she desired nothing more than the *satisfying* of men's consciences: and that albeit she was not persuaded in any religion but in that wherein she was brought up, yet she promised that she would hear conference and disputation in the Scriptures, and public preaching from the mouth of Mr Erskine of Dun, the Superintendent of Angus and Mearns, for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness: Therefore Knox makes the remark, that "she would only hear preaching out of the mouth of such as pleased her Majesty." It was truly no wonder that her Majesty disliked to hear sermon from a passionate, furious, and turbulent spirit; and it is not improbable that upon this very account Mr Knox bore her so much malice, as he vomits out on all occasions,—[It appears from Knox's narrative (Historie, p. 377), that the baptism of Lord Livingston's child was performed according to the then newly devised form, and "when the minister made the sermone, and exhortation concerning baptism, the

her return to Edinburgh she caused a day, 26th of the month, be set for their trial; and finding that they had thought fit to abscond, she then ordered them to be denounced rebels, their goods seized, &c. Yet such was her Majesty's clemency, that all these persons were afterwards pardoned at the intercession of the magistrates of the town. The Queen likewise, to quiet the minds of such of her subjects as might be deceived by false and cunning suggestions, was pleased to emit on the 12th of July a publick Proclamation, which in the Records of the Privy-Council is termed *An Assurance towart the State of Religion*. The reader may see it in our account of Church Affairs.

The time of the Parliament now drawing on, it would appear the Queen and Council have not judged the present unsettled situation a proper season for entering upon business, and therefore we see the following Act of Privy-Council.—

“ Apud Edinburgh, 13th Julij, Anno Dom. 1565.

“ *SEDERUNT—Matthæus Comes de Levenox; Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancell.; Joannes Dominus Erskine; Richardus Maitland de Lethingtoun, Miles, Custos Secreti Sigilli; Secretarius, Computorum Rotulator, Thesaurarius, Clericus Justiciarie, Advocatus.*

“ *THE* quhilk day the Quenis Majestie, with aviss of the Lordis of Secreit Counsel, for certane ressonabill caussis and occasiounis presentlie occurring and moving, hir Hienes hes thought guid that the Parlement quhilk of befoir at Striviling was appointed to the 20th day of July instant, be continewit quhill the 1st day of September nixt tocum; thairfoir ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis, shereffis in that pairt, to pass to the mercat-croces of all burrowis of this Realme, and thair be opin proclamatioun in hir Hienes name and autorite mak publicatioun of the said continewation of the said Parlement to the day above writtin; and to command all hir Hienes, the Estaitis quhilkis of befoir wer warnit to compeir the said 20th day of July, to compeir and

Quene's Majesty came in the end and said to the Lord Livingstoun—
‘That she would schew him that favour that she had not done to ony uther before.’—E.]

keip the said 1st day of September, sicklyke as gif thai ressavit special preceptis and commandmentis to that effect.

“ R. M.”

And that her Majesty might provide against any sudden disturbance from the discontented Lords, she set forth on the 15th of the month a Proclamation by advice of her Council, certifying all her good subjects, that as they had not hitherto, so should they not for the time to come be molested in the matter of religion; and then “ charging all and sindrie hir subjectis, als weill to burgh as to land, regaltie as roaltie, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of weir, address them to cume to hir Majestie, furneist to remane for the space of fifteen dayis efter thair cuming, for attending and awayting upon hir Hienes: and that with all possible dilligence eftir thai be chargit thairto, under the pane to be reput and haldin assistaris and partakaris with the disobedientis, and to be punist thairfoir accordingle.”

Besides this Proclamation, we have by Mr Knox the copy of a letter, which he says “ she wrote to a great number of Lords, Barons, gentlemen, and others that were nearest, in Fife, Angus, Lothian, Merse, Teviotdale, Perth, Linlithgow, Clidsdale, and others, to resort to her,” in this form of words hereafter following:—¹

“ TRUSTY FREIND, we greet you weill. We ar greived indeid be the evill brute spread amongst our liegis, as that we sould have molested ony man in the using of his religioun and conscience freely, a thing which never entred into our minds; yit since we pereceave the too easy beleving such reports hath maid thame careles, and so we think it becomes us to be carefull for the safety and preservatioun of our State; quhairfoir we pray you most affectionately, that with all possible haist, eftir the receipt of this our letter, you, with your kindred, freinds, and whole force, weill furnished with armes for warre, be provided for fifteen days efter your coming, addres you to come to us, to wait and attend upoun us, according to our expectatioun and trust in you, as you will

¹ [Bishop Keith describes this letter—“ The Queen writes also to some conspicuous persons, inviting them to come to her assistance.”—E.]

thairby declare the good affectioun you bear to the maintenance of our authority, and will do us thairin acceptable service. Subscribed with our hand at Edinburgh, the 17th day July 1565."

I should be loath to say that this is not a genuine letter by the Queen, yet because there is another original subscribed by her Majesty's own hand the very day before, preserved in a very valuable repository, I may expect the readers will easily pardon the inserting it likewise here.

"TRAIST FRIEND,¹ we grete you wele. The evill brute and untrew reporte spred be seditious personis amangis oure liegis hes grevit ws indeid, as that we suld have intentit to impede or moleste any oure subjectis in the using of thair religioun and conscience frelie; a thing quhilk nevir enterit in oure mynde, althought owir mony hes creditit the report: And to the effect that this vane brute may evanshe, as a thing without ground or occasioun, we have directit oure letteris, to signifie oure syncere meaning to all oure guid subjectis; and with that we thought it verie mete and convenient to wryte unto you in particular, as ane of quhome we nevir had bot guid opinioun, and saw your reddy guid will to shue, quhen the occasioun of our commoun wele requirit. The effect is to certifie and assuir you, that as hiddertillis ye haif nevir persauit ws meyn stop, stay, or molestation to you, or any utheris, in using your religioun and conscience,² sa may ye luik for the same oure guid will and clemencie in tyme coming; for nixt God behauing you as a guid subject to ws, think na uthir bot to fynd ws a fauorable and beneficial maistres and prince, willing to contene you in guid peas and quietnes, but innovatioun or alteratioun in any sorte: And in caiss ye sal be desirit to ryss and concur with any man, as under pretenss of this vane bruitis, we pray you to estay, and tak na hede to thame that sa sal desire you. As alswa, gif it sal happin ws to haue to do,

¹ Cotton Library, Calig. B. X. F. 316, an Original. But it is pasted on another leaf of paper, so that the direction on the back is not to be seen.

² Nor indeed do we perceive that the Queen had given any molestation to the form of religion she found in the kingdom at her return, or had pressed people, contrary to their inclinations, to follow her form.

owthir with oure auld inymeis, or utherwys, we luk to be certifit be you presentlie in write with the berair, quhat we may lippin for at youre handis. Farther of oure mynd we haue declarit to the berair heirop — quhom to ye sal gif firme credite. Subscriuit with oure hand at Edinburgh the 16th day of Julij 1565.

“ MARIE R.”

To this letter, all written by her Majesty's own hand, is annexed the following postscript in a different hand, but still *above* the Queen's subscription.

“ Eftir thir our lettre writtin, and quhen we hopit that sa suddanlie we neidit not to — zou, we ar consernit to gif zow warnins, and pray zow effectuasly, that ze with zowr comin freindis, and force ze may mak, addres zow to com to ws, bodin in feir of weir, and providit for 15 dayis eftir zowr cumine, to attend and await upon ws. For seing armour takin on already without occasion, it war little aneweh that we luikit to oure awn suretie and estait. This we doubt not bot ze will do according to oure lippinnins with all possible haist.

“ We have not a commodious berare reddy, and zit wald not delay it — for it will sufficientlie aneweh declair oure meanyngs.”

Precisely about this time the heads of the disaffected faction were so emboldened as to convene within the town of Stirling, “pretending to consult” (says Mr Knox)¹ “what should be done as well in religion as for the commonwealth.” This author likewise tells of a message sent by the Queen to those at Stirling, and the answer which they returned to her Majesty. However, that gentleman labours under some mistake here: for that there was a message sent by the Queen at this time, and by the very persons he mentions, is indeed fact; but then the message was neither to *all* the persons, nor was the import of the message the *same* as he mentions. This author informs the world likewise of several particulars relating to the Earl of Moray, especially that

¹ [Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 378.—E.]

that Lord was under a necessity not to repair to the Queen's presence, for fear of his life from those that were about her Majestie. But of all these things the reader will obtain a more authentick and satisfactory account from the original Records which I have put into the Appendix.

What private concert the rebel Lords at Stirling had agreed upon among themselves to carry on their factious courses, cannot be known: However, there is one principal point of their consultations that comes to light by the following letter, which was drawn up by them, and transmitted to the Queen of England.

Letter from the factious Lords at Stirling, to the Queen of England, 18th July.¹

“MAY it pleis your Majeste. Understanding be your Hynes ambassador Sir Nycholas Throgmorton, and als be the information of your Majestie's servand Maister Randolphe, heir Resident upon your Hynes' affayres, the guid and gratius mynd your Majestie with continuance beareth to the meynenance of the gospell, and ws that profess the same in this Realme, hes thought expedient to latt your Majestie understand, that laitly we haif presentit the Quenis Majestie our Souverayne certayne Articlis² for establishing of the Evangell in this our natyve cuntrey. Quhair of as the answer is long delayt, so hoip we but verray slenderly thair of: And heirfor, fearing that our ernist sute, joynd with the profession of the said religion, sall at length procur unto ws no guid will of our souverayne without our meriting; and seing it hayth pleased God to bliss your Majestie with that most honorable tytyle to be under God Protectrix most special of the professors of the religion, and haifing in our selfs experimentit maist amply your Majestie's gracios liberalite in that behalf, can do non uther in tyme of necessity nor with thankfull hartis for the past, and good hope for that sall cum, haif recours to your Majestie's accustumyt bonte, with the quhilk your Hyness embrased ws, and mony utheris in ours and thairis most extremitie: Quhilk we remember with thankfulness, and sall quhill thro our lyiffis

¹ Cotton Library, Calig. B[ook]. X. fol. 317, an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

² These Articles may be seen in our Ecclesiastical Part.

(quhilks God by your Majestie hayth redemyt) sall indur : And for that cause wald be most sorowful to se ony occasion fall out that mycht trouble the mutual amyte of thir two nations, so happelye and upon so guid ground foundit and begonn by your Hynes liberalite, to your immortal prayse. And for this cause hes comandit this berar to declarat our guid willis and bent affectionne to the preservationne thair of to your Majestie. to quhom thairfor it may pleis your Majestie gif credite on our behalf as to our selfs.¹ And thus after our maist humyll commendation of our service unto your Majestie, we comit your Hynes to the protection of God. From Striueling the xviii. of July 1565.

“ Your Majestie’s most humyll Seruiteuris,

“ JAMES HAMYLTON.²

“ AR. ARGILL.

“ JAMES STEWART.”³

To the preceeding letter it is very proper to add these that follow from the English Resident, as contributing still more light into our affairs.

*Letter from Mr Randolph to Secretary Cecil, 19th July.*⁴

“ MAYE yt please your Honour : Thys daye the 18th I receaved the Queen’s Majestie’s letter, and one from your Honour of the 11th, contayninge matter to be declared to thys Queen from the Queen’s Majestie, and certayne of the Lords whoe are not nowe present, and therfore requirethe some conveniente tyme. In the meane season your Honour shall understande that I lacke no matter to wryte of, for all thyngs do growe here daylie worce and worce, and are lyke to come unto a mervillous extremitie.

“ Thys Queen at thys tyme hathe assembled all her forces,

¹ This probably has been Mr Nicholas Elphinston, who, Knox says, was sent into England by these Lords, and returned with a very liberal allowance of money.—[Knox says that Mr Nicholas Elphinstone brought from England £10,000 sterling. Historie, p. 380.—E.]

² This was the usual subscription of the Duke of Chastellerault’s eldest son, the Earl of Arran ; yet most probably this has been the Duke himself, seeing his Grace was at Stirling now among the discontented Lords, but not his son, for he was at this time prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh.

³ i. e. The Earl of Moray.

⁴ Cotton Library, Calig. B[ook] X. f. 318, an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

so maynie as she is hable to mayke to be here in thys towne thys daye, to morrowe, and the nexte, to what ende yt is not yet knowne, farther then by coniectour, either to assayle the Duke, the Earles of Argile and Moray, with their complices, or to keape them present in thys towne untill her mariage be paste, whych shall be openlye solemnized wythowte fayle upon Sondaye come eight dayes. One other occasion there is, of the whych somewhat your Honour hathe hearde in my other letters, that four honeste men¹ of thys towne were accused of unlawfull assemblye in thys towne; theie are warned to a daye of lawe the 26th of thys instant: She feareth that theie shall be so mayntayned in their juste action by the Protestants, that she shall not have her wyll of them, excepte she be stronger then the towne and those that will assyste them; and therefore she intendethe to keape the greater force abowte her, untill she see what wyll become of that matter. Here are presentlie the Lord Home wyth hys whole force, the Larde of Cesforde wyth as manyie as he cane brynge; dyvers other of the Marche and Lodian are comynge, so are there from all parts as maynie as wyll at thys tyme obey her commandemente. Another occasion of thys assemblye was, that the Lords of the Congregation assembled themselves yesterdaye at Sterlinge, onlye to conclude what their parts sholde be, yf the Queen wolde overthrowe religion, or do anye maner of acte that myghte gyve occasion to the Queen's Majestie our sovereigne to mayke warre agaynste thys countrie.² She takinge an opinion that theie wolde have come to thys towne, and assayled her here, sente for them wyth the greater expedition, as by thys letter inclosed³ your Honour maye perceave, in the whych your Honour maye note in what credit the Queen's Majestie our Mistres is yet in, that she cane be

¹ They might perhaps be *honest* in one sense, but surely they were *dishonest* in another.

² The readers do see the result of that day's meeting by their letter to the Queen of England. This Resident perhaps thinks that the adjection of the word *only* may serve to justify the assembling of those *Congregation-Lords* (a term we have not heard of for some time bypast), though every body may easily perceive that there could not be a more treasonable assembling together; for it was surely to conclude no less than that they would rise in arms for the Queen of England against their own sovereign.

³ This has been a copy of our Queen's letter just now already set down, as we may perceive by the expression, our old enemies.

contente to use thys terme (our olde ennemies), besyds maynie other unhonorable words, that I knowe that she hathe openlye spoken wythin those few dayes, latlyer then my laste letters were wrytten to your Honour; and playnlie I muste saye, that she is so muche altered from that majestie that I have seen in her, from that modestie that I have wondered at to be in her, that she is not nowe countede by her owne subjects to be the woman she was.¹ I here yet nether from herself, nor anye other from her, anye motion or lykelyhoode that she desyerethe anye accorde, but trustethe that for those that are here she shall gyde as she wyll; for the reste, she wyll attende her good fortune. She is so poore at thys present that reddie monie she hathe verie lyttle, credit none at all, frendshippe wyth fewe; bothe she and her howsbonde (so I maye nowe well call hym) so hygheharted, that yet theie thynk themselves equall to the greatest, and hable in tyme to attayne unto whatsoever theie desyer.² To let the worlde understande that the Lords have some other pretence in their head then religion, she seemethe now willinge to mayke no alteration of religion,³ and thinkethe that waye to mayke the Protestants the more odious to the reste, but she herself alterethe nothyng of her accustomed sorte; and bycawse my Lord Darlye wolde seeme to be indifferente, sometyme he goeth wyth the Queen to the masse, and these two laste dayes hathe byne at the sermons. Yt is also sayde that she wyll be mariede wyth a minister, whearof I do dowte.⁴ Some thynke that thoughe the brute be, that she shall be mariede upon Sondaye come eight dayes, that yt shall yet be prevented, and be upon Sondaye nexte, before thys compaignie that are here do breake: However that yt be, your Honour shall have as spedie knowledge as I cane gyve you. Alwayes your Honour maye see how her promes is keapte to the

¹ And yet it appeared very shortly that the Queen was well obeyed by the most part of her subjects—and that she had no difficulty to drive the factious Lords out of the kingdom.

² And therein they were not mistaken.

³ Nor do I remember that ever she made any. This gentleman would fain attribute the name *Protestants* to the rebel Lords only, in distinction from the other professors of the new Establishment.

⁴ [Randolph's speculations on Queen Mary's marriage, as recording the gossip of the time, are amusing when contrasted with the real facts. — E.]

Queen's Majestie, that her mariage sholde be dyfferred for three monethes, and nothyng done therein before the Parlemeute, whych nowe is proroged to the fyrste of September. These matters are thus guyddid by my Lord of Lenox, Lord Roberte, and David. Other counsell she takethe lyttle of anye subiecte she hathe. Mr John Hays is sente to declare unto my Lord Moray, the Lord of Lenox and Lord Darlye's good wyll towards hym, and to purge them that ever anye of them were consentinge to have slayne hym, as yt was reported, and in that quarrell the Lord Lenox dothe offer to fyghte wyth whomesoever dare avoue yt. Whether yt be trewe or not, that the Lord Graye sholde have done yt, I knowe not; but by hym I here saye yt is come forth.¹ Shortlye we shall knowe to what ende these forces are assembled, and the Castall furnyshed wyth all the munition that theie are hable to provyde, whither yt is thoughte that the Queen wyll retire herself, yf she fynde herself not hable to mayke parte agaynste suche as are of the contraire partie. My Lord of Lenox upon Sundaye laste sholde have gone to Glascowe, and was in a reddynes; but

¹ This plot against the Earl of Moray's life, which Mr Buchanan is at some pains to expatiate upon, in order to evade the other against the Queen, the Lords Lenox and Darnly, we see by this Resident's account of it is suspended on very uncertain reports. Yet Buchanan, who was not in Scotland at the time, can narrate all the particulars very precisely. But it seems this author, in all his narrative of these times, took up with Machiavel's maxim—*Calumniare audacter aliquid adhucbit*; i. e. *A bold calumny will leave some blemish*.—[Buchanan's History, Translation, 1752, vol. ii. p. 300, 301. Bishop Keith is in error when he states that Buchanan "*was not in Scotland at the time*." On the 26th of June 1565, the second day of the General Assembly "conveenit at Edinburgh in the Nether Tolbuith," Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, John Craig, Christopher Goodman, John Row, Robert Pont, and *George Buchanan*, were "ordained to convene and sit from six till eight in the morning to decide questions proponed or to be proponed, and to report their decision to the Assemblies, that the samen may be insert in the Register." *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Part I. p. 60, 61, 62. Erskine of Dun, Christopher Goodman, and *George Buchanan*, were appointed on the 27th of June to consider a complaint for the want of a preacher at the parish church of Kilmany in Fife. *Ibid.* p. 62. Buchanan appears to have returned from the Continent to Scotland in 1560, and in 1562 he became classical tutor to Queen Mary, who gave the pension of £500 Scots from the revenues of Crossraguel Abbey for his services. In 1566 the Earl of Moray appointed him Principal of St Leonard's College in the University of St Andrews, and in the following year he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly.—E.]

that purpose was altered, bycawse th'other were to maynie in his waye, and indeade wolde have foughte yf he had holde on his jorney. In thys state and case hathe he brought hymself, the Queen, and the whole countrie, that before hys comynge was in good reste and quietnes, she as well beloved and obeyed of her sbjectes as in deutie theie were bounde, whear now yt wyll grieve any man to hear the sorowefull lamentation that ys made of all those that are wyse, godlye, and honeste, as well the Papysts as other.¹ My Lord of Lenox hathe put from hym all the Engleshemmen that served hym. My Lord Darlye retayneth the onlye six, of which four are willinge to leave hym; and I thynke yt maye stande with the Queen's Majestie's pleasure that I sholde warne them so to do. I wrote of a cheste that came owte of Flanders; yt was onlye apparell belonginge to one Nycolson, a taylor that dwelte in Paule's Church-Yarde, that slewe a man, as I hear, four yeares paste, and seekethe nowe to serve the Lord Darlye. By a shippe that arrived yesterdaye from Flanders, I understande that ther are two Engleshemmen, in apparenee gentlemen, comynge in another shippe hyther; what I maye saye to anye suche, or requere to be done unto them, yf theie come, I wolde be gladde to be advertysed from your Honour. The letter to revoke the Erle Bothewell was subscribed within these three dayes; whether yt shall passe by sea or lande, I know not. Thys Frencheman that came laste, broughte letters in the favour of the Princee of Condie from the Cardinall, but theie doe beare an olde date. Some thynke, for all that, that the Cardinall is well enoughe pleased wyth thys man (Lord Darnly), in hope that thys Queen maye in tyme the easlyar come by that which she desyerethe in Englande. Your Honour cane not be ignorante but what frendeschiipe soever the Frenche and Spanyshe ambassadors (in England) maye shewe, by waye of intelligence, or praetyse wyth thys Queen, she shall laeke nothyng that lyethe in their powers. Of all these thyngs your Honour cane have farther consyderation then I neade to put your Honour in remembrance; as also of the late motion made unto the Queen's Majestie by the Lords here for their supporte, whearof theie look from tyme to tyme

¹ A repetition still of the former false cant.

to receave some good answer. That which I wrote laste somewhat dowinglie to the Queen's Majestie, I cane nowe moste certaynlye assure her Majestie that yt was so. Thus, leavinge farther to trouble your Honour for thys tyme, I tayke my leave. At Edenbourge the 19th of Julye 1565.

"I have receaved a cypher from your Honour, and will use yt hereafter as I fynde occasion.

"Your Honour's bounden at commande,

"THO. RANDOLPHE."

On the back is written with another hand—

"Randolph to Sir W. Cecill, 19th July 1565.

"The Queen of Scotts commandeth all her freinds to be be at Edinborough the 20th, to assault Argill and Moray, or secure herself. Bothwell is sent for. Moray's pretence was, he should have bene murthered: the Queen denieth it by proclamation."

*Another Letter from Mr Randolph to Sir William Cecill,
21st July.¹*

"YESTERDAY I had audience of the Queen, to whom I delivered my message word by word, as I had it in writing: To which she said, 'That she took in very good part the Queen my Mistress's advice; but for these,' saith she, 'whom your mistress calls my best subjects, I can't esteem them so, nor so do they deserve to be accounted of, that will not do my commands: and therefore my good sister ought not to be offended, though I do that against them they deserve.'² I pray'd her Majestie to consider from what head that advice came, that she should be so altered in mind and will towards such as of all others had most truly, obediently, and faithfully served her; and so long as she esteemed of them as they are worthy, and gave unto

¹ Lawyers' Library, from Cotton Library, Calig. B. X. an Original.—[Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, from the MSS. Cotton Library in the British Museum.—E.]

² We may perceive by this, that the Queen of England has interceded for the Earl of Moray, &c. to preserve them still in favour. Probably this audience had proceeded upon the Queen of England's letter of the 10th instant.

them such credit as appertains to men of their place and calling, her estate was quiet, her country in repose, her subjects well ruled; where now, if speedy remedy be not taken, and good advice followed in time, her whole country was like to be ruined, her Noblemen's blood shed, and perchance her own person fall into some danger.¹ 'For all these things,' saith she, 'I have remedy enough, and will never esteem them good subjects that will do so far contrary to my will as they do.' I reasoned no farther with her Grace, but took my leave.

"Where your Honour requires me to write plainly the answer of the Lord Lenox and Lord Darnly to the letters given them by me for their return into England, it may please your Honour to understand that yesterday I went to them both again, first to the father, and then to the son. I did put them in mind of the charge given unto them from the Queen's Majestie, upon their allegiance to return; and because their former answer was uncertain, I desired that I might have a resolute and plain answer, which the father gave in this sort:—'You know,' saith he, 'in what case my wife is,² and how hardly she is dealt with upon no desert; you have also, I am sure, heard that would not please her Majestie to accept my letters of humble submission, wherefore I think it too dangerous for me to venture to return: and, therefore, I pray you to take this for an answer, that I mind not to come again into England, except I can stand more assured of the Queen's Majestie's favour than yet I do; notwithstanding I shall be ready to serve her, as now lawfully I may.' To these words I said not much, saying one word of the Queen's Majestie's clemency, and advice unto him to give such counsel that the apparent troubles and present danger might soon be taken away; for greater hazard did hang thereupon than he did presently see. From him I went to my Lord Darnly, and spake in like manner, who in other sort answered me than in duty became him, or with patience, I could hear: 'I do now

¹ These are the threatenings of what the party intended.

² "The 22d April, the Lady Margaret Countess of Lenox was commanded (says How) to keep her chamber at the Whitehall, where she remained till the 22d of June, and then conveyed by Sir Francis Knolls and the Guard to the Tower of London by water."

saith he, ‘ acknowledge no other duty or obedience but to the Queen here, whom I serve and honour ; and seeing that the other, your mistress, is so envious of my good fortune, I doubt not but she may have need of me, as you shall know within a few days : Wherefore to return I intend not, I find myself very well where I am, and so purpose to keep me ; and this shall be for your answer.’ To this I said, That he had much forgotten his duty, to esteem so lightly such a Princess as my sovereign is ; and in such despitelike words to reject and give over the bond of duty, was neither discreetly spoken of him, nor otherwise to be answered of me, than that I hoped to see the wreck and overthrow of as many as were of the same mind with him. And so turning my back to him, without reverence or farewell, I went away.

“ For the other part of the Queen’s Majestie’s letter, which is for advice to be given to the Lords that now are in displeasure,¹ I have not found many to whom I would communicate, but to some I have, that like it very well, and intend (as I may) to signify the same to the rest.² For our present state it standeth thus : Her Grace in all appearance determined the overthrow of these Noblemen, and in special the Earl of Moray, to whom she sent yesterday with one of her Advocates a charge, that upon pain of treason he repair towards her with diligence,³ and manifest unto her and her Council the authors of the bruit that he allegeth, and now all Scotland speaketh, that the Lord of Lenox and Lord Darnly should consent unto his death, if he had come to St Johnston. The answer is not yet returned ; but I am assured she must do as she saith, that is, fetch him before he come.

“ Of the certainty of her marriage, your Honour shall know by this ticket inclosed, the very copy of that which was delivered to the minister to be proclaimed on Sunday, which is to-morrow. Though in the banns he be titled Duke of Albany, I hear nothing of his creation.⁴ Her whole forces

¹ This is still a farther ground to believe that Queen Elizabeth’s letter of the 10th has been the occasion of this audience.

² It seems the Resident has not found things so forward as he expected.

³ This gentleman does not precisely narrate the truth here. The readers will see the whole matter in the Appendix.

⁴ We shall however quickly see that the Queen gave him this same title in two publick Proclamations. And Knox likewise narrates, that on

are in town, and many other come daily;¹ what part they will take, I know not. They Lords have retired to their own houses,² and stand upon their guard, and assuredly not without marvellous great ground and danger to themselves, and utter overthrow of religion, if that they be overthrown. There are of this party many wise and honest men, persons whom your Honour shall shortly hear of, and have some one man to confer with at more length than I can write: He shall come secretly, and light at Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's.³

the 23d of July the Queen created Lord Darnly, Duke of Rothesay, with great pomp. But there must no doubt be a mistake here of *Rothesay* for *Albany*, and perhaps of the day of the month too. Rothesay is a Castle in the Isle of Bute, the ancient patrimony of the Steward of Scotland before that Family came to the Crown. King Robert III. created his eldest son David Duke of Rothesay, the first that enjoyed the title of Duke in this kingdom. And the same year, viz. 1399, he created his own brother Robert, then Earl of Fife and Menteth, Duke of Albany.—[Lord Darnley was created Duke of Albany on the 20th of July, the Queen having previously received the approbation of her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine respecting the marriage, and also the dispensation of the Pope. The banns of marriage are thus entered in the "Buik of the Canongate," under date, 21st July 1565—"The which day Johne Brand, mynister, presented to the Kirk ane writing, written be the Justice Clerk's hand, desyring the Kirk of the Canagait, and mynister thereof, to proclaime Harie, Duk of Albayne, Erle of Roise, on the one parte, and Marie, be the grace of God, Quene of Scottis, Souerane, on the other parte: The which the Kirk ordainis the mynister to do, with invocation of the name of God."—Edinburgh Magazine, October 1817, p. 33. The following day was Sunday, and the banns of marriage were proclaimed in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, then the parish church of the Canongate.—E.]

¹ This is much contrary to what this person would fain have made our Queen to believe.

² They saw they had not force sufficient to make head against the Queen, notwithstanding all the noise they made about the danger of religion.

³ Who this person has been I cannot precisely say. I see Mr Knox mentions one Nicholas Elphinston to have been sent into England by the rebel Lords, and I perceive one Livingston in the abstracts of letters by Cecil. But I am inclined to think there may be herein a mistake of one name for another, the resemblance being pretty near. And that Elphinston has been the person appears very probable, because on the 13th day of August I see, in the Records of Privy-Council copied by Mr Miln, a warrant given to search for Mr Michael Elphinston; and if he be not personally found, to charge him by open proclamation at the market-cross of Edinburgh, Coupar, Perth, and all other places needful, to present himself before the King and Queen, to answer to such things as shall be laid to his charge within six days, under the pain of rebellion. This gentleman has no designation at all in the Record. One of his name, a

Most humbly I take my leave. At Edinburgh 21st of July 1565, at seven of the clock in the morning.

“I am glad of my Lord of Bedford’s arrival.¹ I most earnestly desire still to be a mean for the Master of Marshal,² an assured friend taken to be in the cause. The Lord Gray were better there than here. Of the other two that I wrote of, little good is to be thought of them.

“Your Honour’s bounden at command,

“THO. RANDOLPHE.”

The result of the consultations at Stirling having now, it seems, discovered itself by an open taking up of arms, the Queen being advertised hereof, sent forth Proclamation under the severest penalties to all the lieges, to repair forthwith to the assistance of her Majesty, in the following terms:—

“*Apud Edinburgh, 22d Julij, Anno Dom. 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Præsente Regina ; Matthæus Comes de Levenox ; Jacobus Comes de Mortoun Cancellarius ; Joannes Dominus Erskine ; Custos Secreti Sigilli, Secretarius,³ Thesaurarius,⁴ Clericus Registri,⁵ Clericus Justiciaræ,⁶ Advocatus,⁷ Decanus de Restalrig Præsiciens Sessionis.⁸ Extraordinarii ratione Conventus—Alexander Dominus Hume ; Joannes Dominus Fleming ; Willielmus Dominus Levingston ; Patricius*

son of the Lord Elphinston, was Master of the Household to King James VI.

¹ i. e. To his government of Berwick, in order, I reckon, to implement the project advised by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

² [William Lord Keith, eldest son of William fourth Earl Marischal.—E.]

³ [Maitland of Lethington, Secretary of State.—E.]

⁴ [William Stewart, Provost of Lincluden, who succeeded Robert Richardson, Commendator of St Mary’s Isle, as Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, in 1564. Beatson’s Political Index, vol. iii. p. 84.—E.]

⁵ [James Macgill of Rankeillor in Fife, turned out for his concern in Riccio’s murder.—E.]

⁶ [Sir John Bellenden of Auchmoul. See the first note, p. 69 of this volume.—E.]

⁷ [Either John Spens of Condie, or Robert Crichton of Ellicock, both of whom are mentioned as Lord Advocates of Scotland from 1561 to 1573.—E.]

⁸ [John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig near Edinburgh, Lord President of the Court of Session.—E.]

Dominus Lindsay ; Hugo Dominus Lovet ;¹ Jacobus Dominus Somercel ;² Joannes Dominus Borthick ;³ Andreas Magister de Errol ;⁴ Robertus Commendatarius de Dunfermling ;⁵ Robertus Commendatarius Santa Crucis ;⁶ Wilhelmus Commendatarius de Kelso ;⁷ Andreas Commendatarius de Jedburgh ;⁸ Marcus Commendatarius de Newbottill ;⁹ Robertus Commendatarius de Deir ;¹⁰ Alexander Stewart de Garleis, Walterus Ker de Cessford, Milites ; Thomas Ker de Phayrnikirst ; Joannes Stewart de Traquair ;¹¹ Wilhelmus Edmestoun de Duntreth.¹²

“ FORSAMEKILL as after diverswickit, ungodlie, and seditious personis, irkit of the guid tranquillitie whilk sen the arryval of the Quenis Majestie and during hir gracious government hes continewit, had spred untrew reportis amangis the subjectis, as that hir Majestie had intentit to imped, stay, or molest ony of thame in the using of thair religioun and

¹ [Hugh Fraser, sixth Lord Lovat.—E.]

² [James sixth Lord Somerville.—E.]

³ [John fifth Lord Borthwick.—E.]

⁴ [Andrew, Master of Erroll, succeeded his father as seventh Earl of Erroll in 1575, or in 1576.—E.]

⁵ [Robert Pitcairn, lay Abbot, or Commendator of Dunfermline.—E.]

⁶ [Robert Stewart, one of the Queen's illegitimate brothers, Abbot of Holyroodhouse. See the notes, p. 99 and 119 of this volume.—E.]

⁷ [William Ker, second son of Sir Walter Ker of Cessford, who was an ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Roxburghe.—E.]

⁸ [Apparently Andrew son of George fourth Earl of Home, who was Abbot of Jedburgh at the Reformation, and was alive in 1578.—E.]

⁹ Son to Sir Walter Ker of Cessford, and predecessor to the now Marquis of Lothian.—[Second son of Sir Andrew Kerr of Cessford. He was the father of Mark, first Earl of Lothian.—E.]

¹⁰ He was son to the Earl Marischal.—Second son of William fourth Earl Marischal, created Lord Altrie by royal charter in 1587. He died before 1606, and the Peerage devolved to the Earls Marischal, who were Lords Keith and Altrie.—E.]

¹¹ [Sir John Stewart, second son of William Stewart of Traquair, who was ancestor of the Earls of Traquair, descended from James Stewart, Earl of Buchan. Sir John was knighted at the creation of Lord Darnley as Duke of Albany, 20th July 1565, and was constituted Captain of the Queen's Guards in 1566.—E.]

¹² [William Edmonstone of Duntreth in Stirlingshire, apparently the father of Sir James Edmonstone, Knight, constituted in 1578 Justice-Deputy under the Earl of Argyll, Justice-General. From him lineally descended Archibald Edmonstone, Esq. grand-nephew of Archibald first Duke of Argyll, created a Baronet of the United Kingdom in 1774.—E.]

conscience frelie, the success of the quhilk untrew report hes takin effect, to the greit grief of hir Hienes, seing a greit numer of hir legeis causless to have takin on armis, and thairby to ministrat sufficient occasioun of jealousy and mis-lyking; quhairas indeid hir Majestie never presumit alteratioun of the guid and quiet estait of the comoun weill. And sen this defectioun is enterit altogidder contrarious to hir Grace's expectatioun, hir Majestie man proveyd for the dew saiftie and preservatioun of the estait quhairin God hes placeit hir Hienes: ordainis thairfoir letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis, shireffis in that pairt, charging thame to pass to the mercat-croce of the burrowis of Edinburgh, Haddingtoun, Duns, Lawder, Peebles, Lanerk, Linlytgow, Striviling, Clackmanan, Kulross, Cuper, Dumbartane, Renfrew, and thair be open proclamatioun to command and charge all and sundrie hir Hienes' leigis, als weill to burgh as to land, regalitie as roaltie, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of weir, with fifteen dayis provision efter thair cuming, address thame to come to hir Majestie with all possible haist and dilligence, efter thai be chargit thairto, for attending and awayting upon hir Hienes, under the pane of tinsall of lyff, landis, and guidis."

Of the same date with this Act we meet with the following letter by the Earl of Moray to his good and trusty friend the Earl of Bedford, Lieutenant for the Queen of England in the north parts, and Governor of the Town of Berwick.

*Letter, the Earl of Moray to the Earl of Bedford,
St Andrew's, July 22d 1565.*¹

"RIGHT honourable, my very good Lord: After my most hearty commendations, I trust the bruit of some Noblemen's proceeding against me is so far spread abroad, that it hath also reached your ears. I know no merit in myself, saving the earnest affection God hath granted me to his true worship, the good will I bear to the commonwealth of my country, and the entertainment of an mutual amity betwixt both Realms. And seeing that my single intention, grounded upon so good heads, have ingendered to me the peril wherein

¹ Lawyers' [Advocates'] Library [Edinburgh], from Cotton Library, Calig. B[ook] X. f. 324, an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

presently I and all my like in this Realm standeth, and knowing your good Lordship's earnest affection, joined with sincerity, to the same end, I thought it my duty to give your Lordship to understand the same, knowing well that as your good will is much to our comfort, so is your room and place of power to perform the same in a great part; especially seeing the persons most dangerous and troublesome to our party doth ly very near your bounds, we would wish and for my own part most earnestly crave of your Honour to stay off us by all means their power, which your Lordship hath moyen to do. And so as matters shall further proceed to our strait, we crave further your Lordship's comfort, as of one to whom God hath granted to know the subtile devices of Satan against the innocent professors of the Gospel, to stir up the powers of the world against the same, and how many ways he can colour his enterprize. And thus not doubting of your Lordship's good will, I commit your honourable Lordship to the protection of God."¹

The Records of our Privy-Council, which I have put into the Appendix, contain the knowledge of what passed through the ensuing week, until Saturday the 28th July; on which day we find subjoined to another Act, which the readers see in the Appendix, this following Proclamation by the Queen, not published at the market-cross of Edinburgh till near an hour after sunseting, if we may credit Mr Knox.

"MARIE, be the grace of God Quene of Scotland, to our lovitis, Lyon-King-at-Arms, and his brither herauldis, and to our lovitis, messengeris, our shireffis in that pairt, conjunetlie and severallie, speciallie constitute, greeting: Forasmekill as we intend, at the pleisure and will of God, to solemnizat and compleit the band of matrimonie in face of Hallie Kirk with the rycht nobill and illuster Prince, HENRY Duke of Albany: In respect of the quhilk mariage, and during the time thairrof, we will, ordane, and consentis, that he be namit and stylit King of this our kingdom, and that all our letteris to be direct eftir our said mariage sua to be compleitit, be

¹ *Note*—In one of the abstracts in the Appendix, of the date the 25th July, it is remarked that "the Earl of Bedford moved to have licence to succour the Earl of Moray, and himself to bear the blame."

in the names of the said illuster Prince our future husband and us, as King and Quene of Scotland conjunctlie. Our will is heirfoir, and we charge you straitlie and commandis, that incontinent thir our letteris seine, ze pass to the mercat-croce of our burgh of Edinburgh, and all utheris places neidfull, and thair be oppin proclamatioun mak publicatioun and intimatioun heiroyf to all and sundrie our leigis and subditis as appertenis: And thairaftir we ordane thir our letteris to be registrat and insert in the bukis of our Counsal, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, quhairunto thir presentis sall serve our Clerk of Register for a sufficient warrant, as ze will answer to us thairupoun, delivering thir our letteris be zow dylie execut and indorsat agane to the berare. Subscribit with our hand, and gevin under our signet at Hallierudhouse, the 28th day of Jully, and of our reigne the twenty-third zeir."

CHAPTER IX.

CONTAINING STATE-AFFAIRS FROM THE QUEEN'S MARRYING THE LORD DARNLY IN THE END OF JULY 1565, TILL THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE IN THE MONTH OF JUNE 1566.

MARY STEWART, Hereditary Queen of Scotland and Dowager Queen of France, one of the handsomest and most beautiful of her sex, and now in the blooming prime of her youth, being in her twenty-third year, was pleased to take in marriage her first cousin,¹ Henry Stewart Lord Darnly, eldest son to Matthew Earl of Lenox, by the Lady Margaret Douglas, aunt to her Majesty.² The ceremony was performed³ after the ancient form, in the Chapel of Holyrood-house, on Sunday the 29th day of July 1565, between the hours of five and six in the morning.⁴ After the ceremony

¹ William Chisholm, the new Bishop of Dunblane, had brought from Rome the Pope's dispensation for the marriage, by reason of consanguinity.

² This young Lord was either in the nineteenth year of his age, or little more.

³ The person that had the honour to celebrate the marriage was John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig beside Edinburgh, and Bishop of Brechin. He succeeded his own brother, Henry Bishop of Ross in the Presidentship of the Court of Session, and like to him was very well skilled in the laws. He died in the month of April next year.—[John Sinclair was the fourth son of Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, and younger brother of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Brechin. He was admitted an Ordinary Lord of Session in April 1540, and he afterwards obtained the Deanery of Restalrig. He attended his brother Henry to France in 1564, and brought with him the materials which the latter had collected for a continuation of Boece's History of Scotland. It is doubtful whether the work entitled Sinclair's Practicks, which contains the decisions of the Court of Session from the 1st of June 1540 to the 28th of May 1549, ought to be ascribed to Bishop John Sinclair, or to his brother Bishop Henry Sinclair.—Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice, Edin. 1832, p. 63, 64.—E.]

⁴ This was the Sunday immediately succeeding the Sunday on which Mr John Brand proclaimed the banns of this ill-fated marriage. Calderwood (Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 292) most erroneously states that "the marriage was solemnized upon the 27th of July," but there is no doubt that it was on *Sunday the 29th*, as stated by our Historian. It is farther alleged by Calderwood—"Witches in both the Realmes had foretold that if the marriage were celebrated before the end of July, bothe the Realmes would reape great

was over, the Queen went to mass; but it is observed the bridegroom did not accompany her Majesty to that

benefite thereby; if otherwise, great inconvenience would follow. A day was set, before which it was bruited the Queen of England should dee, which savoured rather of conspiracy than soothsaying. Our Queene herself feared her uncles would cast in some impediment if it were delayed; but Seigneur David (Rizzio) assured them that both the father and the son were zealous Catholicks, of a Noble Family, great friendship and superioritie, weill beloved in both the Realmes, so there was no impediment more feared that way." The reason for the performance of the ceremonial at such an hour is not given, but it was then, and long after, the custom with all classes to rise early. Hence, we find in the "General Assemblies" of the Reformed preachers, that they often appointed Committees to sit at six in the morning. The Chapel-Royal of Holyrood was the scene of the marriage of Mary and Darnley. It has been invariably recorded that on this eventful occasion "Mary was habited in deep mourning, and it was superstitiously observed that it was the same dress which she wore on the melancholy day of her late husband's obsequies."—Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 356. It was certainly a very extraordinary fancy which induced Queen Mary to select such an attire for her bridal dress. But historical writers have overlooked a most important fact, which probably explains the motive of the Queen for preferring a dress which is now considered to be emblematical of "deep mourning." We have already seen, in the note near the end of Chapter I. of this volume, that Mary mourned for her deceased husband Francis II., *in white*—that she always wore that dress while she remained in France, which procured for her the appellation of *la Reine Blanche*—and that she continued to wear her white dress during her widowhood after her return to Scotland. The misfortunes which resulted from this unhappy marriage both to the Queen and Darnley may have induced some to think that the apparently "deep mourning dress" worn by Mary at her marriage in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood was ominous of the dreadful crimes which were soon to happen; but it is evident that the Queen considered *white* as her *mourning habit*, and by adopting the very opposite, she intimated that her youthful widowhood had terminated. It ought to be recollected, moreover, that a distinctive and general mourning dress was unknown in Scotland till 1537, only twenty-eight years before Mary's marriage, when Magdalene of France, the first Queen of her father James V., died universally lamented. These remarks are here inserted chiefly to shew that Mary's dress at her marriage must have been merely a matter of her own taste and choice, and that it would be the most absurd superstition to assume that it was in the least indicative of the events which followed, entailing ruin on the parties more or less concerned. Nevertheless, the appearance of Queen Mary attracted the special notice of Randolph, who, though he admits that he was not *oculatus testis*, assures the Earl of Leicester, in a letter dated July 31—"Of the veritie your Lordship shall not neede to dowte, howsoever I came by it."—"The manner of the marriage was in thys sorte. Upon Sondaye, in the morning, between five and six, she (Mary) was conveyde by divers of her Nobles to the Chappell. She had upon her backe the great mourning gowne of blacke, with the great wide mourning hoode, not unlyke unto

office.¹ During the splendid entertainment of that day,² the Queen was served by the Earl of Atholl as sewer, the Earl of Morton as carver, and the Earl of Crawford as cupbearer; and the bridegroom by the Earls of Eglinton, Cassillis, and Glencairn. The day after the marriage the Lord Darnly, now husband to the Queen, was by her Majesty's order proclaimed King with sound of trumpet at the market-

that which she wore the dolefull day of the buriall of her housbande. She was ledde unto the Chappell by the Earles Lenox and Athol, and there she was left untill her husband came, who also was conveide by the same Lords. The ministers, two priests, did there receave them. The bans are asked the thyrde tyme, and an instrument taken by a notarie, that no man sayde agaynst them, or alledged any cause why the marriage might not procede. The words were spoken; the rings, which were three, the middle a riche diamond, were put upon her finger; they kneel together, and manie prayers said over them. She carrieth owte the . . . and he taketh a kysse, and leaveth her there and went to her chamber, whether in a space she followeth, and there being required, according to the solemnitie, to cast off her care, and lay asyde those sorrowfull garments, and give herself to pleasanter lyfe. After some prettie refusal, more I believe for manner sake than greef of harte, she suffreth them that stood by, everie man that coulede approche, to take owte a pin, and so being commytted unto her ladies changed her garments, but went not to bedde, to signifie unto the worlde that it was no luste moved them to marrie, but onely the necessitie of her cuntry, not if she wyll to leave it destitute of an heere. Suspicious men, or such as are given of all things to make the worst, wolde that it sholde be beleevd that they knew each other before that they came there. I would not your Lordship should so beleeve, the lykelyhoods are so great to the contrarie, that if it were possible to see such an act done I would not beleeve it." Randolph to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 202, 203.—E.]

¹ ["They were married with all the solemnities of the Popyshe tyme, saving that he hearde not the masse; his speech and talke argueth his mynde, and yet wolde he fayne seem to the world that he were of some religion."—Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 31st July, 1565. In the same letter Randolph writes—"He wolde now seem to be indifferent to both the religions, she to use her masse, and he to come sometymes to the preachyng."—E.]

² ["To their dynner they were conveiede by the whole Nobles. The trumpets sounde, a largess cried, and money thrown abowte the house in great abundance to suche as were happie to get any part. They dyne both at one table upon the upper hand. After dynner they dance awhyle, and retire themselves tyll the hour of supper, and as they dyne so do they sup. Some dancing there was, and so they go to bed. I was sent for to have bene at the supper, but lyke a curlish or uncourtoyse carle I refused to be there."—Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 31st July 1565. Knox says (Historie, edit. 1732, p. 380)—"During the space of three or four days there was nothing but balling, dancing, and banquetting."—E.]

Cross of Edinburgh; and I have taken the freedom to annex here a copy of the Proclamation.

“ WE do zou to wit, Forsamekill as Proclamation wes maid at this Croce upoun the 28th day of Jully instant, be virtew and at command of the Quenis Majestie our soverane ladic's letteris, makand mentioun that forsamekill as hir Hienes, at the will and plesoure of God, intendit to solemnizat and compleit the band of matrimonie in face of Hallie Kirk with the rycht nobill and illuster Prince Henry than Duke of Albany: And in respect of the said mariage, and during the tyme thairof, hir Majestie will, ordanit, and consentit, that he suld be namit and styllit King of this kingdom, and that all letteris to be direct, eftir the said mariage, sould be in the name of the said illuster Prince, then her Hienes future husband, and of hir Majestie, as King and Quene of Scotland conjunctlie, as the letteris direct thair-upon, and proclomit, as said is, mair lairglie proportis. And now sen the said mariage is fully solemnizat and compleit, at the plesoure and will of God, we command and charge in the names and authoritie of thair Majesties, that all letteris quhilk heirafter sall be direct and set furth, be in the names of baith thair Majesties, as King and Quene of Scotland conjunctlie; and heirof presentlie we make intimatioun and publication to zow all and sundrie thair Hienesses liegis and subditis. Subscrivit be thair Majesties, and undir thair Signet, at Hallierudhouse, the penult day of Jully, and of our reignes the first and twenty third zeires.”¹

As the Queen by the above Proclamation was pleased to honour her husband with the royal title, so did she desire every one who respected her to do him all manner of honour, to wait upon him, and pay him all deference due to the King;² which was so far complied with, that his retinue

¹ [“ This day, Mondaye, at twelve of the clocke, the Lords, all that were in this towne, were present at the proclaiming of hym agayne, when no man sayd so much as Amen, saving his father, that cried owte aloud—‘ God save his Grace ! ’”—E.]

² [“ All honor that may be attributed unto any man by a wyfe he hath wholly and fully, all prayse that may be spoken of hym he lacketh not from herselfe, all dignities that she can indue hym with are already given

became very numerous, and it was observed that such as wanted favour at Court, and made their addresses through him, had still the best success in their suits.¹

The disaffected Lords, how soon they heard of the solemnization of the Queen's marriage, and her Proclamation thereupon, appointing to her husband the dignity and title of *King*, and that all publick letters should pass and be directed in the King's name as well as in her own, did immediately send forth their complaints into all parts, as if the kingdom was openly wronged, and the liberties thereof oppressed, and a King imposed² upon the people without advice and consent of the States (a thing they alledged was contrary to the laws and received custom of the country); desiring, therefore, all good subjects to lay the matter to heart, and join with them in resisting these beginnings of

and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not hym, and what may I say more, she hath given over unto hym her whole wyll, to be ruled and guided as hymself best lyketh. She can as much prevayle with hym in any thyng that is agaynst his wyll, as your Lordship may with me to perswade that I sholde hang myself."—Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 31st July 1565. E.]

¹ Melvil's Memoirs. — [Memoires of Sir James Melville of Halhill, folio, London, 1683, p. 58. It cannot be doubted that Darnley's conduct after his marriage made him numerous enemies, especially among the Nobility, who were sufficiently inflammable without his display of haughtiness. The English Resident writes—"His words to all men agaynst whom he conceiveth any displeasure, how urgent soever it be, so prowde and spitefull, that rather he seemeth a monarche of the worlde than he that not long since we have seen and known the Lord Darnlye. He looketh now for revenue of manie that have lyttle will to gyve it hym, and some there are that do gyve it that thynke hym lyttle worthy of it."—Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 31st July 1565.—E.]

² Perhaps, indeed, it was a wrong step in the Queen to give her husband the title and authority of *King*: She had cause soon to repent it, and her enemies who exclaimed most against it now, made it afterwards subservient to their own turns.—["This last dignitie owte of hand to have hym proclaimed Kinge, she would have it deferred untill it were agreed by Parlemeute, or have bene hymself of twenty-one yeres of age, that thyngs done in his name myght have the better autoritye. He wold in no case have it deferred. Whereupon thys dowte is rysen amongst our men of lawe, whether she, being clad with a housbande, and her houseband not twenty-one yeres, any thyng without Parlement can be of strengthe that is done betwene them. Upon Saturdaye at afternone these matters were long in debating, and before they were well resolved upon, at nine houres at night, by three herauldes at sounde of the trumpet, he was proclaimed King."—Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 31st July 1565.

tyranny. But though the faction was busy in thus fomenting a rebellion in the nation, yet they had the mortification to see but very little ear given to their wicked insinuations; and even Mr Knox acknowledgeth¹—"There were diverse bruits among the people, some alledging that the cause of this alteration (in the discontented Lords) was not for religion, but rather for hatred, envy of sudden promotion or dignity, or such worldly causes." The Lords had already taken themselves to arms, and the Queen had likewise taken proper measures to disappoint their enterprizes;² and now their Majesties were resolved to crush them before they had time to spread the poison into the minds of their loyal subjects, it having been often times perceived that impunity encourageth sedition, nourisheth and reduceth to maturity attempts against the State, which by a more vigorous and timeous execution of the laws might have been easily prevented. To this purpose several Proclamations were issued by authority of their Majesties and their Privy-Council, some of which I shall give at full length, and of others, that may not be so material, the abstracts only,³ for it would be too tedious to give them all *verbatim*. And I

¹ [Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 380.—E.]

² [Calderwood says—"Not onlie manie of the Nobilitie but also of the Commouns, were offended that by the voice of an herald, at the Queen's commandment, Lord Darnley sould have been proclaimed King without the consent of the Estates in Parliament. The number of malcontents was the greater, because manie of the Nobilitie were absent, or did not countenance either the marriage or the proclamation, viz. the Duke of Chatelerault, the Erles of Argyle, Murrey, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, Andrew Erle of Rothesse, the Lord Uchiltre, and sindre others. Heralds were sent to call them in. They refuse, and are condemned to banishment."—Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the Wodrow SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 292, 293. And yet this very Earl of Glencairn is expressly mentioned as serving Darnley at the banquet on the day of the marriage with the Earls of Eglinton and Cassilis, as stated by our Historian, and by Randolph to the Earl of Leicester in his letter of the 31st of July.—E.]

³ Abstracts of some of these Acts are to be seen in the places I have already mentioned. But the laborious Mr Robert Miln having written out all these Acts at full length, I shall make my abstracts from his copies, and more fully too than these that are done by the other gentlemen: And I likewise do this the more cheerfully, as it will serve to rectify the dates, and set in due order of time the several motions that were made the following two or three months, which in our former historians are too much disconcerted.

shall be the more exact in the doing of this, that the principal Registers are now amissing and perhaps may not be soon recovered.

“ Apud Edinburgh, 1 Augusti, Anno Dom. 1565.

*“ SEDERUNT*¹*—Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius ; Joannes Comes de Athole ; Georgius Comes de Errol ; Alexander Comes de Glencarne ; Joannes Comes de Mar ;*² *Patricius Dominus Ruthven ; Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis, Miles ;*³ *Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator,*⁴ *Clericus Registri, Advocatus. Extraordinarii—David Comes de Crawford ; Gilbertus Comes de Cassils ; Alexander Dominus Hume ; Robertus Dominus Sempill ;*⁵ *Jacobus Dominus Ross de Hackit ;*⁶ *Jacobus Dominus Somervill ; Hugo Dominus Lovet ; Alanus Dominus Cathcart ; Patricius Dominus Lindsay de Byris ; Patricius Dominus Gray ;*⁷ *Willielmus Magister de Grahame :* ⁸ *Willielmus Magister de*

¹ Posterity may perhaps be pleased to know what persons sate in Council, otherwise I should not have troubled either my readers or myself with setting down their names.

² This is the first time this Nobleman has the title of Earl of Mar, for on the 28th July he is only Lord Erskine : so that he has been created Earl at or about the Queen's marriage, perhaps to keep his Lordship steady to her Majesty against the Earl of Moray, whose uncle the Lord Erskine was, now Earl of Mar.—[“ To honor the (marriage) feast, the Lord Erskine was made Earl of Marre, and manie made Knights that never shewed any great token of their vasselage.” Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 31st July 1565.—E.]

³ [Sir John Maxwell of Terregles, better known as Lord Herries, was the second son of Robert fourth Lord Maxwell.—E.]

⁴ [Probably Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, knighted by Darnley, Comptroller of Scotland from 1563 to 1567.—E.]

⁵ [Robert Sempill, third Lord Sempill, who obtained the lands of Crookston, Thankerton, and Darnley in Renfrewshire, at the forfeiture of the Earl of Lennox in 1544.—E.]

⁶ [James Ross, fourth Lord Ross of Hawkhead, near Paisley, who married Jane, daughter of the third Lord Sempill.—E.]

⁷ [Patrick Gray of Buttergask, who succeeded his relative the fourth Lord as fifth Lord Gray.—E.]

⁸ [According to the Peerage statements, William second Earl of Montrose, whose father William the first Earl, fell at the battle of Flodden in 1513, and who died in 1571, had four sons, viz. Robert, who was killed on the old bridge over the Esk at Musselburgh when crossing with the Scottish army to the battle field of Pinkie in the vicinity in 1547, Alexander, Mungo, and William. The eldest son Robert left a posthumous son John, who succeeded his grandfather as third Earl of

Sinclair ;¹ *Joannes Dominus Glamis* ;² *Joannes Dominus Borthwick* ; *Willielmus Dominus Hay de Yester* ; *Willielmus Dominus Levingston* ; *Laurentius Magister de Oliphant*.³

“ THE quhilk day, forsamekill as James Erle of Moray was nocht onlie divers tymes gentillie requiret, bot als in the Quenis Majestie’s name and autoritie, be virtew of Acts of hir Graces Counsall, commandit and chargit to have presentit himself before hir Hienes at ane certane day bygane, to haif anserit to sic things as sould be laid to his charge, and hes nochttheless hiddirtillis disobedientlie absentit himself : Thairfoir the King and Quenis Majesties, with advyse of the Lordis of thair Secret Counsall, and utheris Nobilitie present, ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis, charging thame to pass, and in thair Hienesses name and autoritie, command and charge the said James Erle of Moray personallie, or at his dwelling-place, to present himself befoir thair Majesties at Edinburgh, or quhair it sall happin thame to be for the tyme, the 1st day of August instant, to anser to sic thingis as sallbe laid to his charge, under the pain of rebellion, and putting of him to the horne ; and gif he failzies thairin, the said day being bypast, to denounce him rebel, and put him to the horne, and escheat.”⁴—R. M.⁵

Montrose. Some difficulty in consequence occurs as to the person mentioned in the above list as “ Willielmus Magister de Grahame.”—E.]

¹ [The identification of this personage is also difficult, unless William second Lord Sinclair, who succeeded his father the first Lord, killed at Flodden, is meant ; but this Lord Sinclair had no son named William : He had two sons, Henry and Mungo, and the former succeeded him as third Lord.—E.]

² [John eighth Lord Glamis, father of the first Earl of Kinghorn, whose grandson became the first Earl of Strathmore and third Earl of Kinghorn.—E.]

³ [He succeeded his father as fourth Lord Oliphant in 1566.—E.]

⁴ In the front of this Act there is another constituting John Lord Fleming Chamberlain of Scotland, and Master Usher of the King and Queen’s chamber-doors. Upon account of both which offices that Nobleman gives bodelie aith that he sall lellie and trewlie use and exerce the said offices, as he will answer to God and her Hienes thairupon.—[“ The Lord St John had his office of Chief Chamberlaine taken from hym, and it was given to the Lord Flemenge, now in principall credit with our new King.” Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 31st July 1565.—E.]

⁵ [The initials of *Robert Miln*, to whose industry our Historian often acknowledges himself indebted, especially in his own note, p. 349.—E.]

On the 2d of August there is a charge commanding Andrew Earl of Rothes and William Kirkaldy of Grange to enter themselves prisoners within the Castle of Dunbarton; and Mr James Haliburton, Provost of Dundee, to enter prisoner within the Castle of Dunbar, in the space of five days after they be charged, under the pain of rebellion.

The Queen was not only careful to provide against those Lords and gentlemen who resisted her present proceedings, but judged it expedient likewise to relieve such persons as she had reason to expect would assist her in this turbulent time; and so we see her bounty extended now to the Lord Gordon, who had been all along detained in prison since the unfortunate affair of his father the Earl of Huntly: For on the 3d August these following persons are entered in the Books of Privy-Council as cautioners, conjunctly and severally, in the sum of ten thousand pounds, that the said George Lord Gordon shall enter in ward within any place the King or Queen shall be pleased to command, upon twenty days' warning. The cautioners are Alexander Lord Hume, Sir John Maxwell of Terreglis, John Gordon of Lochinvar, Knight,¹ Sir Alexander Stewart of Garlies,² Sir Matthew Campbell of Lowdon,³ and Sir James Cockburn of Scraling, Knight.⁴ The Earls of Bothwell and Sutherland were about this time likewise allowed to return into Scotland.

On the 4th August there is a Proclamation issued out, declaring that their Majesties, having knowledge of sundry disaffected and disobedient persons to their authority within the country of Fife, and their Majesties being resolved to go thither in person, for reducing them to their duty, therefore they command and charge all the Earls, Lords, Barons, freeholders, landed men, and substantial gentlemen within the sheriffdoms of Edinburgh, Haddington, and

¹ He was predecessor to the Viscount of Kenmure.—[The grandfather of the first Viscount Kenmure, so created in 1633.—E.]

² Predecessor to the Earl of Galloway.—[The grandfather of Sir Alexander Stewart, created Lord Garlies in 1607, and Earl of Galloway in 1623.—E.]

³ Predecessor to the Earl of Lowdon.—[Father of Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, created Lord Campbell of Loudoun in 1601, whose grand-daughter Margaret succeeded as Baroness Loudoun in her own right, and married Sir John Campbell of Lawers, created Earl of Loudoun in 1633, well known in Scottish history as the "Covenanting Earl."—E.]

⁴ Now extinct.

Linlithgow, with their households, honest friends and servants, “well bodin in feir of weir,” and provided for fifteen days after their coming, to meet the King and Queen at Edinburgh, the 9th of August; the inhabitants of Stirling and Clackmanan to meet their Majesties betwixt Linlithgow and Falkirk, the 11th of the same month; the inhabitants of Strathern¹ at Stirling Bridge, the 12th; and the inhabitants of Perth, Fife, and Kinross, at Falkland, the 14th of the month: then and there to attend and wait their Majesties’ commands and directions, “under the pain of tinsal of lyff, landis, and guidis.” And also charging all the inhabitants of the burgh of Edinburgh, betwixt sixty and sixteen years, and others fencible persons, with provisions for fifteen days after their departing forth of Edinburgh, to convoy their Majesties, under the pain above written.²

August 7th—That whereas James Earl of Moray was denounced rebel on the 6th of the said month of August, intimation thereof is appointed to be made to James Duke of Chastelherault, Archibald Earl of Argyll,³ personally, or at their dwelling-places, and to all other the lieges, by open Proclamation at the market-crosses and other places needful, with certification, that whoever shall reset, supply, or intercommune with the said Earl of Moray, shall be punished as rebels.

¹ [The district of Perthshire traversed by the Earn.—E.]

² The Council of Edinburgh, being desirous to redeem the inhabitants from this journey and attendance, did very wisely consent to the following Act, viz. —“*4th August 1565.*—The quhilk day the Baillies, Dean of Gild, and Counsale, understanding Proclamatioun alreddie maid, chargeing all maner of man to pass forewart with the King and Quenis Majesties, in the persute of the Erle of Morray and his colleagues, and that thai are subjectit by thair said Proclamatioun to pass with thame; the dyet bein lang, and the journey tedious, consentis and grantis that ane universall extent bayth of marchant and craftsmen be upliftit and gadderit, for raiseing and furnishing of twa hunder men of weir for ane moneth, to pass forewart with thair Hienesses in thair said journey. And Allane Purves for himself, and in name of the hale Dekynniss, dissasents; and protestit, that he nor the said Dekynniss are na furder subjectit nor to the fyf-part of the said extent, conforme to the auld use and consuetude ever observit in sic caises.”

³ Hitherto it appears the Earl of Argyll had not been denounced rebel, contrary to what Mr Knox relates. It would seem by the intimation which is here ordered to be made to the Duke, and Earl of Argyll, the Court has been desirous to divide these two Noble persons from the Earl of Moray.

August 9th—" *Sederunt* Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancell.; Joannes Comes de Athole; Joannes Comes de Mar; Patricius Dominus Ruthven; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciarie, Advocatus"—the lieges are discharged from attending their Majesties on the days appointed by the Proclamation of the 4th August, but are required to hold them in readiness as they shall be advertised, on twenty-four hours' warning, according to the former Proclamation in all points, and under the pains contained in the same."¹

Before I proceed farther in their Majesties' operations, in order to the reduction of the rebel Lords to their duty, I must take notice of a message at this time from the Queen of England, by the hands of one John Tamworth,² a gentleman of her Privy-Chamber, who was dispatched with Instructions from his mistress in the latter days of July, and delivered his message in writing in the first week of August.³ Camden is the only person that has hitherto given any tolerable account of this message, and withall he observes, that Tamworth was a forward insolent man⁴ (and who knows but the Queen of England might have picked him out for that very thing to send him into Scotland at this juncture?); and that our Queen, having smelled the nature of his message, would not admit him into her

¹ [It appears that a few days after the above mentioned 9th of August a serious riot occurred in Edinburgh.—"The newe King's souldiers and the townsmen of Edinbrough have been together by the eares, and some of the townsmen slayne. Their King was putting on his armour to have parted the fray, but did not, or if he did, came not abrode. He loseth many of his frendes dayly, who, seeing his government, leane to th'other part. The Quene getteth as many to the masse, and never was there so many as now there were at it on Sunday last."—The Earl of Bedford to Cecil, 18th August 1565, in Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 204.—E.]

² [Tamworth is said to have behaved rudely in his mission, and was stopped on his return for want of his passport, which he had not obtained, to avoid acknowledging Darnley as King, as related by our Historian.—E.]

³ See Knox and some Abstracts in the Appendix. There is likewise an abstract of this gentleman's Instructions in the Lawyers' Library, with this title, *Articles proposez à la Reyne d'Ecosse par l'Ambassadeur de la Reyne d'Angleterre, le 8. Aoust 1565.*—[By the "Lawyers' Library" is meant the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh.—E.]

⁴ Yet this author erroneously postpones the date thereof a month or two, and perhaps Spottiswood, relying on his authority, has delayed it longer.—[Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 1625, p. 122, 123.—E.]

presence, but ordered an answer for him in writing. What truth may be in this, I shall not take upon me to decide; only we may guess, by the length both of his message and the answers, that neither of them have been delivered by word of mouth. And it is very visible likewise by the tenor of the message, that as Mr Tamworth had not, nor indeed could have, any Commission to our Queen's husband, then become King, so neither did he vouchsafe him any other title but Lord Darnly. As for the message and answers here in question, which are very luckily preserved in the *Shatter'd Manuscript*, they are so prolix, that I chuse rather to insert them in the Appendix,¹ and shall here satisfy myself to impart to my readers the knowledge of what else has come to my hand concerning this messenger from the Cotton Library.

July 30th—Queen Elizabeth advertises Randolph that she had sent Tamworth to the Queen of Scots, who will impart to Randolph his message; and that he (Randolph) shall assist Tamworth in his business,

July 31st—Mr Tamworth is sent into Scotland. He was staid at Dunbar. August 19th—Tamworth returned from Edinburgh. Ditto 21st, he is at Hume Castle.² August 7th—Tamworth and Randolph write to Cecil from Edinburgh, that if the (rebel) Noblemen get no support from the Queen of England, they are like to be overthrown. August 10th—Tamworth writes to Cecil from Edinburgh, that Mr Randolph was by our Queen urged to promise upon his honour not to meddle with her rebels, or else he should have a guard set upon his house. Randolph was desired by Lethington to withdraw to Berwick, but he denied it. August 27th—Randolph writes to Cecil that he had made complaint that Tamworth was staid by the Lord Hume. The Queen of Scots answered, That it was his own fault who had refused a safe-conduct. To which Randolph replied, Because it was given under the hand of Darnly, whom he could not acknowledge King, being a subject of his sovereign, and from whom he looked to have him come and do his duty, as being her

¹ Number VII.

² [A ruinous fortalice, the residence of the Lords Home, in the parish of Hume annexed to Stichel, partly in the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh.—E.]

Ambassador. By this abstract, and the Instructions by Queen Elizabeth in the month of November following to Sir Walter Mildmay, we come to know that as Mr Tamworth was ready to depart home he refused to take a safe-conduct under King Henry's subscription; whereupon he was stopt at Dunbar by the Lord Home, and by him carried prisoner to his castle of Hume, and there detained some two or three days. This has been the treatment which nettled Tamworth to the quick, and made him depart out of Scotland little satisfied with the reception he had got, and which, says Mr Cambden, was in his judgment much beneath his character.¹ And if it be true what this same author remarks, viz. that he uttered unbecoming speeches concerning our Queen while he was here, we need not search farther for a cause of this keen resentment. To return now to the prosecution of the rebels.

On the 13th of August, besides the order to search for Mr Michael Elphinston already mentioned, there is another charging Walter Heriot of Ramorny, George Lermouth of Balcomy, David Monypenny, younger, of Pitmillie, Mr John Wood,² and — Seytoun of Perbroath, to enter in

¹ [History and Annalls of Queen Elizabeth, &c. 4to. London, 1625, p. 123.—E.]

² All these persons being inhabitants of Fife, this Wood has been of the Woods of Largo: He was a retainer to the Earl of Moray, is afterwards designed that Lord's servant, who in the time of his Regency made him a Lord of Session; and by all the accounts we can gather of him, he has been a most violent enemy to the Queen, and a rapacious devourer of all her friends. [John Wood of Tilliedavy was a son of Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, of which parish he was vicar, and attached himself to the Earl of Moray, when Lord James Stuart and Prior of St Andrews, whom he accompanied to France in 1548. He became an active partizan of the so called "Lords of the Congregation," and corresponded with the English Resident in 1559. Knox complains that in the end of 1560 he withdrew from the General Assembly, and probably this temporizing policy procured for him, on the 9th of December 1562, the appointment to be an Extraordinary Lord of Session; but in 1563 he forfeited the Queen's favour, and acquired that of Knox, by rudely reproving her for dancing. He sided with Moray in his rebellion on account of the Queen's marriage to Darnley, and was deprived of his seat in the Supreme Court, but he contrived to obtain temporary possession of it in 1566. Wood joined the Association which drove Mary from the throne in 1567, and was one of the Commissioners against her at York. He was killed by the Laird of Rires a short time after the assassination of Moray at Lindlithgow. Sir James Melville represents him as mercenary and ambitious, and accuses him of

ward within the Castle of Dunbarton, under the pain of rebellion.

August 14th—" *Sederunt*—Comites de Mortoun, Cancell. Athole, Mar, Dominus Ruthven, Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Registri et Justiciarie, Advocatus." Charge to deliver up the Abbey of St Andrew's;¹ castle, tower, and fortalice of Bambrich;² place and fortalice of Hallyards,³ and others pertaining to the Earls of Moray and Rothes, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Haliburton, Provost of Dundee, now denounced rebels, under the pain of treason.

The rebel Lords, &c. not meeting, it seems, with that encouragement among the people they expected, and perceiving that the King and Queen were too far before-hand with them, found it expedient to retire into Argyllshire, and other fastnesses of the Highland country, in order to have more security and leisure to concert their measures. In this time Mr Knox informs,⁴ that "they sent into England Mr Nicholas Elphinston for support, who brought some money in this country, to the sum of 10,000 pounds sterling."⁵ The same author likewise narrates⁶ how that "the Duke,

selling to Elizabeth all the letters written by the Duke of Norfolk which could do him any serious injury.—Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice, 8vo. Edin. 1832, p. 114, 115.—E.]

¹ [The Earl of Moray still held the temporalities of the Priory or Abbey of St Andrews as Commendator.—E.]

² [The castle of Bambrich, or Ballenbricch, long a residence of the Earls of Rothes, is a ruinous fortalice near the western extremity of the parish of Flisk in Fife, in the vicinity of Newburgh, overlooking the Tay, and surrounded by a small plantation.—E.]

³ [Hallyards, which is now a ruin, in the parish of Auchtertool, in the neighbourhood of Kirkealdy in Fife, then belonged to Kirkaldy of Grange. It is near a lake occupying eighteen acres of surface called Camilla Loch—the word *Camilla* being an evident corruption of the name Campbell, Hallyards having been the residence of Anne Countess of Moray, a daughter of Archibald ninth Earl of Argyll who was executed for high treason in 1685. When James V. was on his way to Falkland Palace, after the rout of his army at the Solway Frith, he lodged one night in Hallyards. The ruin is said to have been the rendezvous of the Fife lairds who were in favour of the Enterprize of 1715. See the note, vol. i. p. 24, 25, of the present edition.—E.]

⁴ [Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 380.—E.]

⁵ Though Mr Knox may be wrong here in the precise sum, yet concerning money remitted at this time by the Queen of England to the rebels of Scotland, the readers shall before long receive undoubted satisfaction.

⁶ [Historie, p. 380.—E.]

Earls of Argyll, Moray, Glencairn, and Rothes, the Lords Boyd, Ochiltree, with diverse Barons and gentlemen of Fife and Kyle, met at Aire about the 15th day of August, where they concluded to be in readiness, with their whole forces, the 24th of the said month." But of this meeting I can perceive no proper vestige in any Records that are come to my hand as yet, though I will not say but the preamble to the Proclamation 22d August may have respect to some such meeting.

August 14th—Proclamation setting forth, that whereas James Earl of Moray, rebel, accompanied with divers other rebels, have withdrawn into Argyll and Highlands adjacent, to the end "*thair rebellious suddainlie sall be unable to be repressit*:" Therefore charging the Captain, Constable, and keepers of the Castle of Dunbarton, the Provost and Baillies of Glasgow, Dunbarton, Aire, Irvine, and other places needful, and all other lieges, not to supply the said rebels, under the pain of being holden as rebels themselves.

August 15th—Proclamation, that whereas the Earls of Murray and Rothes, Grange, and Provost Haliburton, denounced rebels, do notwithstanding "*ryde and gang in the Realm where thai pleis, and are intertenit as gif thai were guid and trew subjectis*:" Therefore prohibiting all the lieges to supply or intercommune with the saids rebels, their favourers or assisters, nor give or send to them, or suffer to be given or sent to them, meat, drink, munition, or armour, under the pain foresaid.

Edinburgh 22d August—" *Sederunt Comites Mortoun, Cancell. ; Athole, Mar, Dominus Ruthven, Secretarius, The-saurarius, Clericus Registri, et Justiciarie, Advocatus.*" Proclamation narrating that "*the rebels minding not only to rebell thaimselfis, but to perswade and allure to thame all sic trew and obedient subjectis as thai are abil to entise, and to invaid and molest thair peaceabil and guid subjectis*;" and their Majesties intending to go in proper person and pursue the rebels with fire and sword: Therefore charging and commanding all and sundry, Earls, Lords, Barons, &c. within the shires of Haddington and Edinburgh, &c. provided for fifteen days after their coming, to meet their Majesties in Edinburgh on Saturday the 25th of August instant at even; the inhabitants of Linlithgow at Awand

[Avon] Water¹ on Sunday, by twelve o'clock; the inhabitants of Stirlingshire at Falkirk on Monday, by six in the morning; the inhabitants of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmanan, in the town of Stirling, the said day at even; the inhabitants of Lanerk at Kirkintilloch on Tuesday, by nine in the morning; the inhabitants of Dunbartonshire and Renfrew in Glasgow, the said day at even; and the inhabitants of "Aire, Wigtoun, Dumfreis, Kirkeudbright, Kyle, Carrick, and Cuninghame, at Irvine on Wednesday, under the pain of tinsal of lyff, landis and guidis."

Then follows the same day a Proclamation for the state of religion to remain as formerly, which I shall insert in the affairs of religion. It was meet to publish this Proclamation at this time, because the most plausible handle the rebels could invent for their rebellion was the fear of subverting the religion.

Eodem die—Proclamation advertising the lieges, that the rebels intending to "alluir and perswade to thame and thair faction all sic trew and obedient subjectis as thai are abill to entysse:" Therefore charging them, that "thai on na wayis ryiss, concur, nor assist with the saidis rebellis. And gif ony of thame hiddirtillis (hitherto) has riddin or bene in thair cumpany, or presentlie are with thame, that thai leif thair armour, pas hame to thair dwelling-houses, and allutirle leif oure saidis rebellis, under the pane of tinsal," &c.

August 23d—*Sederunt* the same persons as in the last Council-day: That whereas the Earl of Argyll continues to assist the Earl of Moray and other rebels; and their Majesties having given commission to John Earl of Atholl to be their Lieutenant in the north parts of the Realm, with power to pursue all the saids rebels and their assisters with fire and sword: Therefore several immunities are granted to persons of every rank and quality that shall happen to "be slane, hurt or deid, or takis seekness in the army ordanit to pass furthward under the charge of the said Lieutenant."²

¹ [This rendezvous must have been at Linlithgow Bridge, a hamlet about a mile from the royal burgh of Linlithgow near the bridge over the Avon, a romantic stream separating the counties of Linlithgow and Stirling.—E.]

² This Act is agreeable to former Acts of this nature, which the Reader will find in the printed Acts of Parliament.

Their Majesties' willing, as would seem, to accompany their regal Act and Proclamation emitted the day before with a friendly and gentle request, signed the following letter with both their hands.

" August 23. 1565.¹

" TRUSTIE FRIEND, We greit zow weill. That quhilk befor we suspectis hes now declarit itself in deidis, for our rebellis he (*have*) reiterate (i. e. *retired*) thame to the in-cuntrie, the suffering quhairof is na wayis to us honourabil. We mynd, God willing, in proper personis to pas for their persute, quhair-unto it is neidful that we be weill and substantiouslie accompaneit. We pray zow thairfore effectuaslie that ze with zour kin, freindis, and houshold, weill bodin in feir of weir, and providit for fifteen dayis eftir zour cuming, addres zou to mete us at Edinburgh the 25th day of August instant, be six hours at evin, and swa to pas furthwart with us, as ze will declair the guid affectioun ze beir to us and oure service, and do us maist acceptabil plessoure. Subscribit with oure handis at Edinburgh the 23d day of August 1565.

" MARIE R. HENRIE R."²

By this letter, and what shall follow, it will appear that the rebels had indeed been in the low countrie, as Mr Knox relates, and that they had prepared several things for an insurrection there, as well as in the Earl of Argyll's highland lands; since their Majesties' progress tends westward to the town of Irvine, and the Earl of Atholl was to invade Argyllshire with a body of Highlanders under his command, separate from the Queen's army. And their Majesties having now taken the resolution to march away from Edinburgh, did, however, wisely enough consider that many disaffected persons might be lodged in that capital, as well inhabitants as strangers (the ordinary fate of all capital cities), who might be easily instigated to take up arms in

¹ Cotton Library, Calig. B[ook] 10.—[British Museum.—E.]

² This is an original letter, but it is pasted on another leaf of paper for preservation, so that the direction is not to be seen. However, we may reckon there have been many copies of it sent about to the most considerable persons in the respective shires.

their absence, either by the authority or connivance of the Lord Provost, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, a man strongly addicted to the rebels, by which means their Majesties might come to be hemmed in with enemies both behind and before. And that their Majesties had reason sufficient to suspect such a management, they might easily gather from the insinuations which were industriously thrown into the minds of the common people relative to religion; the great sway Mr Knox¹ and the other preachers at that time had; and the late insurrection either tolerated, or too much neglected by those whose province it was to have quell'd it. On these considerations, their Majesties sent an express order to the Town-Council for the deposing of their Provost,² and placing of another in his room; both which injunctions were complied with by the members of that body. But as I reckon the particular management of this matter may prove satisfactory to some people, I shall upon that account give it a place in the Appendix,³ from the original Records of the Good Town.⁴

Edinburgh, 24 August—"Sederunt—Comites Mortoun, Cancell.; Athole, Mar, Dominus Ruthven; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Clericus Registri, et Justiciariæ, Advocatus." Proclamation narrating, that whereas the Earls of Moray and Rothes, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Provost Haliburton, being lawfully denounced rebels, are nevertheless supported and supplied by the Earl of Argyll and his friends, servants and tenants, inhabitants of the lands of Broadalbaine,⁵ Lorn,⁶

¹ See the Church Affairs of this period.—[Book III. of this History.—E.]

² The same person whom the Queen had in the year 1561 removed from that office, and whom she had likewise recommended to be elected again in the next year 1562.

³ Number VIII.

⁴ [The "*Good Town*" or in the Scottish *patois*, the "*Guid Town*," is a well known soubriquet applied to Edinburgh. Other cities and towns had, and still have, popular designations. Thus, Perth is the "*Fair City*," Dundee is "*Bonnie Dundee*," Kirkcaldy is the "*Lang Town*," and Musselburgh is the "*Honest Town*.—E.]

⁵ [Broadalbaine is a most mountainous district of Perthshire, extending among the Grampians, and surrounded by Lochaber, Atholl, Strathearn, Menteith, Lorn, and Knapdale. The word *Breadalbaine* is said to signify the highest land in Scotland, and is applicable to the district.—E.]

⁶ [Lorn is a district of Argyllshire, and comprizes the subdivisions of North, Mid, and South Lorn, all of which are fanciful, and are politically not recognized. Loch Etive bounds Lorn on the south, which separates it

Ergyle, &c. in contempt of their Majesties' authority; and that their Majesties have given commission to the Earl of Atholl, their Lieutenant in the north parts, to pursue the saids rebels and their assisters with fire and sword; Therefore commanding and charging all the lieges within the shires of Inverness, Nairn, Elgin, Forres, Banff, Aberdeen, Kincardine (i. e. Mearns), Forfar (i. e. Angus), *be-west* and about Glamis,¹ Perth and Strathern (Menteith excepted),² all betwixt sixty and sixteen years of age, and provided to remain for twenty days after their coming to Lorn, there to attend the said Lord Lieutenant upon the 20th September next to come, and to pass forward with him as they shall be commanded, "under pain of tinsal," &c.³

"August 26th—A former commission granted by the Queen the 7th January 1563-4⁴ to Colin Campbell of Glenurquhy⁵

from Knapdale; the Atlantic and the Sound of Mull bound it on the west; Lochaber and Moydart on the north; and Breadalbane on the east.—E.]

¹ I cannot see upon what account the other part of this last named shire lying to the *east* has been dispensed with; the length of the march could not be the reason. Perhaps there have been many disaffected persons there, favourers of Provost Haliburton of Dundee.

² [Menteith, or Monteith, is the south-west part of Perthshire, with the exception of the parish of Balquidder, which anciently belonged to the Stewartry of Strathearn. The district includes all the tract in Perthshire west of the Ochill Hills, the waters of which are discharged into the Forth. It derives its name from the vale of the Teith, is about 28 miles in extreme length from east to west, and 15 miles in breadth.—E.]

³ *Note*, This Act bears in the title—"Commission of Lieutenantcy to the Earle of Atholl."

⁴ In the original Records of Privy-Council there is a Commission, dated at Stirling the 22d of September 1563, to several Noblemen, heritors of the Highland countries, to prosecute the Clan Gregor, and, amongst the rest, to Colin Campbell of Glenurquhy. And again, in the same Register is a Commission recorded the 8th of January 1563-4, to the Laird of Glenurquhy alone, "giving, granting, and committing the Queen's full, free, and plain power to pass, search, and seek," &c.—[Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, known as the *Black Knight of Lochbuie*, treated the Clan Gregor in the most ferocious and coercive manner. The sept were deprived of their lands of Glenorchy, which subsequently originated a deadly feud, and severe acts of the legislature against them completely precluded them from ever recovering any portion of what they considered their ancient inheritance."—Macleay's Historical Memoirs of Rob Roy and the Clan Gregor, 12mo, Glasgow, 1818, p. 94, 95.—E.]

⁵ The predecessor of the Earl of Breadalbin, whose eldest son bears now the title of Lord Glenurquhy.—[Sir Colin Campbell was the great-grandfather of Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, who attempted to secure

against the Clan Gregor,¹ their assisters or resetters, is this day discharged, because he had not only abused his said Commission, but likewise under colour thereof had committed divers oppressions and slaughters upon their Majesties' lieges not being rebels. It may be rationally supposed, that Glenurchy, being a relation of the Earl of Argyll,² has been in this time assisting to that Earl, which has occasioned this Commission to be taken away; besides, that such a Commission might now interfere with the Earl of Atholl's Lieutenantry, since the country of Broadalbin, where Glenurchy's interest lay, is a part of, and included in, that new Commission to the Earl of Atholl.

These precautions taken, and affairs being put in the best order, the King and Queen left their capital city on the 25th of August, according to the Proclamation, and, as Knox informs,³ marched forward to Linlithgow, Stirling, and Glasgow.⁴ The rebels hearing of this march, and

for himself the Earldom of Caithness, and actually obtained a patent for it in 1677 to the prejudice of Sinclair of Keiss, whom the Privy-Council found entitled to the dignity, and he took his place in Parliament as Earl of Caithness in 1681. Sir John Campbell, thus deprived of this object of his ambition, obtained a patent that year creating him Earl of Breadalbane, Viscount of Tay, Lord Glenorchy, &c. He was deeply implicated in the atrocious massacre of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.—E.]

¹ [The Clan Gregor, or the Macgregors, were also known as the Clan Alpin, by their pretensions to be descended from Alpin, an alleged Scottish King of the ninth century. The district occupied by this Clan stretched along the romantic wilds of the Trossachs and Balquidder to the more northerly and westerly mountainous tracts of Rannoch and Glenorchy, including portions of the counties of Argyll, Perth, Stirling, and Dunbarton, called the *Country of the Macgregors*. The stupendous and rugged aspect of those districts rendered them difficult of access, sheltered the inhabitants from the sudden and desultory intrusion of other marauding and ferocious Clans, and preserved them from the immediate cognition of the law or the infliction of the military. The usual plan of punishment was to grant letters of fire and sword to some neighbouring Chief against the offending Clan. The Macgregors were long a peculiarly turbulent and daring sept.—E.]

² [Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy is mentioned as the great-grandson of Sir Colin Campbell, third son of Duncan first Lord Campbell of Lochawe, by Marjory, daughter of Robert Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland. He is the reputed founder of the Noble Family of Campbell of Breadalbane, but the "relationship" of Sir Colin and the then Earl of Argyll was rather distant.—E.]

³ [Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 381.—E.]

⁴ [Calderwood's account of this progress of Queen Mary and Darnley to suppress the rebellion raised by Moray is as follows—"The King and Queen goe to Paisley with foure thousand men, to persue so manie rebels

knowing that they were in no condition to dispute the matter by force, they made at first a feint as if they would advance towards Glasgow, the next day after the Queen's arrival thither; yet they came no farther than Paisley,¹ where they remained all night, being in company about one thousand horse.² On the morrow they made their whole intention to appear; for instead of attacking their Majesties, whose complete forces were nevertheless not yet

as remained at Paisley. An herald was sent to command the castell of Hamilton to be delivered. The Hamiltons breathed nothing but crueltie. No assured peace could be had in their judgment but by cutting off both King and Quene—"for the enmitie of Kings," said they, "could not be extinguished but by death." The King and Queene return to Glasgow, where the Erle of Lennox was made Wardane of the West Marches. They returne to Stirling, and thereafter make their progresse through Fife, where the Noblemen and Barons were compelled to sweare and promise assistance, if there came any armie from England."—*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 293.—E.]

¹ This is a fine pleasant village five miles west-south-west from Glasgow. It had formerly a rich and stately Abbey.—[The "fine pleasant village" of Paisley, 7½ English miles from its cross to that of Glasgow, is now a large manufacturing town, returning one member to the Imperial Parliament, containing by the census of 1841 a population of 60,963. The "rich and stately Abbey" mentioned by our Historian was founded about A. D. 1163 by Walter High Steward of Scotland for Monks of the Cluniac Order of Reformed Benedictines, and was dedicated to St James the Apostle, St Mirinus, and St Milburga. The ruins of it still exist, and the nave of the church has been used as the church of the Abbey parish of Paisley since the Reformation.—E.]

² [The rebellious Nobility, with Moray at their head, held a meeting at Ayr on the 15th of August, and resolved to be prepared with their forces on the 24th, when they would commence operations. They were in the meanwhile joined by the Earl of Glencairn, who, we have seen, was conspicuous at the Queen's marriage to Darnley, and by Wishart of Pittarrow, Comptroller of the Queen's Household, the avowed partizan of Moray. Sir John Maxwell, the Warden of the Western Marches before the appointment of the Earl of Lennox, had been induced to join the rebels in Dumfriesshire, where he held the chief command. On the 30th of August, Mary and Darnley accompanied their forces to Hamilton, but when they were informed on the way that the rebels had left that town for Edinburgh, they marched back to Glasgow. The movements of the rebels previous to this can be briefly stated. On the 29th of August, the day of the Queen's arrival in Glasgow from Stirling, they entered Paisley with a thousand horsemen, but finding themselves too weak to oppose the royal forces, they marched to Hamilton on the 30th, and on the 31st to Edinburgh. The Queen's troops followed the rebels to Edinburgh on the 1st of September, Mary and Darnley sleeping first in Calendar House, and on the following night in Stirling Castle, while their army rendezvoused at Killyth.—E.]

come up, and being by this time deserted by all the Hamiltons (an inconsiderable number with their chief excepted) they changed their route, and took their march towards Edinburgh on the last day of the month, in hopes, no doubt, to have met with a great increase of men in that city and adjacent counties. But herein they were much disappointed, and then appeared the good effect of the Queen's management within the city; for though the rebels found means to enter the city by the West Port,¹ notwithstanding the endeavours of the new Provost, who caused the bells to be rung for convening the townsmen to oppose them;² yet they came soon to perceive that they could make but little advancement to the cause, after all the trouble they had been at.³ "Immediately after their arrival," says Knox, "they dispatched messengers southward and northward to assist them, but all in vain: And immediately after they were in their lodgings, they caused to strike or beat the drum, desiring all such men as would receive wages for the defence of the glory of God, that they should resort the day following to the church, where they should receive good pay.⁴ But they profited little that way: Neither could they in Edinburgh get any comfort or support, for none or few resorted unto them; yet they got more rest and sleep when they were in Edinburgh than they had done in five or six nights before.

"The Noblemen of this company were the Duke, the Earls of Moray, Glencarne, and Rothesse, the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree; the Lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead,

¹ [The West Port was one of the city gates of Edinburgh, and the principal entrance into the old city from the west. It stood at the western end of the spacious street called the Grassmarket.—E.]

² Mr Alexander Erskine, Captain of the Castle under his brother the Earl of Mar, discharged only two cannon shots against them; and had he done his duty, there is little doubt to be made but he might have galled them much in their road to the city.

³ [The active movements of the Queen and the royal forces completely disconcerted the rebels. They had sent messengers everywhere, imploring aid for their "good cause," but these efforts were unavailing, though they were assisted by the sermons of Knox, who had prepared them for this *emeute* by his exhortations. On the 19th of August, when Darnley attended St Giles' church, Knox had preached against the government of women and boys, meaning the Queen and Darnley.—E.]

⁴ They thought a sermon by Mr Knox would inspire the whole congregation with a martial spirit.

Balcomie, and Lawers;¹ the Tutor of Pitcur;² the Lairds of Barr, Carnel, and Dreghorne;³ and the Laird of Pittarow, Comptroller,⁴ went with them. Some said merrily, that they were come to keep the Parliament, for the Parliament was continued till the 1st of September." Thus far he.⁵ When they arrived in Edinburgh, he reckons them one 1300 horse.

The rebels now perceiving their error, and the misfortune they were like to meet with, resolved to bethink themselves of cooler measures; for which purpose, on the 1st of September, they dispatched a letter of pretended submission to the King and Queen, "provided the true religion of God might be established;" but adding in the close, "that if their enemies would seek their blood, they should understand that it should be dear bought." Mr Knox says they had written twice already to the same effect,⁶ but that they received no answer; and, indeed, there was no wonder in that, since it could not fail to be evident to every person that that submission was only fained, and of purpose to gain time, or to watch a better opportunity afterward.

The Queen having got an account of the march of the rebels towards Edinburgh, without any delay set forth with the King in pursuit of them, with no less than 5000 men in their army; the van whereof was led by the Earl of Lenox, the middle by the Earl of Morton, and the rear by the King. Hereupon the rebels, perceiving to their regret that they could get no support in Edinburgh, nor soldiers for money (with which by the bounty of their sincere friend the Queen of England they were well supplied), "albeit," says Knox, "they had travelled all they could;" and being advertised of the Queen's speedy return with an army so

¹ [Kirkaldy of Grange, Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, Learmonth of Balcomie, and Campbell of Lawers.—E.]

² [Hallyburton of Pitcur in Forfarshire.—E.]

³ [Probably Crawford of Barr in the parish of Largs, Ayrshire. The other two west country "lairds" are uncertain. A property called Carnel Bank is in Kilmaurs parish; and Dreghorn, in the parish of its name, is said to have been acquired in 1520 by Hugh first Earl of Eglinton, previous to which it was in the family of a branch of the Stewarts of Bonkill.—E.]

⁴ [Wishart of Pittarrow, Comptroller of the Queen's Household.—E.]

⁵ [Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 381, 382.—E.]

⁶ [*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 382.—E.]

far superior to them, after several consultations went first to Lanerk,¹ and from thence to Hamilton.² The King and Queen being advertised of this route, and judging that the rebels had a design to enter into Glasgow,³ returned by the way they came;⁴ but having got an account at Glasgow, that the rebels had taken another road, and were gone to Dumfries,⁵ on purpose, as would appear, to have it in their power to make their escape into England, if it should so fall out that their affairs did not take a speedy and prosperous turn:⁶ Their Majesties, I say, hearing of this route

¹ It is a town about twenty-four miles distant from Edinburgh to the south-west.—[The county town of Lanark is thirty-three English miles from Edinburgh.—E.]

² [Perceiving that the citizens were not to be excited either by the preaching of Knox or the exertions of Moray, the rebels left Edinburgh on the 2d of September before daybreak to escape a volley from the Castle, and marched to Lanark, whence they proceeded to Hamilton, where they were joined by Sir John Maxwell and Douglas of Drumlanrig. They were induced to march from Hamilton into Dumfries-shire on the 4th of September.—E.]

³ The village of Hamilton is eight miles east of Glasgow, near on the road to Edinburgh.—[Hamilton, now a Parliamentary burgh, in the Falkirk district of burghs, which includes Lanark, is at present a thriving town eleven English miles from Glasgow, with a population of 8689 in 1841.—E.]

⁴ [This was by Calendar, where Queen Mary dined, whence she proceeded to Stirling, and passed the night. On the 3d of September she joined her forces at Kilsyth, and accompanied them to Glasgow. She remained there on the 4th and 5th, without making any effort to pursue the insurgents into Dumfries-shire, rode to Stirling on the 6th, leaving the Earl of Lennox as her Lieutenant at Glasgow with the Western subsidies, while her forces proceeded to Stirling, and on the 8th, under her and Darnley, into Fife.—E.]

⁵ This town is about fifty miles south from Edinburgh, and twenty-four miles north-west from Carlisle in England.—[The county town of Dumfries is 73 English miles from Edinburgh by Moffat, 76 miles by Biggar, and 33 miles from Carlisle.—E.]

⁶ [Moray and the leading insurgents, after marching into Dumfries-shire, had ample opportunity to correspond with Elizabeth's officers on the Borders, and to urge her to declare war against Mary. On the 8th of September they published a manifesto, pretending that they took up arms for *the religion*, and this was followed by another, or probably the same, dated Dumfries, 19th December, entitled a "Declaratioun of the Lords proclaimed at Dumfreis against the Queen's Proceedings, anno 1565." (Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 569-576). It is a long document, and is particularly severe in its denunciations of "idolatrie and superstitioun." The rebels carefully concealed their original motive for the insurrection, which was

taken by the rebels, thought it not worth while to follow them, but went first to Stirling, and from thence into Fife, having by the way taken into their custody, without much impediment, the Castle-Campbell belonging to the Earl of Argyll.¹ The Queen passed quickly to St Andrew's,² in which city several disaffected gentlemen³ of the country subscribed a bond to defend the persons of the King and Queen against Englishmen and rebels. At the same time, the Duke, the Earls of Glencairn and Argyll, and Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, &c. having been charged to come into St Andrew's within six days, and make answer to such things as should be laid against them, the time being expired, and they not compearing, they were all denounced rebels. From St Andrew's the King and Queen crossed the river Tay, and went to the town of Dundee, where they remained two days; and complaint having been made, that the magistrates of that town had secretly favoured the rebellious Lords, and had allowed some men to be raised

the Queen's marriage. Elizabeth, in consequence, on the 11th of September ordered the Earl of Bedford, her Lieutenant on the Borders, to advance with 300 men to Carlisle, to aid the insurgent Lords at Dumfries.—E.]

¹ This shews that the Queen has entered Fife by the foot of the Ochell-hills, since Castle-Campbell stands there.—[As Queen Mary's object was to secure the Earl of Argyll's stronghold of Castle-Campbell, on her way to Dunfermline, the route by the base of the Ochills was the most direct for her purpose.—E.]

² [The Queen and Darnley remained at Stirling on the 7th of September, and on the 8th they proceeded to Dunfermline, by way of Castle-Campbell. They slept at Dunfermline, on the following day they dined at Lochleven, and afterwards rode to Falkland. On the 10th they went to St Andrews, and passed the next day there. On the 12th the Queen went to Dundee, the Provost (Hallyburton) of which was an avowed partizan for Moray. The Queen and Darnley continued in Dundee on the 13th and 14th, and actually issued a proclamation in favour of the Reformed religion, exposing the misrepresentations which had induced many to join the rebels, and promising to summon a Parliament, which had only been prevented by the traitorous conduct of the disaffected, to confirm whatever had been promised to the Reforming party. On the 15th the Queen and Darnley went to Perth, and resided chiefly at Ruthven till the 18th, when they proceeded to Dunfermline. On the 19th the Queen and her husband left Dunfermline, dined at Queensferry, and rode to Holyrood Palace, where the Queen resided till the 8th of October.—E.]

³ Not twenty in number, though Knox and Buchanan would represent this in another light. See Appendix.—[Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 383; Buchanan's *History*, Translation, Edin. 1752, p. 305.—E.]

there for their service ; the town was fined in a small sum of 2000 merks.¹ From Dundee their Majesties returned to St Andrew's, and from thence to Edinburgh.² And here they having taken a resolution to pursue the rebels in person, who were now in the south country about Dumfries, the lieges had warning to convene at Biggar³ on the 9th day of October following. It is said their Majesties went from Edinburgh the day before, and that an army of no less than 18,000 men waited on them,⁴ at which formidable appearance

¹ Mr Knox condescends on this precise sum, and yet Archbishop Spottiswoode says the towns of Perth, Dundee, and St Andrews were fined in great sums ; but 2000 merks could be no great sum for such towns, since the readers will observe that several gentlemen of the sirname of Gordon were obliged three years ago to give bail for the sum of 5000 merks for each person, and several sureties for gentlemen at this same time were higher than 2000 merks. Mr Holinshed discovers the ground of this treatment of these three towns, by informing us that several persons belonging to them received money from the Earl of Moray to take part with him, "for which (he adds) they were after punished." Mr Knox seems likewise to own this.

² ["The Household Books ascertain the dates of the several movements. Keith was misled by Knox in stating that the King and Queen returned from Dundee to St Andrews, and thence to Edinburgh."—Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 154.—E.]

³ It is a small village about twenty miles south-west from Edinburgh.—[The neat little town of Biggar, in the parish of its name in Lanarkshire, is 28 English miles from Edinburgh on the shorter road to Dumfries.—E.]

⁴ Besides the gathering together of the lieges to form an army, the ancient and ordinary manner used in Scotland, the Queen had at this insurrection kept several companies of men in regular pay, for the defraying which charge she had asked assistance from her friends abroad ; and Sir James Melvil acquaints us, as before noticed, that the Pope had sent her 8000 crowns, but that the ship which carried the money was lost within the Earl of Northumberland's bounds on the coast of England, who, though he was a *Roman Catholic*, could not be prevailed with to deliver the money to our Queen. So powerful is the love of money above that of religion ! Though what Sir James reports of this cannot in the least be suspected, since he tells that himself was sent to the Earl of Northumberland to demand the money, yet for the farther satisfaction of the reader I have here subjoined a letter on this head from our Queen to the Queen of England. *Shatter'd MS.*—"Rycht excellent, &c. In the lait rebellion quhilk sum of oure subjectis laitlie raisit up aganis ws, we war constrainit to lift certane cumpaneis of men of weir, and for sustaining of thame to —sum of oure friendis, with leving of pairt of money, quhilk—grantit, deliverit, and cummand to oure Realme, the schip quhairin the same money was contenit, as we are informit, is brokin within zowr Realme, and cum in the handis and possession of certane zowr subjectis : And sen the same money justlie appertenis to ws, we pray zow, derest sister, gif

the rebels were so terrified, that they retired towards Carlisle in the Borders of England, where they were well assured of a safe retreat, and had the hopes of a powerful assistance.¹ See APPENDIX. The King and Queen being advertised of this, gave over any farther expectation of getting the principal men into their hands; and so having reposed themselves a short space at Dumfries, and visited the castle of Lochmaben,² which had been in the keeping of Sir John Maxwell,³ formerly one of the rebels, but at this

strait commandment and direction to zowr Lieutenantis and Officiaris on the Bordouris, that the said money and guidis be haldin togiddir undissipat and scatterit, and be fullie restorit and deliverit to sic personis as we sell direct for ressaist of the same: Quhairin as ze sall do that quhilk in itself is equall and according to ressou, sa will we grant ws to have ressavit a speciall plessour at zour handis, and will endeavour our self to acquite zow with semblabill guid will, quhensoevir occasioun may occur quhair we may in ony wyiss gratifie zow. And this abydand zowr answer heirin, rycht excellent, &c." In all this matter we may take the freedom to remark, that the Queen has been but ill advised to receive money from the Pope, or yet to demand the restitution of it from the Queen of England; at least, she might hardly expect to recover it.

¹ [From the rendezvous at Biggar the royal forces marched into the Nithsdale district of Dumfries-shire through the mountain passes, and arrived on the 10th of September at Castlehill near Durrisddeer, where a Privy-Council for regulating the command was held. So determined was Mary in the pursuit of the rebel Lords, that "she rode," observes Mr Tytler, "with pistols at her saddle bow, and declared to Randolph that she would rather peril her crown than lose her revenge."—(MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, September 4, 1565. History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 85.) The van was assigned to Lennox; the centre to Darnley, attended by Morton, Bothwell, Ruthven, and others of the Nobility, accompanied by Queen Mary in person; and the rear was to be led by Atholl, Huntly, and a few loyal Peers. The whole force, however, was most motley and discordant, yet the march was effected to Dumfries on the 11th, previous to which Moray and his friends fled into England, where they were kindly received at Carlisle by the Earl of Bedford, and thus terminated the insurrection.—E.]

² [Lochmaben Castle, now a dilapidated ruin, is near the little royal burgh of Lochmaben, for such it is, though merely a rural village, eight miles from Dumfries. The ancient castle, a residence of King Robert Bruce as Lord of Annandale, was close to the decayed burgh on a mound called the Castlehill, surrounded by a moat and fosse. The present ruinous castle, then visited by Queen Mary, is alleged to have been built from the stones of the old edifice, and occupies a peninsula on the south-east side of the Castlehill Loch, one of the nine lakes which surround the antique burgh of Lochmaben. It was of great strength and extent, the outworks, it is alleged, enclosing sixteen acres. The castle has three courts, and the walls are in some entire parts twelve feet thick.—E.]

³ He was second son to the Lord Maxwell, and married the eldest

time upon his humble submission received into favour;¹ they returned forthwith to Edinburgh to take care for the farther security of their government.²

I thought it not amiss to lay before the readers this short account of the proceedings against the rebels, which I have chiefly formed from Mr Knox, as being more exact and particular herein than the other historians: Yet, because I would not leave my readers without better instruction in all this matter, I have inserted in the Appendix³ the several Acts of Privy-Council relating to it, together with such other Acts as were made for the better security of the Government, after their Majesties' return from Dumfries, about the 18th of October. In the Appendix will likewise be seen several abstracts from the Cotton Library, which will afford more certainty of some things that hitherto have been reported only upon hearsay.

The Queen of England having all this time had an attentive eye upon the affairs of Scotland, and perceiving that the rebel Lords, whom she had buoyed up, were not able to make good their evil intentions, thought it no longer advisable for her to keep at a distance from our Queen; and therefore dissembling in some sort what was past, she wrote her a letter, and gave Mr Randolph instructions to confer with her concerning some proper means to compose the difference that had lately fallen out betwixt them. This

co-heiress of the Lord Herries, and by her right came to be Lord Herries. Before he was Lord Herries, he is designed Sir John Maxwell of Terreigles.—[Sir John Maxwell, seeing the cause of the rebels hopeless, submitted to the Queen's clemency, and was continued Warden of the West Borders.—E.]

¹ In the Record of Privy-Council is inserted, by order of the King and Queen, a declaration signed by them of the date the 1st of January 1565-6, vindicating and pardoning this gentleman for sundry points of treason alledged to have been committed by him, among which is particularly mentioned, "for that he accompanyeit in Dumfries of late ane numer of oure subjectis quhilk now ar rebellis, and past in England; for that we undirstand that he was nevir of mynd to ayd thame against us; and als be his continowal humane labouring to us for thame; and als that he wald on nã wayis tak pairt nor assist with Ingland, nor pass with thame in that realme; nor as we knaw wes nevir of counsal, nor privy to na particularis we haif to lay to thair charge before thair cuning to oure town of Dumfries."

² [Mary and Darnley returned to Edinburgh on the 18th of October, and remained in that city till the end of the year.—E.]

³ Number IX.

letter is no where now to be seen, nor any account of the Queen's conference with Mr Randolph; nor had we come at all to the knowledge that ever there had been any such thing, unless by the following record of our Privy-Council.

Apud Edinburgh, 5 Novemb. Anno Dom. 1565.

“SEDERUNT — *Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius; Georgius Comes de Huntlie;*¹ *Jacobus Comes de Bothwell;*² *Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis, Miles; Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ;*³ *Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciarie, Advocatus; Magister Jacobus Balfour, Rector de Flisk;*⁴ *Symon Preston de eodem Præpositus de Edinburgh.*

¹ The readers will take notice by the Acts in the Appendix at what time these new Councillors are introduced.

² [The notorious Earl of Bothwell, who had previously been in exile. “At this crisis,” says Mr Tytler, “the Earl of Bothwell returned from France, profiting by the disgrace of Moray, whose power had expelled him from his country. He was favourably received by the Queen, although well known to be a rash, daring, and profligate man; but his extensive Border estates gave him much power, and the circumstances in which Mary was placed made her welcome any Baron who could bring a formidable force into the field. In his company came David Chambers, a person of a dark intriguing spirit, who had long been a retainer of this Nobleman, and although a Lord of the Session, more likely to outrage than administer the law.”—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 8, 9. David Chalmers, or Chambers, of Ormond, a native of Ross-shire, educated at Aberdeen, successively parson of Suddy—a parish now annexed to Kilmuir Wester in Ross-shire, Provost of Crichton, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Ross, was admitted an Ordinary Lord of Session on the 26th of January 1565-6 in room of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, and he was also constituted a Privy Councillor. He was openly accused of the murder of Darnley, and was forfeited for his assistance to Queen Mary after her escape from Lochleven. As a contrast to Mr Tytler's character of this personage, Dempster designates him as *vir multa et varia nec inamari ingenua* (Historia Ecclesiastica, 4to. Edin. 1829, printed for the BAXSATYXE CLUB, vol. i. p. 194), and Mackenzie (Lives of Scottish Writers, vol. iii. p. 391) speaks of him in the highest terms of eulogy.—E.]

³ [Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, or Candida Casa, and Titular Archbishop of Athens, again appears in public life, although an avowed adherent of the Reformers. See the note, vol. i. p. 250, 251, of the present edition.—E.]

⁴ [Flisk is a parish on the banks of the Tay, below Newburgh, in the north side of Fife. Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich is described by Robertson (History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 354) as “the most corrupt man of his age,” and he belonged to a family who, according to Knox, had “neither fear of God nor love of virtue farther than the present commodity served them.” He was successively Parson of Flisk, an Extra-

“THE quhilk day, the Quenis Majestie having ressavit ane letter from hir guid sister the Quene of Ingland, and with that had sum conference with Mr Randolph upoun sic thingis as he had instructioun, tending to the pacificatioun of allelestis¹ and controversies standing betwix thair Majesties, quhairby the Kingis Hienes, hir Grace’s husband may in tyme cuming be recognoseit, and all thingis tending to the weillfair and tranquillitie of baith the Realmes composit and takin up. In fyne, the said Mr Randolph requirit to haif ane saulfe-conduct generall, subscrivit onelie be the Quenis Majestie, to sum personagis of guid truist and qualitie, sic as it sould pleis the Quene his maistress to nominat to cum into this Realme, to treat upoun the above-named matteris; quhairunto the Quenis Majestie wald mak na anser, quhill first hir Majestie had opponit and exponit the caiss to the Counsall. And thai having at greit length, and with guid deliberatioun, considerit the matter, and ressonit baith the partis, quhat commoditie or incommoditie heirupoun may follow: For thair opinioun declair, That thai think the said saulf-conduct may weill enough be grantit in forme, and to the effect above specifeit, without prejudice to the Quenis Majestie, dishonor to the Kingis Hienes hir Grace’s husband, or hurt or incommoditie of this Realme, and common weill thair-of, bot rather a greit commoditie to baith thair Majesties.”²

Agreeable to this determination of the Scottish Council, the Queen of England did nominate two or more persons to come into Scotland, but whatever might have intervened to alter that Queen’s intentions I cannot take upon me to ascertain; only we are certain that there is no vestige left in any historian of either nation that such an embassy came at all into this country. Nay, it rather appears by the

ordinary Lord and an Ordinary Lord of Session, one of the four Commissioners, a Privy Councillor, was knighted, and appointed Clerk Register, and Lord President of the Court of Session, in addition to various emoluments which he contrived to secure. He is said to have been the deviser of the murder of Darnley, and prepared the house in the Kirk-of-Field, which belonged to his brother as Provost, for the reception of his unfortunate victim. Sir James Balfour is supposed to have died peaceably in 1583, though connected with severable murders.—E.]

¹ [So printed by our Historian, and evidently a typographical error.—E.]

² [Our Historian adds to this document the initials R. M. See the notes, p. 349, 351, of this volume.—E.]

tenor of all the original letters, &c. that are as yet fallen into my hands, that this intended embassy did not take effect. It is, however, true that very large Instructions were drawn up at this time, a copy whereof I have seen from the Cotton Library, bearing this title—" *Instructions to — and Sir Walter Mildmay, November 1565.*"¹ They contain a recapitulation of all former demands and expostulations, and the chief point I judged noticeable in them was, that Queen Elizabeth therein declares herself willing to allow that clause in the Treaty of Edinburgh to be altered, by which our Queen complained that her right to the Crown of England was taken away altogether, and that the Treaty be renewed in such terms as that preclusion should subsist no longer than the natural lives of Queen Elizabeth, or the issue of her own body.²

During the remaining part of this year are to be seen in the Register of Privy-Council a good number of bonds of cautionry and suretyship, for such persons up and down the countries of Fife and Lothian³ especially, as had been suspected of favouring the rebel Lords, &c., as likewise for the delivering up, when required by the King and Queen, the castle of St Andrew's, now put in the possession of John Archbishop of St Andrew's, the castle of Tantallon,⁴

¹ We see this person in the number of Queen Elizabeth's Privy-Counsellors; and Camden takes notice, in the end of the next year, that he was made under-treasurer of the Exchequer.—[Camden's History and Annals of Queen Elizabeth, London, 1625, p. 136. Sir Walter Mildmay succeeded Sir Richard Sackville as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Camden designates him an "uncorrupt and considerate man." Beatson designates him *Sir William Mildmay*.—Political Index, vol. i. p. 332.—E.]

² See Sir Dudley Digges' Complete Ambassador. *Item*, Instructions next year following by the hands of the Earl of Bedford.—[Queen Elizabeth's Instructions to Sir Henry Norris, Ambassador Resident in France, in "The Compleat Ambassador," collected by Sir Dudley Digges, Knight, Master of the Rolls, fol. London, 1655, p. 9-17.—E.]

³ [The county of Fife, and those of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, and Haddington, also known as West, Mid, and East Lothian.—E.]

⁴ [Tantallon Castle crowns a lofty and projecting rock surrounded on three sides by the sea, overlooking the Bass Rock, and the entrance into the Frith of Forth from the German Ocean, in the parish of North Berwick, county of Haddington. This castle was long considered so impregnable, that to "ding doon Tantallon and mak a brig to the Bass" were two things, in the vernacular of the peasantry, impossible. On the west side, by which alone it is accessible, it was defended by two ditches of great depth, and by massive towers. The entrance was over a drawbridge

then in the hands of the Earl of Morton by right of ward ; and the castle of Lochleven, pertaining to William Douglas proprietor thereof. But because there is some more specialty with respect to this last place, it may not be improper to impart the same to the readers. On the 7th of November an order is given to a herald to charge Margaret Erskine (Earl of Mar's sister, and Earl of Moray's mother), Lady Lochleven, William Douglas of Lochleven, and Robert Douglas his son, to render the castle and fortress of Lochleven, and remove themselves forth of the same, within six hours after they be charged thereto. On the 13th of the same month compears in Council Adam Macculloch, herald, with the execution of his charge, and declared likewise that William Douglas of Lochleven, being sick and in his bed, in peril of his life to his appearance, professed himself most willing to obey the charge, and desired the said herald to remain with him while he and the Countess of Buchan,¹ who was just then travelling with child within

through a strong stone gateway. The outer structure of Tantallon Castle is comparatively entire, but roofless and completely desolate, the interior a mass of broken staircases, fragmented and ruined apartments, and repulsive, dreary, and dismal subterranean dungeons. The date of its erection is unknown, but it came into notice with the rise of the Douglas Family, who obtained the barony of North Berwick at the accession of Robert II. For centuries it was the stronghold of the Earls of Douglas. In 1479, twenty-four years after their forfeiture, Archibald fifth Earl of Angus, the celebrated *Bell-the-Cut*, received a grant of it from James III. The next Earl of Angus, who married the Queen-Mother of James V. after he had lost all influence over the person of the young monarch, shut himself up in Tantallon Castle, and defied the hostile power of the kingdom. James V. endeavoured to reduce it in September 1528, but notwithstanding his formidable preparations and efforts, he was compelled to raise the siege, and he only obtained possession by the subsequent flight of Angus into England. After the death of James V. the Earl was permitted to return from exile, and in 1542 he was restored to his possessions, when he repaired the castle, in which he died about 1557. In 1639 the Covenanters contrived to secure Tantallon on account of its lord, the Marquis of Douglas, opposing their rebellion, and they even garrisoned it against Charles I. Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord President of the Court of Session, having bought the Castle and the adjacent barony of North Berwick from the Duke of Douglas about the beginning of the eighteenth century, dismantled it, and reduced it to a mass of ruins, in which state it has since continued.—E.]

¹ This Lady was heiress of Buchan, and married to Robert Douglas, second brother to William Douglas, now of Lochleven, in whose right he was Earl of Buchan ; as his elder brother came afterwards to be Earl of

the house, might remove themselves forth of the place. Hereupon the King and Queen are pleased to receive surety for William Douglas, for his mother Margaret Erskine, and his son Robert Douglas, that the said castle of Lochleven "sall be reddie and patent at thair Majesties' commandment, with all the munitioun and artailzearie being within the samyn quhilkis perteint to James Erle of Moray, at quhatsumevir tyme thair Hieneses sall requyre the samyn, upon twenty-four houris warning; and that nane of thair Majesties rebellis, servandis, messengeris, sall be resset suppleit or interteynit in the said place in the mean tyme, under the pain of 5000 markis." *Note*—The Earl of Mar was not in Council on the 7th of November, but was present on the 13th day.

In the end of this year it is observed that several disturbances had fallen out on the Borders of the two kingdoms, whereof complaints had been reciprocally made, but more on the part of the Queen. It appears for certain that the Queen of England was at least willing that the Earl of Bedford, her Lieutenant in the north parts, should give some annoyance to the Borders of Scotland, thereby to try what uneasiness he might create the Scottish government.¹

Morton.—[Christian, only daughter of John, Master of Buchan, elder son of John third Earl of Buchan, of the surname of Stewart, descended from James, uterine brother of James II., and second son of Sir James Stewart, the *Black Knight of Lorn*, by Jane Queen of Scotland, Dowager of James I. Christian, Countess of Buchan, was infeft as heir to her father (who was killed at the battle of Pinkie in 1547) in July 1547. She was contracted to the Earl of Moray, while he was Commendator of St Andrews, in January 1549, but this alliance was by some means or other prevented, and she married Moray's uterine brother Robert Douglas, second son of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, who in her right became fourth Earl of Buchan. Their only son James succeeded as fifth Earl, and by the marriage of his only child Mary Countess of Buchan to James Erskine, eldest son of John Earl of Mar by his second Countess, the Earldom of Buchan was conveyed to that branch of the Noble Family of Erskine.—E.]

¹ [The Earl of Bedford, however, appears to have acted with great prudence in his office of Warden. He wrote to the Earl of Leicester, dated Berwick, 26th October 1565—"I am advertised foure or five wayes that the Scottish Queen meaneth to take Aymouth (Eyemouth), and that even shortly. I have written heretofore that it hath been often viewed, and now I write that it will be fortified. That Queen sendeth men to divers places, as to Kelsoe four hundred, to Hume Castle fifty harquebysers, and yet cannot we be perswaded that the Queen meaneth warres, because we meane peace. How peace will follow upon such prognostica.

if he should not be able to send home the rebel Lords of Scotland, contrary to their sovereign's inclination. Yet all these efforts proved but unsuccessful; and the best satisfaction I can afford my readers therein, is to insert in the Appendix such original Papers as have come to my hand concerning them.

The rebel Lords having been kindly entertained by the Earl of Bedford at Carlisle, made, however, but a short stay in that town, and removed themselves to Newcastle; from which place, without much loss of time, they deputed the Earl of Moray and Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, to repair to the Queen of England, and negotiate their common interests with that Princess. But to their own and other their friends' great surprize, these gentlemen could obtain no audience of that Queen; howbeit, Mr Knox says,¹ the Earl of Moray obtained audience by means of Mons. de Four,² the French ambassador. And when he came into her presence, that crafty Princess asked him with a fair countenance, *How he, being a rebel to her sister of Scotland, durst take the boldness upon him to come within her Realm?* And she plainly told him, that *she had never promised to support them, nor never meant any such thing in that way.* To which the Earl of Moray should have replied—"Madame, whatever thing your Majestie meant in your hairet, we are thareof ignorant; bot thus much we know assuredly, that we had lately faythfull promises of ayd and support by your ambassadour and familiar servants in your name, and further, we have your awn hand wryting confirming the said promises."³ In fine, there was nothing to be had from

tions of warres I cannot conceyve, nor will it not sinke into my head. I have heard the old Borderers say that the Scottes were ever those that broke the peace and sett upon the warres, either by stealyng or open violence. And because they be of an old custome the first, and ever aforehand with them, we are loath to break them of the same, for we never stirre till we have receyved too much injury, or else feel it smart too sore. I would be as glad of a good and assured peace as any other, and as much I have done to preserve the same."—Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 215, 216.—E.]

¹ [Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 388. Knox designates Monsieur de Four, or Foix, the French Ambassador, the Earl of Moray's "true friend."—E.]

² Foix.

³ This is a bold reply Mr Knox puts in the mouth of the Earl of

that Queen but scorn and disdain, until at length the Earl and the Abbot were perswaded, upon promises of the assistance they demanded to the uttermost of her power, to come and confess to her upon their knees, in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors,¹ who complained in their masters' names that her Majesty had fomented the rebellion in Scotland, and that her only delight was to stir up dissension among her neighbours—"That her Majesty had never moved them to any opposition or resistance against their Queen's marriage." Then said she to them—"Now you have told the truth; for neither did I, nor any in my name, stir you up against your Queen;² for your abominable treason may serve for example to my own subjects to rebel against me. Therefore get you out of my presence; ye are but unworthy traitors." What the Queen of England said on this occasion, Mr Randolph stoutly though falsely averred. But Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was a man of integrity, stood neither in awe of Queen nor Council, but freely owned that he had made promises to the Scottish Lords in name of his mistress; for which plainness it was thought he might have suffered largely, had he not wisely obtained an Act of Secret Council for his warrant, when he came into Scotland and made these promises, and which Act he boldly at that time offered to produce.³

Moray; bolder, I suspect, than he durst have uttered in publick. If he said so at all, it has been probably in a corner,—[This conversation between Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Moray is narrated by Knox in his "*Historie*," Edin. edit. 1732, p. 388, 389.—E.]

¹ If the readers find any incongruity in the behaviour of the French ambassador, Mr Knox is to answer for it.

² Sir James Melvil, *Memoirs*, p. 57, says, that "the Queen of England promised by her ambassadors to hazard her crown in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait, because of appearing against the marriage." But there are so many glaring instances of that Queen's promising to assist the rebels, that to repeat them were but loss of time and expence.

³ Melvil's *Memoirs*.—"And the said Sir Nicholas," says Sir James Melville, "was so angry that he had been made an instrument to deceive the Scots banished Lords, that he advised them to sue humbly for pardon at their own Queen's hand, and to engage never again to offend her for satisfaction of any Prince alive: And because as they were then stated they had no interest, he penned a perswasive letter, and sent unto her Majesty." This letter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Queen Mary is immediately inserted by our Historian from Sir James Melville's

This management by the Queen of England is a piece of as refined dissimulation as is likely to be met with in any age or Court; for notwithstanding all that seeming displeasure, yet she both had already, and continued not only to afford the rebels a secure retreat into her kingdom, but secretly also to supply them with money, as Mr Knox acknowledgeth,¹ who it is to be supposed knew better their secret remittances than Sir James Melvil, who here narrates the contrary.²

After these things were done in the Court of England, the Duke of Chastellherault, perceiving that the Queen his sovereign was not so much incensed against him as the other Lords,³ and judging likewise by the behaviour of the English Queen that matters would neither quickly nor easily be compounded at home, dispatched the Abbot of Kilwinning from Newcastle to his own sovereign, to make in his name humble submission to her Majesty, and to supplicate her favour and pardon for the wrong steps he had made of late. This, according to Abp. Spottiswood,⁴ “he easily obtained, because he was known to be nothing so guilty as the others, and to have been craftily drawn upon that faction; so that he returned into Scotland in the month of December following.” But Mr Knox says,⁵ “it was with great difficulty⁶ that the Abbot got pardon for the Duke, and his friends and servants, upon this condition, that he should pass into France, which he did soon after.”⁷

“Memoirs,” edited by George Scott, Gent. folio, London, 1683, p. 60-63.—E.]

¹ [Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 389.—E.]

² [As for secret help, she (Elizabeth) gave them none, only they obtained a small contribution among some of their own religion there, who were their friends, which was distributed among them at Newcastle, where they remained comfortless and in great trouble.”—Sir James Melville’s Memoirs, p. 57.—E.]

³ This will appear by the leaving his name out of the summons of treason, which the reader will presently hear of.

⁴ [Archbishop Spottiswoode’s History of the Church and State of Scotland, folio, London, 1677, p. 192.—E.]

⁵ [Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 389.—E.]

⁶ The difficulty arose from the King; for it is observable that the Queen was well enough disposed towards the Duke, and afterwards even towards the Earl of Moray, against both whom the King shewed much opposition.—[The “King” here mentioned is Darnley.—E.]

⁷ Holinshed says much the same, but whether this was a condition of the Duke’s remission, I cannot say. However, thus much is certain, that the

The Government being now utterly delivered from any apprehension of disturbance from the rebels, had resolved to deal by them with the utmost rigour; and for this purpose a resolution was taken to hold a Parliament in the beginning of February next, to which they were to be summoned, in order to forefeiture. In the end of November the summons of treason was executed against them, and on the 1st of December we find this declaration that followeth inserted in the Privy-Council Books.

“ Apud Edinburgh, 1 Decemb. Anno Dom. 1565.

“ SEDERUNT—Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Joannes Comes de Athole, David Comes de Crawford; Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Clericus Registri, et Justiciarius, Advocatus; Magister Jacobus Balfour, Rector de Flisk; Robertus Carnegie de Kynaird, Miles.¹—Declarationn anent the executioun of the summondis of tressoun.

“ THE quhilk day, in presence of the King and Quenis Majesties, and Lordis of Secret Counsall, comperit Mr Johne Spens of Condry, advocate to thair Hienesses, and exponit how at thair Majesties' command he had lybellit summondis of tressoun aganis Archibald Erle of Ergyle, James Erle of Murray, Alexander Erle of Glenearne, Andro Erle of Rothes, Andro Lord Uchiltrie, Robert Lord Boyd, and divers utheris, to compeir in the nixt Parlement to begin the ferd day of February nixt to cume, to heir thame decernit to haif incurrit the cryme of lese-majestie, and to haif tynt² and

Duke went into foreign countries at this time under the pretext of getting the assistance of physicians; for in the *Scotter'd MS.* there is a letter of recommendation in the Latin tongue, directed by the King and Queen to all Princes, States, &c. to allow the said Duke to pass and reside among them for the advice of physicians. This letter is dated at Holyroodhouse on the — day of January 1565-6, and these precise words are contained in the letter—*ubi p. riturum medicorum est copiet.*—[It is, however, generally asserted by historians that the Duke of Chatelherault was obliged to leave Scotland and retire to France. He returned in 1569.—E.]

¹ [Sir Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, grandfather of David first Earl of Southesk, and of John first Earl of Northesk. He was much engaged in public affairs, was appointed a Lord of Session in 1547, and died in January 1565-6, a few weeks after the above meeting of the Privy Council.—E.]

² Lost.

forfault lyff, landis and gudis, for certayne crymes of tressoun and lese-majestie specifeit in the said summondis. Bot becaus thair wer divers of the saids personis outwith¹ the Realme, and havand na certane dwelling places, utheris to quhais dwelling places and presence thair is na suir passage,² it behovit thame to be summoned be oppin proclamatioun at the mercate-croce of Edinburgh, and utheris croces nixt adjacent, according to the common law; and thairupoun desyrit a declaratioun and determinatioun of thair Majesties and Lordis forsaidis. The quhilk being reasonit with guid deliberatioun and advysment, thair Majesties and Lordschips findis and declaris that the saids personis being summoned in manner above specifeit, the executioun is als sufficient in all respectis as gif the same summondis wer execute upon thame personallie, or at thair dwelling-places.”³

Note—From this day forward until the murder of David Riccio, I can see but very few diets of Council either in the abstracts or transcribed Acts. The first after this is on the 22d day of the same month of December—“*Sederunt Comites Mortoun, Huntlie, Argile, Athole, Mar, Dominus Ruthven, Episcopus Candidæ Casæ, Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis, Miles:*” Calculation, “with advice of the Comptroller, of what money and victuals will yearly furnish and sustain their Majesties’ house and averie;” together with an order to the said Comptroller for payment and furnishing of the same, viz. 35000 pounds in money, seventy-two chalders of wheat, fifty chalders of bear, 130 chalders of oats. And here it may be proper to desire the readers to take notice, that the ounce-weight of silver was in value at that time in Scotland only thirty shillings; whereas at this present time⁴ it is valued at sixty: so that 35,000 pounds Scots was equal in weight to 23,000 ounces of silver, and would make, according to the common computation used in Scotland now, and for many years bygone, no less than 72,000 pounds.⁵ If 35,000 pounds shall appear a contemptible

¹ Without. ² This, no doubt, respects the Earl and Shire of Argyll.

³ [This document is also initialled “R. M.” by our Historian.—See the notes, p. 349, 351, 373, of this volume.—E.]

⁴ [When our Historian published his “History,” which was in 1734.—E.]

⁵ We come hereby to learn that the Scottish money of that time has

sum for the expence of the royal house, we must call to mind, that in that time the prices of all necessaries were vastly lower than what they now are, as will appear by several Acts of Privy-Council regulating the same, and consequently the price of silver proportionably the more valuable. King Henry VIII. of England, by his latter will and testament, bequeaths to the executors thereof, being the most principal persons of his kingdom, several sums, none of which exceeds five pounds; the Archbishop of Canterbury in the front of all receives but five merks, and some receive but one merk. See *Hereditary Right*, APPENDIX.

The same 22d of December is the Act for the coinage of a piece of silver called the *Mary-Ryal*.¹ On the 1st of January 1665-6 is the vindication of Sir John Maxwell of Terreglis; on the 4th day, caution for the castle of St Andrew's; and on the 7th ditto, caution for the castle of Tantallon. On the 12th of February there is a private Act, not worth the mentioning, but nothing after this till the murder of Riccio was over.

been but six times lower than the English computation, since from the reign of Queen Mary of that kingdom the ounce of silver has given but five shillings, as it is there to this day. See the tables of coin in the "Chronicon Preciosum." From hence we may also perceive that the English computation has continued very much fixed, but that our Scottish money has been in a continued fluctuation and gradual lowering from the English computations; we having already seen in this work that it was formerly one-fourth of the English, was afterwards one sixth, and is now in our days, and has been for a considerable space bygone, but one twelfth. Mr Randolph likewise computed, in this same year 1565, the Scottish money to be one-fourth of the English.

¹ [The *Real*, or *Royal*, was a gold piece anciently current in England for ten shillings. Mary, after her union with Daruley, ordered a coinage in 1565, and in 1566 and 1567. In that of 1566 her name alone appears, while the others contain the names *Mary* and *Henry*. The *Mary-Real* of 1566 is that mentioned by our Historian. See Cardonnell's *Numismata Scotiæ*, or a Series of the Scottish Coinage from the Reign of William the Lion to the Union, 4to. Edin. 1786, p. 16, 17, 18, 97, 98. The Act for the coinage of this Real is dated 22d December 1565, as mentioned in the text. On one side is the royal shield of Scotland crowned, surmounted on each side by a thistle, surrounded by the words—"MARIA DEI GRA. SCOTORUM REGINA;" and on the other a palm tree crowned, surmounted by a thistle, with the words—"PAT GLORIA VIRES"—below the leaves on a scroll, a shell paddock, or lizard creeping up the trunk of the tree, and surrounded by the motto—"EXURGAT DEUS ET DISSIPENTUR INIMICI EJUS"—the date 1566.—E.]

Mention having been already made of the integrity of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in the case of the rebel Lords, it is proper now to add, that that gentleman took in so bad part his having been made a tool by the Queen and Council of England to deceive these Lords, that he thought he could not do them a better office, and so make amends for the snare he had indirectly led them into, than to advise them to sue humbly for pardon at the hands of their own Queen;¹ and in order to procure the same, to engage themselves never again to offend her, for the satisfaction of any Prince alive. And because he was a secret favourer of our Queen's right of succession to the Crown of England, and therefore was loath that her Majesty should make any steps that might any way lessen the number of her friends in either kingdom, or do any thing that might possibly obstruct her succession in a convenient time, but on the contrary take all such measures as might facilitate the same, he was so generous as to frame, and so courageous as to transmit, the following letter to the Queen, which, for the good sense therein contained, and the meetness of it for our present purpose, I have taken the freedom to give it a place here.

Letter by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in behalf of the Scottish Lords who had fled from justice into England.

“YOUR Majesty hath in England many friends of all degrees who favour your title, but for diverse respects. Some for very conscience sake, being perswaded that in law your right is best; some for the good opinion they have conceived, by the honourable report they have heard of your vertues and liberality, the consideration whereof engageth them to esteem your Majesty most worthy to govern; some for factions, who favour your religion; some for the ill will they bear to your competitor, seeing their own danger if the Lady Katharine should come in that place.

Of these, some are Papists, some Protestants; and yet however they differ among themselves in religion, or other particulars, they are both of one mind for the advancement

¹ We find by an abstract that the Earl of Moray had sent Robert Melvil to make intercession for him, which the King chiefly obstructed.

of your title. Your Majesty hath also diverse enemies, for various respects not unlike to the other, whose study hath always been, and will be, unless they be made friends, to hinder any thing that may tend to your advantage. In one point all concur, both friends and enemies, yea, the whole people, that they are most desirous to have the succession of the Crown declared and assured, that they may be at a certainty; only the Queen herself is of a contrary opinion, and would be glad the matter should always be in suspense.

“Your unfriends have done what they could to take the advantage of the time to your prejudice, and for that end pressed the holding of the Parliament, which was before continued till October last; knowing assuredly that if the Parliament held, the succession of the Crown would be called in question. And they thought the time served well for their purpose, when there was division and trouble in your own Realm, and no good understanding betwixt you and the Queen of England; and her subjects your friends, for eschewing that inconvenience, and winning of time, to give your Majesty place to work and remove all impediments, so far as wisdom may, have found the means to drive it off till the next spring.¹ Now their advice is, that in the mean time your Majesty endeavour by wisdom to assure yourself of the whole votes, or at least of the best and most considerable, of the Parliament, when ever the matter shall be brought in question; which may be done by retaining the hearts of those you have gained already, recovering of those who are brangled, winning of the neutrals, and so many of your adversaries as may be gained. For it is not to be supposed that all can be won who are already so far addicted to the contrary faction, but when the cause of their aversion is removed the effect will cease.

“Generally your Majesty will do well to forbear any act that will offend the whole people, and use such means as will render you most acceptable to them. Strangers are universally suspected to the whole people, against which your Majesty hath in your marriage wisely provided, by

¹ By D'Ewes's Journals of Parliaments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we see that the English Parliament was indeed prorogued from the 4th October 1565 to the 7th February 1565-6.

abstaining to match with a foreign Prince:¹ so do they advise your Majesty to abstain from any league or confederacy with any foreign Prince that may offend England, till you have first essayed what you can purchase by the benevolence of the born subjects thereof. Not that they would desire your Majesty to forfeit your friendship with France and Spain, but rather that you should wisely entertain them both to remain at your devotion, in case afterward you have need of their favour. Nevertheless it is their wish, that the same may rather remain in general terms as heretofore, than that you proceed to any special act which may offend England, which you cannot with honour bring back again when you would. As many of your adversaries as are addicted to the contrary faction, for hatred of your religion, may be gained when they see your Majesty continue in the temperance and moderation you have hitherto used, within your own Realm, in matters of religion, without innovation or alteration.² As many as by misreports have been carried to the contrary faction, may by true report be brought back again, when they shall hear of your clemency used towards your own subjects; which virtue in Princes, of all others, most allures the hearts of people to favour even their common enemies.³ As many as can deal warily and discreetly with your friends of both the religions, and are only addicted for conscience sake to my Lady Katharine,⁴ being perswaded of the preference of your title in law, may be gained to your Majesty by contrary perswasions, and by adducing of such reasons and arguments as may be alledged for proof of your good cause, whereof there are abundance to be had. Some your Majesty will find in England, who will hazard as far as they dare, to serve your turn in this behalf: but because it is so dangerous to men to deal in, and may endanger lives and lands, if they be seen earnest meddlers, travelling in that point so as would be necessary; it will require such instruments

¹ Sir Nicholas now speaks out his own sense of things; he is not now clothed with a publick character.

² A very good and honest testimony to the Queen's prudence and discretion. Nor can it be alleged that Sir Nicholas was a stranger to this country, or to her Majesty's doings.

³ He wisely here lays before the Queen what he would wish her to do in the business of the rebel Lords.

⁴ The Lady Katharine Gray, the present heir of the Suffolk Family.

of your own when time comes, who may boldly speak without danger, and with whom the subjects of England dare freely communicate their minds, and enter into conference. If any be afraid of your Majesty, thinking that you have an ill opinion of them, the assurance by a trusty minister of your good will, whom they may credit, will quickly put them out of doubt, and make them favourable enough. They who are constantly yours are easily retained at your devotion. Those who heretofore have born any favour, and by the late occurrences are any way brangled, will be brought home again, when they shall see your Majesty, now when it is fallen into your hands to use rigour or mercy as you please, rather incline to the most plausible part in shewing your magnanimity, when you have brought your subjects to submission and gentleness, as the good pastor to reduce his sheep that were gone astray home again to the fold. Those who are yet neutrals, by the same means, and true information of your interest by law, may all be won to your side. This done, when the matter comes in question, your friends will earnestly press your interest at this Parliament, and you will without controversy bear it away.¹

“This advice, in so far as concerns your reconciliation with your subjects, is not a fetch for their favour, but is thought expedient for your service by many who have no favour for them, and are different from them in religion. For it will bring the Queen of England greatly to favour you, when she shall see such an union in your own kingdom, of the head and whole members together. She will not know how to disturb your Majesty's estate, especially when the reconciliation takes effect in the hearts of the subjects in England, who will think themselves in an happy condition if they should come under the government of so benign a Princess, who can so readily forgive great offences. For albeit it must be acknowledged my Lord of Moray hath by his inconsiderate carriage given your Majesty great ground of offence, yet it is hard to perswade the Protestants that

¹ But that Parliament was again prorogued to the 30th of September, at which sessions there was much stir about a successor to the English Crown; and probably enough the matter might have been raised, at least fomented, by our Queen's favourers.

your quarrel against him hath any other foundation than that he differed from you in religion. Upon this ground they find themselves engaged to espouse his quarrel.¹ If, then, they perceived your Majesty graciously inclined to take him again into favour, and forgive what is past, the Protestants in England would doubtless declare themselves more affectionate to your interest, when they shall see more of their own religion so elemently handled. And that your Majesty may have experience, that it is your advancement your friends would by this means procure, and not the advantage of those with whom your Majesty is offended, a middle way may be followed, as is frequently used in such like cases, where not only the multitude is spared, but the chief authors are preserved.² It may please your Majesty to cause a letter to be pen'd in good terms and form, and publish the same by proclamation, declaring the just cause of your anger against all of them; and that yet, for declaring your own good nature above their deservings, you are content to remit the whole, except such principals as you please to reserve and except by name from the general pardon, and that with whom you will not take such severe order as you might in law, till you have further trial and experience of their penitence. The persons so to be nominated and excepted shall³ depart out of England, to what country pleaseth your Majesty, there to remain during your pleasure. In this mean time, if your Majesty find that this benign usage of yours shall produce such fruit as is here spoken, your Majesty may further extend your favour, as you find convenient and profitable for your self; for your Majesty hath still the crimes lying above their heads. In the mean time, all who favour them in England will plead in their cause with your Majesty, so far as their power extends, as if they were agents for your Majesty. They will in nowise, if they can eschew it, be again in the Queen of England's debt, neither by obtaining of any favour at your hand by her intervention, nor yet for any support in the time of their

¹ The certainty of this observation is beyond all doubt, and under this shelter this Lord thought he might attempt any thing.

² Rather *reserved*.

³ The Earl of Moray, &c. have been willing to take upon them this banishment; and have been pleased that Sir Nicholas should suggest the same.

banishment; but rather it may please your Majesty, that their charges be allowed them of their own lands. By following this advice, which in nowise can be prejudicial to your Majesty, but will much conduce for your interest, you may recover the greatest part of the Bishops of England—many of the greatest Nobility and gentlemen—who are yet neutral.”

Sir James Melvil, from whose Memoirs I have taken this letter,¹ proceeds to inform us, that “their names were declared to her Majesty in cypher, by whose means Sir Nicholas alledged her Majesty should obtain so great an interest in England, that albeit Queen Elizabeth would appear against her, she needed not care. For in sending but 1000 men of her own, out of four parts of England, a sufficient number should join with them, by whose forces, without any strangers, her Majesty should obtain the thing which is wrongfully refused and retained.”

This same author who was at that time in great credit about our Queen tells us next—“When her Majesty had seriously pondered the preceeding letter, it had great influence upon her to move her to follow the desire thereof, as well for the good opinion she had of him who sent it, as being of her own nature more inclined to mercy than rigour; she being also wise, and being convinced that it tended to the advancement of her affairs in England. She was therefore fully resolved to have followed the advice thereof, and to prolong the Parliament which had been called to forefault the Lords who had fled. Rizio appeared also to have been gained for counselling her hereto: My Lord Moray had sued to him very earnestly, and more humbly than could have been believed, with the present of a fair diamond inclosed within a letter,² full of repentance and fair promises; which the said Rizio granted to do with the better will, that

¹ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 60-63.—E.]

² Buchanan would be loath to discover such meanness in his patron. He says, that “when the other Nobles courted this upstart fellow, Moray alone, who had no dissimulation in his heart, was so far from fawning on him, that he gave him many a sour look.” But now that Lord's stomach had taken a new qualm. Mr Buchanan can dress up a hero when he pleases.—[This passage occurs in Buchanan's History, Translation, Edin. 1752, p. 300. Whatever Buchanan may say to the contrary, to suit his

he perceived the King to bear him little good will, and to frown upon him.¹” And Sir James adds—“The Queen’s Majesty, following this advice and advertisement given by Sir Nicholas, sent my brother Sir Robert Melvil to remain her ambassador in ordinary at the Court of England, to be ready at all occasions, in case any thing were treated at the Parliament concerning the succession, and to pursue the design laid down by Sir Nicholas and her other friends in England.”² Sir James’s brother had been so far trusted by the rebel Lords, that he was sent by them from Dumfries to solicit in their behalf aid from the Queen of England.³

own purposes, and to elevate his patron Moray, the affairs of the latter were at that crisis in such a desperate state that he interceded with Leicester, wrote to Cecil, imploring him to save him from being “wrecked for ever,” addressed a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and condescended to court Riccio. Moray “bespoke his good offices by the present of a rich diamond, with a letter soliciting his assistance.” Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 16, 17.—E.]

¹ Some of our historians report that by reason the King was oftentimes absent at his diversions, therefore the Queen caused make a cachet for stamping his name, which she delivered to Mr Riccio, and that this created him anger from the King. They say likewise that the Italian gentleman was too haughty in his behaviour, and prodigal in his equipage, and that he appeared more splendid than the King himself. But I suppose this last may be exaggerated, since Sir James Melvil, who complains of his too great interest at Court, says nothing at all thereof.—[Riccio was at this time in considerable affluence. On the 1st of August 1565 he received, by order of Mary and Darnley, black “taffete” worth L.5:4s., and black satin worth L.6; on the 24th he was supplied with money for a bed and furniture, and he “seems to have now acted as privy purse to the King and Queen, as money was imprested to him for the King and pages; and on the 28th of February 1565-6, he was paid by the Queen’s precept L.2000 in part of 10,000 merks owing to the Queen from the *comptoir* of the coinage for the space of two years.”—Chalmers’ Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. ii. p. 157. “In this Courte dyvers contentions, quarrels, and debates; nothing so much sought as to maintayne mischief and disorder. David (Riccio) yet retayneth still his place, not without heart grief to many that see their sovereigne guided chieffie by such a fellow.”—Randolph to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 7th February 1565-6, in Wright’s “Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 221. Riccio had a brother named Joseph, who is said to have succeeded him as private Secretary to Queen Mary. “Whatever there may be in that intimation, there is certainly a letter remaining from the Queen to Drury, of the 17th of January 1566-7, desiring him to detain Joseph Riccio, an Italian, ‘*our domestic*’ who had left Scotland with his friend’s money.”—Chalmers’ Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. ii. p. 157.—E.]

² [Sir James Melville’s Memoirs, p. 63.—E.]

³ See Knox, and Letters in the Appendix.—[Knox’s Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 386.—E.]

But notwithstanding this step made by Mr Melvil, the Queen was pleased, nevertheless, to pardon the same, and send him at this time from herself into England, by reason, I suppose, of the ancient and continued friendship between his brother Sir James and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton; and, by what follows in Sir James's Memoirs, it appears he did the Queen very notable service in England. Her Majesty being aware that her sending Robert Melvil, who had been so lately a messenger for her rebels, might prove an occasion of no small reflexion, thought fit, for obviating the same, to send along with him letters of recommendation to the Queen of England, and to one of her principal ministers, which letters I have put into the Appendix.¹ These letters want, indeed, the date, but by other abstracts in the Appendix likewise we come to know, that the time of sending Mr Robert Melvil into England by the Queen was in the beginning of February this year.

About the same time, namely, in the beginning of February, arrived in Scotland, Messire Jaques d'Augennes, Seigneur de Remboilliet, with a deputation from the King of France to invest our Queen's husband with the order of Knighthood of St Michael,² commonly called the *Scallop*, or *Cockle-Shell* Order.³ This gentleman had been at the Court of England on an errand of the same kind; and it was observed that he came from thence into Scotland with a more than

¹ Number X.

² [The Order of St Michael was instituted in 1469 by Louis IX. "The mantle of the Order was of white damask, bordered round with embroidery in gold and colours, representing the collar of the Order, and lined with ermine. The chaperon was of crimson velvet, embroidered like the mantle, under which the Knights wore a short coat of crimson velvet. The badge of the Order was a medallion of gold, representing St Michael trampling on a dragon, enamelled in proper colours, and worn pendant to a collar composed of escallop shells, and chains of gold interwoven like knots. The knights usually wore this badge pendent to a broad black watered ribbon."—Rees' Cyclopaedia, 4to. London, vol. xxiii. The French Order of St Michael declined under the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III., but it was regulated in 1661 by Louis XIV. who lessened the number of the Knights, and restored its reputation.—E.]

³ Though Mr Knox places this gentleman's arrival in the end of January, yet he had scarcely time to make his journey hither from London after the 24th of January, on which day we see by authentic records that he installed into the same Order the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Leicester at Westminster.—See Ashmole's "Order of the Garter," and "Life of the

ordinary train. The ceremony, Holinshed acquaints us,¹ “was accomplished with great solemnity and reverence in the Chapel of Holyrood-house the 10th of February, being Sunday, after which the said Remboillet returned into France, being highly rewarded.” And some time thereafter another French gentleman, named Villamonte, was sent hither with a commission to dissuade our Queen from shewing any favour to the rebel Lords, because the Roman Catholick Princes had all bandied together to root out the new pretended Reformation.² This advice, Sir James Melvil

Earl of Leicester.” Mr Randolph also in an Abstract February 6th this year, takes notice of Rambouillet’s arrival at Edinburgh, the Sunday before, which was the third of the month.—[Rambouillet had been at Windsor, where he represented his sovereign Charles IX. of France, who, by him as proxy, was installed a Knight of the Garter. The investiture of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester took place at Whitehall.—Holinshed, p. 1209.—E.]

¹ [No doubt exists of the fact of Darnley’s investiture, which was probably no great compliment, as we have seen that Charles IX., who presented him with the Order, had allowed it to decline. Knox says that the ceremonial took place after the celebration of mass in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, and that the Earls of Lennox, Atholl, and Eglinton, were present, with “divers sic uther Papists as wald pleis the Quene, who thrie days efter caused the herauld to convene in counsall, and resounded what armes should be given to the King.”—Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 391. An exhibition given by the Queen to the French ambassador on this occasion was by no means dignified or decorous.—“Upon the elleviint day of the said moneth,” says the Diurnal, “the King and Queene in lyk manner bankettit the samin ambassatour; and at evin our Soveranis made the maskrie and mumschance, in the quhilk the *Queenis Grace and all her Maries and ladies were all clad in men’s apparell*; and everie ane of them presentit ane whinger, bravelie and maist artificieallie made and embroiderit with gold, to the said ambassatour and his gentilmen, everie ane of them according to his estate.” Rambouillet, according to Holinshed, was himself a Knight of the Order of St Michael. “Monsieur Rambolet came to this towne upon Mondaye. He spake that night with the Quene and her husband, but not longe. The next day he had conference with them both, but nothing came to the knowledge of any whereof they entreated. I cannot speak with any that hath any hope that there will be any good done for the Lords by him, though it is said that he hath very good will to do the uttermost of his power. He is lodged near to the Courte (Holyroodhouse), and liveth upon the Quene’s chardges.” Randolph to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 7th February 1565-6, in Wright’s “Queen Elizabeth and her Times,” vol. i. p. 220.—E.]

² [This League was planned by the Duke of Alva and Catherine de Medici, Queen-Dowager of France, mother of Charles IX. “There was a bande latelie devised, in which the late Pope (Pius IV.) who died on the 8th of December 1565, and was succeeded by Michael Ghisleri as Pius V. elected on the 17th of January following, the Emperor, the King of

says,¹ proceeded chiefly from the Cardinal of Lorrain, and the Queen was loath to offend her relations of the House of Guise. Riccio likewise being of the same religion, came easily into the same measures.² And so the Queen took a second deliberation, contrary to what the letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton had infused into her.³

Spaine, the Duke of Savoy, with divers Princes of Italy, and the Quene-mother (of France) suspected to be of the same confederacy, to maintayne Papistrye throughout Christendome. This bande was sent out of France by Thorneton (a person employed by Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow), and is subscribed by this Quene. The copie whereof remayning with her, and the principall to be returned verie shortlie, as I heare, by Mr Steven Wilson, a fit minister for such devilish devises."—Randolph to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 7th February 1565. Queen Mary secretly joined the confederacy, to which she might have been induced by self-defence against her factious Nobility, as well as by inclination.—"In an evil hour," says Mr Tytler, "she signed the League, and determined to hurry on the Parliament for the forfeiture of the rebels. This may, I think, be regarded as one of the most fatal errors of her life, and it proved the source of all her future misfortunes. She united herself to a bigotted and unprincipled association, which, under the mask of defending the truth, offered an outrage to the plainest precepts of the Gospel. She imagined herself a supporter of the Catholic Church, when she was giving her sanction to one of the worst corruptions of Romanism; and she was destined to reap the consequences of such a step in all their protracted bitterness."—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 20. Mary fondly cherished the hope of restoring the Papal Hierarchy not only in Scotland, but in Britain. Her letters to the Pope, the King of Spain, and her uncles the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, express her strong feelings on the subject. The documents preserved in the Medicean archives at Florence prove that the Italian Princes took a deep interest in the affairs of Scotland; and Cosmo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, maintained an agent at Edinburgh.—E.]

¹ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 63, 64.—E.]

² [The Earl of Bedford, in a letter to Cecil, designates Riccio that "*great enemy of religion*."—E.]

³ This account given by Sir James Melvil, and a letter by Mr Randolph of the 6th of February to Sir William Cecil, do mutually confirm each other, for he tells of one "Clerneau a Frenchman being come from the Cardinal of Lorrain, since whose arrival no good to the banished Lords." Band to introduce Popery in all Christendom signed by the Queen, and the original to be sent back by Mr Stephen Wilson." Sir William Drury also in his letter from Berwick, to be seen in the Appendix, mentions "Mons. de Clarence to be come from the Cardinal of Lorrain; the letters which they say he brought, much hindered "the banished Lords." It would appear by these different letters, that Mons. de Villamonte and Clerneau or Clarence, have been but one and the same person.—[Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 60-63. Randolph wrote to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 7th of February, not the 6th, 1565-6—"Within these fiftene daies there was some good hope that this Quene would have showed some

By the summons of treason raised against the rebels, we find that the Parliament should have been kept on the 4th of February; but by the reasoning contained in Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's letters, the Queen, it seems, had judged proper to adjourn the Parliament; and now that she had altered her mind a second time, the Parliament was appointed to sit on the 12th day of March. And as it was usual to prepare, in a Council of Articles, such matters as were to come before the Parliament, the Queen called these Lords to convene in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh¹ on Thursday the 7th of March, and laid before them the case of the rebels living in voluntary exile; and after some debate thereupon, the result was, that their forfeiture should be proposed in open Parliament. Now, the rebel Lords had many friends in the kingdom, some upon the account of consanguinity, others upon that of religion, and both these had still shewed an inclination that the exiles should be received into favour, at least they should obtain pardon for what was past; and because they looked upon Riccio as the chief let² thereof, he

favour towards the Lords, and that Robert Melvin should have returned unto them with some comfort upon some conditions. Since that tyme there are come out of France, Clerau by land, Thornton by sea, the one from the Cardinall (of Lorraine), the other from the Bishop of Glascowe; since whose arrival neither can there be good word gotten, nor appearance of any good intended them, except they be able to persuade the Quene's Majesty our soveraigne to make her heir-apparent to the Crowne of Englande." The state of Queen Mary's Court as it respects religion is described by Randolph in the same letter—"Upon Sonday the order is given: great means made by many to be present that daye at the masse. Upon Candlemas-daye there carried then candles with the Quene, her husband, the Earle of Lenox, and Earle Atholl. Divers other Lords have bene called together, and requyred to be at the masse that day. Some have promised, as Cassels (Cassillis), Montgomerie (Eglinton), Seton, Catness (Caithness); others have refused, as Flemingie, Livestone (Livingstone), Lindsay, Huntley, and Bothwell; and of them all Bothwell is stoutest, but worst thought of. It was moved in Counsell that masse should have bene in St Giles' church, which I believe was rather to tempt men's mindes than intended. Indeed, she was of late minded agayne to send Robert Melvyn to negotiate with such as she trusteth in amongst the Quene's Majestie's subjects, of whose good wills this way I trust that the brute is greater than the truthe." Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 219, 220.—E.]

¹ [The Tolbooth or Jail of Edinburgh was commonly the place where meetings of the Privy-Council and Parliaments were held. It was the old building which stood near St Giles' church, immortalized by Sir Walter Scott as the HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN.—E.]

² [*Hindrance or obstacle.* Calderwood charges Riccio with the following

having altered his mind upon the arrival of Villamonte, several dark speeches had run in the country, as if his life was aimed at by those who envied his favour and sway at Court, of which both himself and the Queen had received intimation ; but they despised all threatenings, and reckoned these speeches to be nothing else but rumours raised on purpose to terrify the Court into a compliance with their desires.¹ Besides the persons who had particular attach-

very improbable project—"David Rizio, commounlie called Seigneur Davie, having gottin the Court in a maner solitarie, at least free of malcontented Nobles, adviseth the Queene to cut off some of the Nobilitie for a terroure to others. Because the Scottish Garde would not be readie to put in executioun suche a design, he counselled her to send for strangers, namely, Italians, because they were commounlie voide of all sense of religioun, brought up under tyrants, accustomed to mischiefe ; who being farre from home might be soon stirred up to attempt anie thing. Because they were his own countrie-men he thought he might move them to do what he pleased. They come out of Flanders, one by one, least the purpose should have been discovered. There was greater danger to offend one of them than to offend the Queene herself."—*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, p. 310. It must be admitted that, if the above outrageous scheme is true, Riccio was not very complimentary to the character and principles of his countrymen. This story is also in Buchanan's History, Translation, Edin. edit. vol. ii. p. 306.—E.]

¹ It was certainly an error in the Queen to admit a foreigner into much confidence in matters of State. This is a piece of management has seldom been seen to succeed. The natural born subjects never fail to envy such preferments, and even Riccio himself seems to have been sensible of some such thing. See Melvil's Memoirs. It was no doubt a fault in the Privy-Councillors that they did not remonstrate to the Queen against her employing him. Mr Buchanan vamps up very pretty flourishes in his invective against Riccio. He represents him as a member of the Articles, which sat on the 7th day of March ; and yet that poor man never sat at all in an ordinary Council. Again, he represents his insolence, in "prohibiting the Queen to read over a very large and obliging letter, full of prudent advice, from the Queen of England, endeavouring to incline her from a watchful to a reconcileable temper towards her rebels." I shall not take upon me to say peremptorily that no letter came from the Queen of England to our Queen about the time Buchanan here points at ; but I may be free to say, that there is no appearance left to us of any letter at that time, and by all that we can now see, the Queen of England had already given up any further intercessions in favours of the rebels of Scotland, since our Queen had expressly desired she might not meddle betwixt her and her subjects. If it was Tamworth's message that Mr Buchanan aims at (and as Rapin Thoyras understands him) truly it was no very great insolence for any person in the Queen's presence to say her Majesty had heard enough of that insolent memorial. There is a certain manner of doing a thing, which may be decent or indecent according to the circumstances. And it is well known that Mr Buchanan has a knack

ments to the rebel Lords, there were others also that laboured with all their might to obstruct the meeting of the Parliament, because they dreaded the *revocation* of several grants that had been made during the Queen's minority, of which sort was the Earl of Morton. And there was another set yet, who had no mind that the Parliament should hold, lest, as they had heard it whispered, the Queen should therein call them to account for the ecclesiastick benefices they had seized, without proper law, during the late changes in religion. All these malcontents had joined their consultations how to make an alteration at Court, and the best expedients they could light on, which some people likewise affirm to have been suggested to them from the Court of England, was to foment dissensions betwixt the King and Queen, and to remove Mr Riccio out of the way.¹ The Earl of Morton, they say, was set to manage the contrivance, who not only acted his own part very dexterously, as it is certain he had a head well turned for matters of cunning,

of representing matters with abundance of lively satyr. And it is not a little observable, that his late French copyist finds himself under a necessity about this juncture to say—"perhaps this historian greatly aggravates matters." I own Holinshed takes notice of the Queen of England her sending a gentleman into Scotland to intercede for favour in her name to the rebellious Lords; but as this author, otherwise indeed of more than ordinary exactness, represents this to have been obtained from the Queen of England at the request of the Earl of Moray, his account herein is the less to be depended on, since we know the Queen of England affected, at least, a different outward deportment towards that Earl at this time, howsoever assisting she might be to him and his fellows secretly and under-hand.—[Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 55; Buchanan's History, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 309.—E.]

¹ [When Mary's adhesion to the Roman Catholic League, and her resolution to hasten the meeting of Parliament to forfeit Moray and his rebellious friends were known, they saw at once that their only escape from ruin was to adopt desperate measures. "The time," says Mr Tytler, "was fast running on, and the remedy, if there was any, must be sudden. Such being the crisis, it was at once determined that the meeting of Parliament should be averted, the government of the Queen and her ministers overturned, and that, to effect this, Riccio must be murdered. This last atrocious expedient was no new idea, for the seeds of an unformed conspiracy against the foreign favourite had been sown some time before, and of this Moray's friends now availed themselves, artfully uniting the two plots into one, the object of which was the return of Moray, the dethronement of the Queen, and the re-establishment of the Protestant leaders in the power which they had lost." History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 21. — E.]

but made good use likewise of a cousin of his own, George Douglas,¹ who was continually about the King, and infused into him such suspicions, as the discontented party thought proper to suggest for their own ends. The vile aspersion of the Queen's honour, as entertaining a criminal familiarity with the ugly ill-favoured Riccio,² deserves not to be regarded.³

¹ He was commonly called the *Postulate Bishop of Moray*. He was bastard uncle to the King, being natural son to the Earl of Angus by a daughter of the Family of Morton.—[Mr Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 22) designates this person Darnley's *cousin*. He was the illegitimate son of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, who married Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, and by her had Lady Margaret, the mother of Lord Darnley. Our Historian is correct in the relationship, for George Douglas was the "bastard uncle," not the *cousin*, of Darnley. He was appointed Titular Bishop of Moray in 1573 by his relative the Regent Morton at the death of Patrick Hepburn, the last consecrated Bishop of that See of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy.—E.]

² He is so called by Buchanan, besides other writers.—[See the note, as to Riccio's personal appearance, p. 302, 303, of the present volume. Our Historian justly designates this atrocious, false, and infamous calumny the "vile aspersion of the Queen's honour as entertaining a criminal familiarity with the ugly ill-favoured Riccio," and properly observes, that it "deserves not to be regarded." Buchanan also pretends that Queen Mary, to enable Riccio to sit in the Convention of Estates, applied in the most earnest manner to the proprietor to sell the lands of Maleville, now Melville, in the parish of Laswade, six miles south of Edinburgh, that she might bestow them on her favourite—that in vain, however, she dealt with the owner, his father-in-law, and others of his friends, to persuade him to it—that she took the refusal as an affront—and that Riccio was indignant at the result. This story probably originated the tradition in Laswade parish that the old house of Melville, on the site of which is built Melville Castle, the splendid seat of Lord Viscount Melville, actually belonged to Riccio, and that it was occasionally inhabited by Mary. Buchanan farther alleges that the Queen intended to promote Riccio to the "degree of the Nobles, that she might cover the meanness of his birth and the defects of his body with the lustre of dignity and promotion, and that, having qualified him to sit and vote in Parliament, she might be able to give such a turn as she pleased to the debates of that Assembly."—*History*, Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 308. These statements contain their own refutation.—E.]

³ Knox gives a slender touch of this, and Buchanan is fond to dwell upon it. But Sir James Melvil, who had better opportunities of coming at the secrets about the Court, takes not the least notice of any such thing, though otherwise he is severe enough on the affair of Riccio. Neither do we meet with the smallest hint thereof in all Mr Randolph's, or other State Letters at this time; which to an impartial observer must surely be an evident conviction of the calumny. It is indeed not a little surprising to find Rapin de Thoyras assume the confidence to aver that Sir James Melvil doth either hint at this matter, or suppose it. But that

But that the faction would indeed make it their business to represent to the young King that he was kept too much inferior to his wife, whose head and lord he was, and that the Italian Secretary had too much of the publick business committed to him ; that through his intervention also the King was withholden from receiving the matrimonial crown, and from obtaining an Act for continuing the regal succession in his person, if her Majesty should chance to die before him:—I say, that these men, who wanted to overthrow Riccio at any rate, and thereby serve their own purposes at Court, would make such, and other like insinuations, is not at all to be questioned.¹

foreigner was determined to think so himself, and by that means he sees in Sir James what he wishes to see. It is, however, lucky that these Memoirs are not in his hands only. Crawford's Memoirs represent this to have been a subtle fetch by Secretary Lethington, who envied Riccio, as being prejudicial to him in his office.—[Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 391, though he chiefly complains that "David Riccio, the Italian, ruled all," but Buchanan "is fond to dwell upon it." One of his stories sets forth, "respecting the Queen's favour to Riccio"—"at last it came to this, that none but he and one or two more sat at table with her, and that the littleness of the room might take off something from the envy of the thing, sometimes she would eat in a small parlour, sometimes at David's own lodgings ; but the way she thus took to abate did but increase the reflexions, for it nourished suspicions, and gave occasion to odd discourses." Again—"In private men went farther in their mutterings, as it useth to be in matters not very creditable ; yet the King would never be persuaded to believe it, unless he saw it with his own eyes, so that one time hearing that David was gone into the Queen's bed-chamber, he came to a little door, the key of which he always carried about him, and found it bolted in the inside, which it never used to be ; he knocked, nobody answered ; upon that, conceiving great wrath and indignation in his heart, he could hardly sleep a wink that night. From that time forward he consulted with some of his domestics how to rid David out of the way, for he durst trust but a few, many of them having been corrupted by the Queen, and put on him rather as spies of his actions than attendants on his person."—*History*, Translation, vol. ii. p. 307, 308. So anxious was Buchanan to calumniate his benefactress Queen Mary, that his statements cannot be received for a moment. Some of the fanatics in subsequent years, in the bitterness of their hatred to James VI., revived Buchanan's slanders, and asserted that he was not the son of Lord Darnley, but of David Riccio. Queen Elizabeth's Residents are completely silent in their despatches respecting an odious intrigue, accounts of which, if it had been true, or even believed at the time, would have been carefully transmitted to England.—E.]

¹ [Two conspiracies were now in progress—the dethronement of the Queen and the murder of Riccio, the "origin, growth, and subsequent combination" of which, Mr Tytler observes, "have never yet been

Though both Knox and Buchanan¹ were formerly at pains to complain of the Queen's conferring the title of *King*

understood, although they can be distinctly traced." It appears that the first plot for the death of Riccio was formed by no less important personages than Darnley himself and his father the Earl of Lennox, originating in their jealousy and ambition, and in Mary's imprudent conduct. The Queen, in the enthusiasm of her love, had promised to confer on Darnley the *crown-matrimonial*, which meant an equal share of the government with herself. According to Chalmers, a *crown-matrimonial* was unknown to the old law and history of Scotland, and *Ullie* Scotland never recognized female heirs, but *Saxon* Scotland was favourable to such heirs, and it became at length an established practice, of which numerous instances could be adduced, that when a Countess in her own right married a gentleman or commoner, he became a *matrimonial Earl*, and he acted and was acknowledged as such during his life. When Queen Mary married the Dauphin of France, the French statesmen claimed the *crown-matrimonial*, which the Scottish Parliament allowed, and it was upon this concession and analogy that Darnley had been proclaimed King. But as it respected Darnley, the Queen discovered, a few months after her marriage, that her love had been thrown away upon one whom it was impossible to treat with confidence or regard—"fickle, proud, and suspicious, ambitious of power, yet incapable of business, and the easy dupe of every crafty or interested companion whom he met." Mary resiled from her first promise, and Darnley was persuaded that Riccio was the sole instigator of those measures which had deprived him of the *crown-matrimonial* and his share of the government, for which it was too obvious he was utterly incapacitated by his habits, disposition and imbecility. To widen the breach between him and the Queen, he "had the folly," as Mr Tytler observes, "to become the dupe of a more absurd delusion." He actually became jealous of Riccio, whom he believed had supplanted him in the Queen's affections, and he scrupled not to assert that the Italian Secretary had dishonoured his bed. In this frantic state of mind he sent his relative George Douglas on the 10th of February to implore Lord Ruthven, in whom he had the utmost confidence, to assist him against the "villain David." Ruthven was at the time so ill that, as he himself says, he "was scarcely able to walk twice the length of his chamber," yet he consented to engage in the murder, and Darnley was sworn to keep all secret, but Randolph was informed of the plot, and revealed it to the Earl Leicester in a letter which still exists, dated Edinburgh, 13th February 1565-6. The agent of Cosmo L., Grand Duke of Tuscany, mentions that one attempt to murder Riccio had been frustrated by Lord Seton. It was afterwards proposed to assassinate him while playing a game of rackets with Darnley, who was to invite him for the purpose. Randolph wrote to Leicester that Darnley and his father Lennox were resolved to murder Riccio—that it would be done in ten days—that the crown would be torn from the Queen whose dishonour had been discovered—and that still darker designs were meditated against her person which he durst not commit to writing. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 21, 22, 23.—E.]

¹ [Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 380; Buchanan's *History*, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 303.—E.]

upon her husband, yet they are now as careful to complain that her Majesty had by this time caused either the King's name to be altogether omitted, or placed *after* hers in all publick writs.¹ But that these two gentlemen have here been misinformed, appears obvious by all the remaining Records of that time. We have already seen by an original letter, that in less than a month after the marriage, and not *of late only*, the Queen did sign her name, first in order, before the King. Moreover, as to these writs, which, I suppose, can come most properly under the denomination of Mr Buchanan's *Diplomata*, I mean the royal charters granted by the crown to the subject, I have been at pains to look them all over very carefully, and can certify my readers, with the utmost assurance, that the Queen's name is never so much as once set before the King's, not only during the time previous to Riccio's slaughter, but even during the whole period of their joint lives. Nor is there any act or proclamation recorded in the Books of Privy-Council which remain at present, but what bears always the King's name before the Queen's, one only excepted, concerning the *Mary Ryal*, which the readers will see in the Appendix. Besides the public charters and acts of Councils, there are likewise several state letters, commissions, &c. recorded in the *Shattered MS.* during the Queen's marriage, all which do still bear the King's name *before* that of the Queen;² and if all these together do not exhaust what Buchanan would mean by his *Diplomata*, I acknowledge myself at a loss what else to look after. Besides, I do much suspect that no person can *now* discover any publick *diploma* that bears the Queen's name *before* that of the King; and had there been many, surely some one might have had the chance to escape the general overthrow of the rest.

It is likewise objected against the Queen, that though immediately after the marriage she had been pleased to allow the King's name to be set upon the public coin of the

¹ [Knox's *Historie*, p. 392; Buchanan's *History*, vol. ii. p. 306.—E.]

² ["There remains," says Chalmers, "also a bond of Darnley, calling himself *King of Scotland* and *husband of the Queen's Majesty*, dated the 1st of March 1565-6, whereby he engages to save harmless all those Lords and others who might assist him in removing Riccio, and other persons from the Queen's presence. This detestable document remains in the Cotton Library, Cal. B[ook] X. fol. 212."—*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 159, 160.—E.]

kingdom even *before* her own, yet now she had called in that money, and caused new money to be stamp't with his name after hers. Indeed, there is in the Register of Privy-Council, as hath been already noticed, an Act on the 22d day of December 1565, appointing "to be cunzeit ane penny of silver callit the Mary Ryall,¹ of weicht ane ounce, with this circumscription — *Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus*; and on the uthir syde this circumscription — *Maria et Henricus Dei Gratia Regina et Rex Scotorum*;" but of the calling in any former money there is not a word in the Act. Several of these silver pieces remain to this day; but there is never any one penny of gold or silver, of a larger or smaller size, to be met with in any the most curious repository, carrying the King's name *before* the Queen's, which to me is a strong presumption that any such has never been stamp't.²

Mr Buchanan likewise narrates³ how the Queen, in order to have more leisure to follow her private intrigues, sent away the King forcibly to Peebles, with a very serimp attendance, in the rigour of winter, in which place he is represented to have been in great scarcity of entertainment suitable to what he had been always accustomed; nay, that he was even in danger of losing his life there for want of necessary food, she having thrust him away thither, rather to become a sacrifice himself, than to have the pleasure of hawking and hunting. This story may indeed have a foundation so far, as the King may have gone to Peebles⁴ for

¹ [See the previous note, p. 382 of this volume.—E.]

² [Bishop Keith is here in error. Shortly after Mary's marriage to Darnley a coin was stamped, on the one side having the heads of the Queen and Darnley fronting each other, under them the date 1565, above them a thistle, and surrounded by the names HENRICUS & MARIA D. GRA. R. ET R. SCOTORUM. On the reverse, the royal shield of Scotland between two leaved thistles, and the words—"QUOS DEUS CONJUNXIT HOMO NON SEPARET." This is at least *one instance* of Darnley's name appearing *before* the Queen's (Cardonell's Numismata Scotiæ, or a Series of the Scottish Coinage, 4to. p. 97, 98); but it is probably the only one, for in other three coins of date 1566, MARIA precedes HENRICUS, and on the Mary-Real the name MARIA only appears, which is the case with two coins of 1567.—E.]

³ [Buchanan's History, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 307.—E.]

⁴ Peebles is the county town of Tweeddale, and in the neighbourhood thereof is good ground for the sport.—[By the "county of Tweeddale" is meant Peebles-shire.—E.]

his sport and recreation ; but as to all the accounts thereof which relate to the Queen, there is little doubt but these are owing to this author's humour of calumniating. For, except the King had been delivered over as a prisoner to the small retinue he had about him, which this writer has not the confidence to¹ affirm, he had it in his power to have come to Edinburgh at any time in the space of a few hours, the distance from thence to the town of Peebles being only sixteen miles.² And as for the scarcity of eatables, I suppose the gentlemen of that country might be ready to censure this author for his rash and false representation.

But Mr Knox³ will give the reader a more feasible account of this whole story, and of the King's manner of living during the season here condescended on. "As for the King," he says, "he past his time in hunting and hawking,⁴ and such other pleasures as were agreeable to his appetite, having in his company gentlemen willing to satisfy his will and affections."⁵ And that the King's errand has been his own diversion,⁶ appears plain enough even by Buchanan's

¹ On the contrary, he calls the company, which sat with the King, *comitatus*, which in the Latin tongue (whereof this author was a chief master) signifies *companions* and *friends*; and when applied to men of the King's rank, denotes a sort of honour and dignity to be put on those who are allowed to be about his person. And hence the Nobles were first called *Comites*, i. e. *Companions of the Prince*.—[Buchanan—*Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, original, edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 209.—E.]

² [The county town of Peebles is twenty-two English miles from Edinburgh.—E.]

³ [Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 389.—E.]

⁴ Mr Holinshed says also—"The King past the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Strathern, Striveling-shire, and Lothian, spending his time in hawking." But not a word of what Buchanan insinuates, though had the story been true, that circumstance had been as notorious as the journey. Things of that kind are rather augmented by report than diminished.—[Of the districts enumerated by Holinshed, as quoted by Bishop Keith, Strathearn includes the valley of the Earn in Perthshire, and Lothian indicates the present counties of Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, often designated, East, Mid, and West Lothian.—E.]

⁵ This is good *English* for Buchanan's *comitatus*. And a little after this, the same author speaks of the King's going to Leith accompanied with seven or eight horse to pass his time there.—[Buchanan—*Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 209.—E.]

⁶ [Darnley's visit to Peebles-shire, which Buchanan purposely distorts, was a simple and common affair. After enjoying the festivities of Christmas 1565, in the midst of the various intrigues, and teasing Queen Mary for the *crown-matrimonial*, to obtain which he became every day

own manner of expression, namely, that “the King was thrust away to Peebles, rather to be a prey himself than to make a prey.”¹ And in his infamous “Detection”² he says —“ In that wynter quhen he (the King) went to Peebles with small trayne, evin too meane for the degre of ane private man, not being sent thither a hawking, but as comandit away into ane corner, far from counsell and knowlledge of publiet affairs.” To hear this man alone he would be ready to make the world believe the Queen had had an absolute dominion over her husband like a child—that she sent him *out* and called him *in* like a lackey—and that the King was entirely passive in her hands. But his misfortune is that he is neither the single writer of that time, nor has he any other contemporary to support what he says.

That there had already interviened some jars betwixt the King and Queen seems to be a matter past all hesitation ;³

more impatient, Darnley, who was fond of hunting, went into Peeblesshire in the beginning of January, to enjoy the diversions of the field for a few days ; but not finding the game plentiful, he soon returned to Edinburgh, and indulged daily in his sensual propensities.—E.]

¹ “*In pradam verius quam aucupium.*”

² [This is a work written in Latin purporting to be a “Detection” of Queen Mary’s actions, which Buchanan carried with him, when he accompanied the Regent Moray into England, to meet the Commissioners appointed by Elizabeth to examine the witnesses called from Scotland, for the purpose of substantiating the charges upon which Mary had been expelled from the throne. The “Detection” was laid before the Commissioners at Westminster, and was soon afterwards most industriously circulated by the English Court.—E.]

³ [Randolph writes to the Earl of Leicester (see the preceding note, p. 397, 398), dated Edinburgh, 13th February 1565-6 —“ I know now for certain that this Queen repenteth her marriage—that she hateth him (Darnley) and all his kin. I know that he knoweth himself that he hath a partaker in play and game with him ; I know that there are practices in hand, contrived between the father and the son, to come by the Crown against her will. I know that if that take effect which is intended, David (Riccio), with the consent of the King, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things grievouser and worse than these are brought to my ears ; yea, of things intended against her own person, which, because I think better to keep secret than write to Mr Secretary (Cecil), I speak not of them but now to your Lordship.” Tytler’s *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 23. Mr Tytler adds in a note—“ This remarkable letter, which has never been published, is to be found in the Appendix to a privately printed and anonymous work, entitled ‘ Maitland’s Narrative,’ of which only twenty copies were printed. The book was politely presented to me by Mr Dawson Turner, in whose valuable collection of MSS. the original letter is preserved.”—E.]

and our two historians have found it serviceable to their purpose to remove the whole blame thereof from the King, who formerly was not in their good graces, and throw the same upon the Queen, that they might with the better colour misrepresent her Majesty afterwards. But truth sometimes comes to light, maugre all the industry to conceal it. Mr Knox has given us sufficiently to understand¹ that the King was entirely possessed with juvenile recreations, and worse; but the following letter will satisfy any impartial person, that the Queen had too strong reasons to be offended with one whom she had honoured so far as to render him her equal.

*Letter² by Sir William Drury³ to Sir William Cecil,
Berwick, 16th February 1565.*

“—— Mons. de la Roc Paussay and his brother arrived here yesterday (from Scotland). He is sick, my Lord Darnley having made him drink of *aqua composita*.⁴ All people say that Darnley is too much addicted to drinking.⁵ It is certainly reported, there was some jar betwixt the Queen and him at an entertainment in a merchant's house in Edinburgh, she only dissuading him from drinking too much himself, and enticing others; in both which he proceeded, and gave her such words, that she left the place with tears,⁶ which they that are known to their proceedings

¹ [Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 389.—E.]

² Cotton Library, Calig. B[ook] X, f. 370.—[British Museum.—E.]

³ Captain of the fortress of Berwick.—[Governor of Berwick.—E.]

⁴ [Apparently the distilled ardent spirit known as *whisky*. Darnley, in all probability, intoxicated the two Frenchmen wilfully, by plying them with a liquid to which they were unaccustomed, and of the potency of which they had no conception. At that time the Incorporation of Surgeons in Edinburgh possessed the exclusive right of selling whisky in the city, which was conferred on them by their Seal of Cause in 1505, as printed in the singular little work, the “History of the Blue Blanket,” p. 58. See Dr Jameson's Supplement to his Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, 4to. vol. ii. p. 675.—E.]

⁵ [Mary's refusal of the *crown-matrimonial* soon led to coldness, reproaches, and an absolute estrangement on the part of Darnley. In public he treated the Queen with haughtiness, indulged in low habits, forsook her company, and intrigued with her enemies. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 22.—E.]

⁶ [Darnley was now evidently leading a most dissipated and profligate life, and the above is an instance of his indecent behaviour in the house

say is not strange to be seen. These jars arise, amongst other things, from his seeking the matrimonial crown, which she will not yield unto; the calling in of the coin wherein they were both,¹ and the Duke's (of Chastelherault) finding so favourable address; which hath much displeased both him and his father. Darnley is in great misliking with the Queen. She is very weary of him; and, as some judge, will be more so ere long: for true it is, that these who depend wholly upon him are not liked of her, nor they that follow her of him, as David (Riccio) and others. Some say she likes the Duke² better now than formerly; so some think that if there should be the quarrel betwixt her and Darnley, which she could not appease, that she will use the Duke's aid in that affair. There also have arisen some unkind speeches about the signing of letters: he immediately after his marriage signed first,³ which she will not allow of now. His government is very much blamed, for he is thought to be wilful and haughty, and, some say, vicious; whereof too many were witnesses the other day at Inchkeith,⁴

of one of the Queen's subjects. The name of the merchant of Edinburgh who gave this entertainment to the Queen and Darnley is not stated, but Mary often accepted such invitations, and walked to the houses of the parties on foot with a few attendants. Her son James VI. was even more familiar with the citizens of Edinburgh, and before he married Anne of Denmark he frequently left Holyrood Palace, and resided with some of the more opulent of them in the High Street a few days at a time.—E.]

¹ This is an evident mistake, capable to invalidate this whole story of the coin, for Sir William Drury would here make us believe that the late alteration in the coin had been the leaving out the King's name *altogether*, which, however, by the Act of Council, and the coined money remaining to this day, we see is utterly false.—[Our Historian, however, might have recollected that it is probable Darnley was offended at the coinage of the *Mary-Réal*, on which his name was omitted. See the notes, p. 382, 400 of this volume. This supposition authenticates Sir William Drury's statement.—E.]

² [The Duke of Chatelherault.—E.]

³ We have already seen what faith is to be given to this.

⁴ [This was evidently a scandalous drinking carousal on the island of Inchkeith in the Frith of Forth. The other personages named were Lord Robert Stuart, his illegitimate brother-in-law, repeatedly mentioned as Commendator, or "Abbot," of Holyroodhouse, and John fifth Lord Fleming, father of the first Earl of Wigton. Darnley's general behaviour and his private habits must now have been peculiarly disgusting to the Queen, more especially when it is considered that at this time she was far advanced in pregnancy. As this was doubted by some, and

with the Lord Robert, Fleming, and such like grave¹ personages. I will not rehearse to your Honour what of certainty is said of him at his being there.—”²

Abstract, 24th January 1565-6, Randolph to Cecil.

“DARNLY demands the crown-matrimonial with such impatience³”—(and this was at the very time Buchanan tells his story of Peebles)⁴—“that the Queen repents that she has done so much for him”—See APPENDIX.

*Item, Abstract, 3d July 1565.*⁵—“Darnly is of an insolent, imperious temper, and thinks that he is never sufficiently honoured. The Queen does every thing to oblige him,

scarcely credited in England, though ardently hoped by Mary’s partizans, Randolph positively assures Cecil of the fact. See his letter, dated 16th January 1565-6, in Wright’s “Queen Elizabeth and her Times,” vol. i. p. 217.—E.]

¹ This is said ironically.

² These must have been black and odious doings, which Sir William was ashamed to rehearse. One might perhaps say for Mr Buchanan, that his purity could not allow him to give any hint of this ; but by mischance this writer offends oftentimes the minds of his readers, by the nasty things he talks of the Queen from his own corrupt fancy only.

³ [Randolph writes to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 16th January 1565-6 — “I cannot tell what mislykings of late there hath bene betwene her Grace and her husband ; he presses earnestly for the matrimoniall crowne, which she is lothe hastelye to graunte, but willing to keepe somewhat in store untill she knowe how well he is worthy to enjoye suche a sovereigntie, and therefore it is thoughte that the Parlement for a tyme shall be deferred, but hereof I can write no certayntie.”—Wright’s “Queen Elizabeth and her Times,” vol. i. p. 217.—E.]

⁴ [The hunting expedition of Darnley into Peebles-shire. Buchanan—*Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 209.—E.]

⁵ [This date must be a misprint as it respects the month. Previous to the murder of Riccio, which was perpetrated on the 9th of March 1565, Randolph, who evidently approved of the plot against Riccio, was ordered to leave Scotland by Queen Mary, who had discovered undoubted proof that he had assisted and encouraged the Earl of Moray in his rebellion. “MS. Letter communicated to me,” says Mr Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 24) “by the Hon. William Leslie Melville ; Mary to Melville, 17th February 1565-6—a copy. Mary confronted Randolph before the Privy-Council with Johnston, the person to whom he had delivered the money to be conveyed to Moray, and the evidence being considered conclusive, he received orders to quit the Court, and retired to Berwick.” In conjunction with the Earl of Bedford, Randolph wrote to the English Privy-Council from Berwick, dated 27th March 1566, detailing the particulars of the murder of Riccio and the subsequent results. This was apparently one of the last despatches from Randolph to Cecil on Scottish affairs.—E.]

though he cannot be prevailed upon to yield the smallest thing to please her.”—Now if this was the case before his marriage (at which season suitors are certainly most complaisant, especially it well became him to be so), can we suppose he had altered his favour afterwards? Surely no. Mr Strype likewise in his “Annals,”¹ September 1565—“The young King was so insolent, as his father grew weary of his government, and departed from the Court.”

Let the impartial world now judge whether the Queen had not abundance of ground to look somewhat down upon her husband, as she was a woman, a Queen, and the sovereign of her husband; and whether by his manner of doing, rambling up and down, hunting and hawking, he did not put her under a necessity of taking that assistance from her servants in the administration of the government, which he ought to have made it his business to afford her. But so far was he from being reclaimed by all the methods the Queen could take,² or the leaving his wild courses, and applying himself to be more gracious to the Queen, that giving ear to the wicked suggestions both of his own and her enemies,³ he at last determined to concur in the murder of the Secretary Riccio. The first man the King made privy to this barbarous design was the Lord Ruthven.⁴

¹ [Strype's Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion in the Church of England, folio, London, 1709, vol. i. p. 478.—E.]

² Sir James Melvil says expressly that the Queen “advised him to wait upon the King who was but young, and give him his best counsel, as he had formerly done, which might help him to shun many inconveniencies.”—[Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 58. Sir James adds—“And she gave me her hand, that she would take all in good part, whatever I did speak, as proceeding from a loving and faithful servant, desiring me also to befriend Riccio, who was hated without a cause.” In his narrative of the murder of Riccio, Sir James thus describes Darnley—“The King was yet very young, and not well acquainted with the nature of this nation.” Memoirs, p. 64.—E.]

³ Sir James likewise seems to lay the whole blame of this wickedness upon the Earl of Morton, and George Douglas, bastard son to the late Earl of Angus.—[See the previous note respecting George Douglas, p. 396 of this volume.—E.]

⁴ [Repeatedly mentioned as Patrick third Lord Ruthven and Dirleton, father of William fourth Lord Ruthven, created Earl of Gowrie in 1581. Lord Ruthven was born about 1520, and was educated at St Andrews. His patrimonial property in and near Perth enabled him to exercise considerable authority in the “Fair City,” of which he was Provost in 1544, when he was turned out by the influence of Cardinal Beaton, and again appointed in 1547. He was also Provost of Perth from 1554 to

As to the time, place, and other circumstances of this detestable murder,¹ there have been already published

1566. His narrative of the murder of Riccio, inserted by our Historian in his Appendix, induced Walpole to include him in his "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors." Lord Ruthven, in his own account of the murder, in which he claims to have been the principal contriver, omits the slightest expression of regret for a crime as dishonourable as it was inhuman. Mackenzie, in his "Lives of Scottish Writers," appropriately says of him that "perhaps no age has produced the instance of one who acknowledged himself to be guilty of a fact which all mankind must admit to be a murder." The death of the unfortunate Riccio was singularly avenged in the fate of Lord Ruthven's descendants. His son, the first Earl of Gowrie, was attainted, forfeited, and beheaded for high treason at Stirling in May 1584, and his two grandsons, John third Earl of Gowrie and Alexander Ruthven, perished in the celebrated Gowrie Conspiracy, attempted in August 1600; their titles, honours, and possessions—which had been restored in 1586 to John their eldest brother, the second Earl, who died while a youth—were forfeited, their arms cancelled, their very name was ordered to be abolished, and their surviving relatives declared to be incapable of succeeding to or of holding any office, dignities, or property.—E.]

¹ [The first conspirators were the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington, and the last contrived to make Darnley the patron of the plot, and the dupe of the perpetrators. They intended to murder Riccio on the 4th of February, but were prevented by the prorogation of the Parliament. This delay enabled them to enlarge their plans. According to the narrative of Mr Tytler, Lord Ruthven induced the Earl of Morton to join the conspirators, to which he willingly consented, as he hated Riccio, was the personal friend of Moray, belonged like him to the Reformed party, and like him dreaded the assembling of the Parliament, from a report that he was to be deprived of certain crown lands which he had improperly obtained, and lose his office of Lord Chancellor. Morton accordingly "proceeded," as Mr Tytler remarks, "to complete the machinery of the conspiracy with greater skill than his fierce but less artful associates." He first endeavoured to secure the co-operation of the Reformed party, including the preachers; he next followed Ruthven's idea by embarking the Earl of Moray in the plot, making it the means of his return from exile to power; and, thirdly, to obtain the countenance of Queen Elizabeth and her ministers Cecil and Leicester. Morton was successful in these projects. As it was known that Mary had signed the Roman Catholic League, and as it was feared that measures were in progress, to be sanctioned by the Parliament, for the restoration of the Papal Hierarchy, the consent of the leading Reforming Nobility and of the influential preachers was easily obtained. John Knox and John Craig, then designated "ministers of Edinburgh," were admitted into the secret of the conspiracy, as were Bellenden of Auchmoul, Lord Justice Clerk; Macgill of Rankeillour, Clerk Register; Crichton of Brunstane, Cockburn of Ormiston, Sandilands of Calder, and others connected with the Reforming party. Morton's grand projects were to break up the Parliament by the murder of Riccio, imprison the Queen, place Darnley in the nominal sovereignty, and make the Earl of Moray

four several accounts thereof, viz. one by the Lord Ruthven, the principal actor in it, and one by each

the head of the government. Those desperate designs, by which it was concluded the Roman Catholic religion would be extirpated, were readily adopted by the Reformed party, and as the murder of Riccio had been fixed for the week in March in which the Parliament was to assemble, it was resolved that the general Fast, which was approaching, and always convened a numerous and formidable body of adherents in Edinburgh, should be held in that city at the same time. Morton now resolved to inform Moray of the plot, and for this purpose Lennox, Darnley's father, went to England. Moray was easily persuaded to embark in an enterprise which held out hopes of averting his danger, and restoring him to his former station. It was arranged by Moray, Lord Ochiltree, father-in-law of John Knox, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the other banished Noblemen and gentlemen, that whenever the day was fixed for the murder they should be informed of it, and that they were to return to Edinburgh immediately after it was committed. Two *Bonds*, or *Covenants*, for the perpetration of the murder were also drawn up, and signed by Darnley and the rest of the conspirators. The first Covenant was expressed in Darnley's name, though many were parties to it, especially Darnley himself, "for," says Knox, "they durst not trust the King's word without his signet," Morton, and Ruthven; and its contents were communicated to the Earls of Moray, Argyll, and Rothes, Lords Boyd and Lindsay, Maitland of Lethington, and Kirkaldy of Grange, some of whom were in England, and consequently could not personally assist in the murder, but to whom Morton and Ruthven alluded when they afterwards declared that "the most honest and the most worthy" cordially approved of the murder. This Covenant contained denunciations of the *stranger called David*, whom with other "enemies" it was declared they had resolved to seize, and if resistance was offered, to "cut them off immediately, and slay them wherever it happened," while Darnley solemnly promised, on the word of a Prince, that he would maintain and defend his associates in the murder, though it was even perpetrated within the precincts of the Palace and in presence of the Queen. The second *Covenant* was supplementary to the first, and the parties to it were the Earls of Moray, Argyll, Glencairn, and Rothes, Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and their "complices." They promised to support Darnley in all his just quarrels, to give him the crown-matrimonial, to maintain the Reformed religion, and to extirpate its enemies. Darnley, on the other hand, engaged to pardon Moray and the banished Lords, to frustrate all proceedings for their forfeiture, and to restore them to their lands and dignities. The conspiracy appears to have assumed this form a few days previous to the dismissal of Randolph from the Scottish Court, and it only remained to communicate the plot to Elizabeth and her ministers for their approval and support. The Earl of Bedford and Randolph wrote from Berwick on the 6th of March to Elizabeth, intimating to her "a matter of no small consequence being intended in Scotland," and referring to a more particular statement transmitted by them to Cecil. In this letter of the 6th of March it is explicitly declared by Bedford and Randolph, that those in Scotland engaged in the plot were Argyll, Morton, Boyd, Ruthven, and Maitland of Lethington; in England, the Earls of Moray

of the three contemporary historians, Knox,¹ Buchan-

and Rothes, and Kirkaldy of Grange; and Bedford and Randolph assert that they knew the conspiracy, though, "if persuasions to cause the Queen to yield to these matters do no good, they purpose to proceed we know not in what sort." Some hints of impending danger were conveyed to Mary, who imprudently disregarded them. Even Riccio himself, the intended victim, received a significant caution from one Damiot, a professed astrologer, whom Calderwood designates a "French priest and a sorcerer." This person warned Riccio to beware of the *bastard*, alluding to George Douglas, already mentioned as the illegitimate son of the Earl of Angus; but the doomed Secretary imagined that Damiot alluded to Moray, and derided his apprehensions. The same Damiot, or one called Signior Francis, says Calderwood, also advised him speedily to settle his affairs, and leave Scotland. Riccio replied that he was not afraid of them—they were mere ducks—strike one of them, and all the rest would lie in. "You will find them geese," was the reply; "if you handle one of them, the rest will fly upon you, and pluck you so that they will leave neither feather nor down upon you." On Sunday the 3d of March the Fast was held in Edinburgh, and the directions for prayers and sermons were duly prepared by Knox and the preachers. The subjects were selected from the Old Testament, and consisted of the curses, plagues, and blessings denounced in the 27th and 28th chapters of the Book of Deuteronomy; the slaying of Oreb, Zeeb, and Sisera; the fast of Queen Esther; the hanging of Haman, and other examples. On Thursday the 7th, Parliament assembled, according to the Queen's letter to Archbishop Beaton, but Mr Tytler says it was on the 4th. The Queen opened the Parliament in person, proceeding from the Palace of Holyrood to the Tolbooth, near St Giles' church, the place of meeting, in "wondrous gorgeous apparel," according to Knox, "albeit the number of Lords and train was not very great." She requested Darnley to accompany her, but he preferred riding down to Leith "with seven or aucht horse," to amuse himself. The Lords of the Articles were chosen, and the forfeiture against Moray and the banished Nobility was discussed with great diversity of opinion on Friday and Saturday, some contending that the summons was not "well libelled or dressed," while others thought that "the matter of treason was not sufficiently proved." The influence of the Queen eventually prevailed, and the attainder of Moray and his friends was to have been passed on the following Tuesday, the 12th, when it was arrested, and the Parliament broken up, by the fearful catastrophe of Riccio's murder, related by the Queen herself in the letter to Archbishop Beaton. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 23-34; Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 310-315.—E.]

¹ Knox observes, that "by the death of David Riccio, the Noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rooms, and likewise the Church reformed, and all that professed the Evangel within this Realm, after fasting and prayer, was delivered and freed from the apparent dangers which were like to have fallen upon them." And a little before he says—"Upon *Sunday* the 3d day of March began the fasting at Edinburgh." Alas! can we say that murder will be the effect of any good man's fasting and prayer? It is pity that Mr Knox should give the

an,¹ and Melvil.² I shall not trouble my readers with a

adversaries so much ground for hatred and contempt. And speaking of Riccio's first rise and favour at Court, he says—"But of his beginning and progress we delay now further to speak, because that his end will require the description of the whole, and refers it unto such as *God shall raise up to do the same*?" This is exactly in conformity with what the same writer speaks concerning the barbarous murder of Cardinal Bethune. Such men must have strange notions of God Almighty. They shape and dress Him up according to their own lusts and imaginations, and so fancy themselves alone His friends and favourites; and every the greatest barbarity and most heinous crime, if it serves for their worldly purposes, is all projected in Heaven, and the perpetrators of it are the immediate instruments and ministers of the Most High. What else is this but to hound out people to do mischief!—[Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 348, 392, 394.—E.]

¹ Buchanan adds to his account of this murder, that "the Queen caused the body of Riccio to be taken out of the grave where it was first laid, and deposited in the sepulchre of her father and children, and almost into the arms of Queen Magdalene her father's first wife." But this is unsupported by any body else? And if we should grant that Riccio's body was indeed deposited in that narrow vault where the other bodies mentioned by him do now lie, it must have been taken out again sometime thereafter; for it is certain that no such thing is now to be seen there, as every one must testify that has viewed the vault, and anybody may at pleasure get into it.—[Buchanan—*Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 211: Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 313. He adds, that "to increase the indignity of the thing, she put the miscreant almost into the arms of Magdalene of Valois, the late Queen"—meaning the first Queen of James V., who was interred in the royal vault in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. Although Bishop Keith controverts Buchanan's statement, it is alleged on the most undoubted authority that the mangled body of the unfortunate Riccio was actually first carried into the royal vault by the Queen's express order—a circumstance afterwards remembered to her disadvantage. Buchanan aptly designates this as "one of her unaccountable actions, which gave occasion to ugly reports."—"Et hoc factum ut inter *peccata improbum sceleris sermonibus locum præbuit*." *Historia*, fol. 211. The *supposed* grave of Riccio is still pointed out in the Chapel-Royal, in a part of the floor which by the extension of the Palace is formed into the passage to the Chapel-Royal from the piazza of the quadrangle. A flat stone, with some remnants of sculpture, is *traditionally* said to cover the remains of the Italian; but if Riccio had been interred within the Chapel-Royal, though not in the royal vault, this was no peculiar mark of respect, as many persons of less importance have been buried in that edifice. Sir James Balfour, however, expressly states (*Annales of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 334) that he was interred in the "church-zaird of Holyrudhouse Abbey." This was the former cemetery adjoining the Chapel-Royal, and the burying place of the parishioners of the Canongate.—E.]

² Sir James Melvil writes with much sobriety concerning the murder, and his account deserves well to be perused.

repetition of these three last named accounts;¹ but the fourth, as being rare to be met with, I have put into the Appendix.² However, there is a fifth yet remaining, which the world has not hitherto been informed of, namely, *that* which was transmitted by the Queen's Majesty to her Ambassador in France, James Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow,³ with orders to him to communicate the same to that Court; and this I subjoin here for the satisfaction of the curious.

Letter⁴ of Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her Ambassador in France, concerning David Riccio's murder on the 9th March 1566.

“MAIST Reverend Fadir, we greit you weill. We received your depesche⁵ sent by Captain Mure; and sensyne sindrie nouvelles having occurrit, knowing not what bruit is passed thereupon, we thought necessary to make you some discourse thereof. It is not unknowen to you how our Parliament was appointed to the 12th of this instant moneth of March, to whilk these that were our rebels and fugitives in England war summoned, to have heard themselves forfeited. The day thereof approaching we required the King our husband to assist with us in passing thereto; who, as we are assured being perswaded by our rebels that were fugitive, with the

¹ Another contemporary historian, the author of the “Memoirs” which go under the name of Crawford, has this short touch of the matter:—“He (the King) introduced Patrick Lord Ruthven with his eldest son, and some other conspirators, through his own chamber, upon the 9th day of March 1565; and there without either reverence had to her Majesty, not only injured her with words as she then sat at supper, but also laid violent hands on her Italian Secretary, and hal’d him unmercifully to another chamber, and there murdered him to death.” Now, my readers will be pleased to know, that as often as I shall have occasion to quote these “Memoirs,” I take my quotations from a MS. copy which was taken from the very MS. made use of by Mr Crawford before he caused it to be printed. There are considerable variations betwixt the manuscript and the print.

² Number XI.

³ In the *Shattered MS.* is contained this Prelate's commission to be her Majesty's Ambassador, drawn up in the Latin tongue, and in as ample form as can be devised. It bears date at Edinburgh, 1st June 1564, and the Great Seal ordered to be appended.

⁴ An Original. Colleg. Scot. Paris. Mem. Scotl. Tom. ii. fol. 161. Though the modern spelling be generally followed, yet the copy is otherwise exactly conformable to the original.

⁵ Dispatch.

advice and fortification of the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, their assistars and complices, wha was with us in company, by their suggestion refused to pass with us thereto, as we suppose because of his facility, and subtile means of the Lords foresaid, he condescended to advance the pretended religion publisht here, to put the rebels in their rounes and possessions which they had of before, and but¹ our knowlege grant to them a remit of all their trespasses. The saids rebels and their favorars promittit they should forder him to the crown-matrimoniall, give him the succession thereof, and ware their lives in all his affairs; and if any would usurp contrary to his authority, they should defend the samyne to the uttermost power, not excepting our own person. Whilks subtil factions being unknown to us, hoping no inconvenience to have been devised or succeeded, we, accompanied with our Nobility for the time, past to the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, for holding of our Parliament upon the 7th day of this instant, elected the Lords Articulars:² the Spirituall Estate being placed therein in the ancient maner, tending to have done some good anent restoring the auld Religion,³ and to have

¹ Without.

² [The Lords of the Articles. The proceedings of this Parliament are now lost.—E.]

³ This seems clearly to verify the account given by Sir James Melvil concerning the message sent to the Queen out of France by Villamonte. — Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 63. This "message" by Villamont according to Sir James, was that the Queen was to shew no "favour to the Protestant banished Lords, because that all Catholic Princes were banded to root them out of all Europe, which was a device of the Cardinal of Lorraine, lately returned from the Council of Trent." What the Queen meant by stating that she intended "to have done some good anent restoring the auld Religion" it is difficult to ascertain. She might have written this as pleasant intelligence to Archbishop Beaton, her ambassador, who had expatriated himself at the violent outbreak of the Reformation; but unless she was utterly blinded by the supposed power of the Roman Catholic League, to which she had become a party, she ought to have known that the "restoring" of the "auld Religion" was then impossible. If she considered that the presence of the "Spiritual Estate" in the Parliament was an important step in this matter, it only shews that she was too sanguine; for in reality even after 1592, when Presbyterianism was in a certain sense established, it had no influence on the constitution of the subsequent Parliaments, in every one of which the titular Bishops and lay Abbots appeared as the representatives of the "Spiritual Estate." — Lawson's *Episcopal Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the*

proceeded against our rebels according to their demerits.¹ Whilk for such occasions as are notourly known, we thought necessarily should be punisht, likeas of truth the crimes committed by them being notified and made patent in face of our Estates in Parliament assembled, were thought and reputed of such weightiness, that they deserved forfaitour therethrow; and the samyne being voted and concluded. Upon the 9th day of March instant we being, at even about seven hours,² in our cabinet at our supper, sociated with our sister the Countess of Argyll,³ our brother the Commendator of Halyrudhouse,⁴ Laird of Creich,⁵ Arthur Erskin,⁶ and certain others our domestick servitors, in quiet maner, especially by reason of our evill disposition,⁷ being counsell'd to sustean ourselves with flesh,⁸ having also then past almost

Revolution, Svo. Edin. 1844, p. 241. Queen Mary's proceedings, however, at this period had excited the alarm of the Reforming leaders and preachers. "It was known," says Mr Tytler, "that Mary had signed the Popish League; it was believed that Riccio corresponded with Rome, and there was no doubt that some measures for the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion were in preparation, and only waited for the Parliament to be carried into execution." *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 25.—E.]

¹ [The Earl of Moray and his banished associates in England.—E.]

² [On Saturday the 9th of March 1565-6, about seven o'clock in the evening.—E.]

³ [Jane, illegitimate daughter of James V. by Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Carmichael. Lady Jane Stuart was the first Countess of Archibald fifth Earl of Argyll. She died without issue, and was interred in the royal vault in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood.—E.]

⁴ [Lord Robert Stuart, one of the Queen's illegitimate brothers, lay "Abbot" or Commendator of Holyroodhouse.—See the fourth note, p. 404 of this volume.—E.]

⁵ His name was Bethune, a branch of the family of Balfour.—[The Master of the Queen's Household, apparently Robert Bethune of Crieich, a castle now in ruins in the parish so called in the north-west of Fifeshire. Elizabeth Bethune, or Beaton, daughter of Sir John Bethune of Crieich, was the mother, by James V., of Jane Countess of Argyll, who was at supper with Queen Mary on the evening of Riccio's murder. Janet, daughter of this Sir John Bethune of Crieich, was the second wife of Sir Walter Scott of Braxholm, who was killed in a nocturnal encounter with Sir Walter Ker of Cessford on the High Street of Edinburgh in 1552. She is celebrated in the *LAY OF THE LAST MINSTREL*. Sir David Bethune of Crieich, the grandfather of that lady, was Lord High Treasurer of Scotland from 1507 to 1509. The Bethunes, or Beatons, of Crieich were nearly related to the Beatons of Balfour in Fife, the family of Cardinal Beaton.—E.]

⁶ [Subsequently mentioned in this letter as the Captain of the Queen's Guard.—E.]

⁷ [*Sickly or infirm health*.—E.]

⁸ Because it has been the season of Lent.

to the end of seven moneths in our birth;¹ the King our husband came to us in our cabinet, placed him beside us at our supper. The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay, with their assistars, bodin in warlick maner, to the number of eight score persons or thereby,² kept and occupied the whole entry of our Palace of Halyrudhouse, so that as they believed it was not possible to any person to escape forth of the same. In that mean time the Lord Ruthven, bodin in like maner, with his complices, took entry perforce in our cabinet, and there seeing our secretary, David Riccio, among others our servants, declared he had to speak with him. In this instant we required the King our husband, if he knew any thing of that interprise? who denyed the samyne. Also we commanded the Lord Ruthven, under the pain of treason, to avoyd him forth of our presence; declaring we should exhibite the said David before the Lords of Parliament to be punisht, if any sorte he had offended. Notwithstanding, the said Lord Ruthven perforce invadit him in our presence (he then for refuge took safeguard, having retired him behind our back), and with his complices cast down our table upon ourself, put violent hands in him, struck him over our shoulders with whinzeards, one part of them standing before our face with bended daggs,³ most cruelly took him forth of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber give him fifty-six strokes with whinzeards and swords.⁴ In doing

¹ [The Queen means that she had nearly concluded the seventh month of her pregnancy.—E.]

² [In the indictment of Yair, one of the persons executed for Riccio's murder, it is stated that five hundred persons assisted at the seizure of the Palace of Holyrood on the evening specified.—E.]

³ Pistols.

⁴ [Knox (Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 392) says that the murderers at first intended to hang Riccio, and brought a rope for the purpose, but they were prevented by the peculiar circumstances which occurred, and they dispatched him with their "whingers or daggers," by *fifty-three wounds*—three less than the number specified by the Queen in her letter to Archbishop Beaton. The scene of Riccio's murder in the Palace of Holyrood cannot be surveyed without painful interest. The only remaining portion of the old Palace is the north-west tower, now included in the quadrangle built by Charles II. close to the Chapel-Royal. This tower, like the rest of the Palace, contains a ground-floor, two storeys, and attics, and has two angular round turrets rising from the base, surmounted by a bartizan. The ground floor and the first storey comprise the apartments occupied by the Duke of Hamilton as Hereditary Keeper

whereof, we were not only struck with great dreadour, but also by sundrie considerations was most justly induced to take extream fear of our life. After this deed immediately

and the second storey contains several rooms known as *Queen Mary's Apartments*. These are reached by the staircase entered from the piazzas in the interior of the quadrangle, and also by a narrow private stair on the north side of the Palace, near the western or grand entrance of the Chapel-Royal, to which it had access before the present Palace was erected. This was the access by which the assassins entered the Queen's apartments, and into the room, occupying the whole breadth of the north-west tower, now designated *Queen Mary's Bed-Chamber*, which has one window on the south and another on the west, and connected with a small closet, called *Queen Mary's Dressing-Room*, formed by the south turret, while the north turret contains the supping closet in which the Queen was with her friends on the evening of the murder. Crawford (*Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 9) asserts that Riccio was sitting at a *side-table*, as he always did when waiting, when the assassins unexpectedly appeared, but Archbishop Spottiswoode states that he *sat at table* with the Queen (*History*, p. 194). Be this as it may, the closet is so small that the distinction could be scarcely perceptible. The conspirators had been admitted to Darnley's apartment below, on the first floor, by the private turnpike-stair already mentioned. Darnley ascended this stair as if to join the Queen, threw up the arras which concealed its opening in the wall, and entered the little apartment in which the Queen, the Countess of Argyll, the Commendator of Holyrood, Beaton of Cricch, Arthur Erskine, and Riccio, were convened. He cast his arm fondly round her waist, and seated himself beside her at the table, but he partook not of the repast. The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay kept guard without, having one hundred and sixty men in the court, and about five hundred surrounding the Palace. A minute had scarcely elapsed when Lord Ruthven, a man of tall stature, clad in complete armour, abruptly broke in on the party. He had risen from a sick-bed to perpetrate this murder, and his features were so sunk and pale from disease, his appearance so repulsive, and his voice so hollow, that the Queen, far advanced in pregnancy, started up in terror, and commanded him instantly to depart, while her guests and attendants sat paralyzed at his sudden intrusion. According to one writer (Goodall, vol. i. p. 251, 252, *et seq.*) Ruthven, when he entered, merely wished to *speake* to Riccio, but the Queen suspected violence, and Ruthven's refusal to leave the closet alarmed the Italian, who ran behind the Queen. Darnley was asked for an explanation, but he hypocritically affected ignorance, while he scowled fiercely at the victim. Mary had scarcely uttered her order to Ruthven when the light of torches glared in the outer room or bed-chamber, a confused noise of voices and weapons was heard, and instantly George Douglas, Ker of Fawdonside, and others crowded into the closet. Ruthven drew his dagger, fiercely exclaiming to the Queen—"No harm is intended to you, Madam, but only to that villain!" and made an effort to seize Riccio, who sprang behind the Queen, seized her dress, and, according to some accounts, almost clasped her in his arms in a state of distraction, shouting in a foreign accent—"Justice! justice! save my life, Madam! save my

the said Lord Ruthven coming again in our presence, declared how they and their complices foresaids were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which was not

life?" All was now in disorder, the chairs, table, dishes, candlesticks, were overturned, and Darnley endeavoured to unloose Riccio's hands from the Queen's person, assuring her that she was safe. Ker presented a pistol to the breast of the Queen, and threatened to destroy both her and Riccio if she caused any alarm. While she shrieked with terror, and Darnley still held her in his arms, Riccio was stabbed over her shoulder by George Douglas with Darnley's dagger, which he had snatched from the side of the latter, and left it in the body of the Italian. He was then dragged through the Queen's bed-room to the entrance of the Presence-Chamber, where Morton and his associates rushed on him, and plunged their daggers to the hilt in his body, which weltered in a pool of blood, with Darnley's dagger in it, to shew that he had sanctioned the murder. If tradition is to be credited, Riccio was murdered at the top of the private staircase, and some large dark spots are pointed as the indelible marks of his blood—a statement utterly fabulous, and unworthy of the slightest credit, more especially when it is recollected that this part of the Palace was completely gutted by fire in Cromwell's time. Riccio's body was dragged to the porter's lodge, stripped naked, and treated with every mark of indignity. After the murder was perpetrated, Lord Ruthven staggered into the Queen's cabinet in a state of exhaustion, and found Mary standing distracted, and in terror of her life. He sat down, and called for wine. When the Queen reproached him for his cruelty, he not only vindicated himself and his associates, but astonished the Queen by declaring that her husband Darnley was the contriver. At this crisis one of the Queen's ladies suddenly rushed into the cabinet, and exclaimed that Riccio was slain, for up to that moment the Queen was ignorant of the completion of the murder. When Mary was informed that Darnley was the chief leader in the crime, a scene of mutual recrimination ensued, which, if we are to credit the Earl of Bedford and Randolph, in their letter to Cecil dated Berwick, 27th March, was most discreditable to either party. It was a most outrageous charge by Darnley that the Queen had been too familiar with Riccio, and Mary's answers, assuming the accusations and retorts to be correctly reported by Bedford and Randolph, were very undignified, though every allowance must be made for the heat of passion, and the unparalleled insult she as the sovereign had received, by the atrocious crime which had just been perpetrated in her presence, aided and abetted by her own husband, whose recent conduct for some months previous had greatly estranged her affections from him, and had rendered her most unhappy. See the notes, p. 402, 403, and the fourth note, p. 404, of the present volume. Immediately after the unfortunate Riccio had been dispatched, the assassins kept the Queen a close prisoner in her apartment; Darnley assumed the regal power, dissolved the Parliament, commanded the Estates to leave Edinburgh within three hours on pain of treason; and orders were sent to the Magistrates, enjoining them to be vigilant with their city force, and to prevent all Roman Catholics from leaving their houses. To the Earl of Morton and his armed retainers were entrusted the gates of the Palace, with injunctions that none should escape. The

to them tolerable; how we was abused by the said David, whom they had actually put to death, namely, in taking his counsell for maintenance of the ancient religion, debarring of the Lords which were fugitive, and entertaining of amity with foreign princes and nations with whom we were confederate; putting also upon Council the Lords Bothwell and Huntly, who were traitors, and with whom he associated himself. That the Lords banisht in England were the morne to resort toward us, and would take plain part with them in our contrary; and that the King was willing to remit them their offences. We all this time took no less care of ourselves, than for our Council and Nobility, maintainars of our authority, being with us in our Palace for the time; to wit, the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Athole, Lords Fleming

Earls of Huntly and Bothwell, however, contrived to elude the guards by leaping over a window towards the garden, on the north side of the Palace, in which some lions and other wild animals were kept. The Earl of Atholl, Murray of Tullibardine, Maitland of Lethington, and Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, were permitted to retire, which they readily did in fear of their lives. Sir James Melville says that on the following morning, which was Sunday, he was "let forth" at the gate. The Queen saw him passing through the outer gate, and throwing up the window sash, she implored him to warn the citizens, and take her out of the hands of the traitors. "Run fast," said the Queen, "for they will stay you." One Wisbet, master of Lennox's household, was sent with a party to stop him, but Sir James told him he was merely "going to sermon at St Giles' church." He went to the Provost of the city, the common bell was soon rung, and the chief magistrate, with a body of armed citizens, rushed into the court of the Palace, demanding the release of their sovereign. Mary in vain entreated the assassins to allow her to address the citizens. She was dragged from the window, with threats that if she attempted to shew herself they would cut her in pieces. Darnley appeared in her stead, assured the Provost and his party that the Queen and he were in safety, and commanded them to disperse, which they instantly obeyed. As it respects Riccio's pecuniary circumstances, we have the following information:—"Of the greate substance he had there is much spoken. Some saye in golde to the value of two thousand pounds sterling. His apparell was verie goode; as it is sayde, fourteen payre of velvet hose. His chamber well furnished; armour, daggs, pystoletts, harquebusses, twenty-two swords. Of all this nothing spoiled, nor lacking, saving two or three daggs. He had the custodie of all the Queen's letters, which were delivered unlooked upon. We heare of a jewell that he had hanging about his necke of some price that cannot be heard of. He had upon his backe, when he was slayne, a nyghte gowne of damaske furred, with a sattyne doublet, and hose of russet velvet." Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, dated Berwick, 27th of March 1566, in Wright's "Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. p. 233, 234.—E.]

and Levingstone, Sir James Balfour,¹ and certain others our familiar servitors, against whom the interprise was conspired as well as for David; and namely to have hanged the said Sir James in cords. Yet, by the providence of God, the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell escaped forth of their chambers in our Palace at a back-window by some cords; wherein thir conspirators took some fear, and thought themselves greatly disappointed in ther interprise. The Earl of Athole and Sir James Balfour by some other means, with the Lords Fleming and Levingston, obtained deliverance of their invasion. The Provost and town of Edinburgh having understood this tumult in our Palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence, intercomoned² with us, and to have known our welfare: to whom we was not permitted to give answer, being extreemly bosted³ by thir Lords, who in our face declared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls. So this community being commanded by our husband, retired them to quietness.

“All that night we were detained in captivity within our chamber, not permitting us to have intercomoned scarcely with our servant-women nor domestic servitors. Upon the morn hereafter proclamation was made in our husband's name, by⁴ our advice, commanding all Prelates, and other Lords conveened to Parlement, to retire themselves of our burgh of Edinburgh. That haill day we was keeped in that firmance,⁵ our familiar servitors and guard being debarred from our service, and we watched by the committars of thir crimes; to whom a part of the community of Edinburgh, to the number of fourscore persons, assisted.

“The Earl of Moray that same day at evin, accompanied with the Earl of Rothes, Petarro, Grange, tutor of Piteurr, and others who were with him in England, came to them.⁶

¹ He was by this time made Clerk-Register, in the room of Mr James Macgill, one of the conspirators of this murder.—[See the fourth note, p. 372 of this volume.—E.]

² Spoken.

³ Threatened.

⁴ Without.

⁵ Prison or captivity.

⁶ The King had written for them according to the bond betwixt him and the Lord Ruthven, when the murder was conspired.

and seeing our state¹ and intertainment,² was moved with natural affection towards us.³ Upon the morn he⁴ assembled the interprisars of this late crime, and such of our rebels as came with him.⁵ In their council they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our castle of Streviling,⁶ there to remain while⁷ we had approved in Parliament all their wicked interprizes, *establisht their religion*, and given to the King the crown-matrimoniall, and the hail government of our Realme: or else, by all appearance, firmly purposed to have put us to death, or detained us in perpetual captivity. To avoyd⁸ them of our Palace with their guard and assistars, the King promised to keep us that night in sure guard, and that but⁹ compulsion he should cause us in Parliament approve all their conspiracies. By this moyen he caused them to retire them of our Palace.

"This being granted, and the guard commanded to serve us in the accustomed manner (the fear and dreadour always remained with us), we declared our state to the King our husband, certifying him how miserably he would be handled, in case he permitted thir Lords to prevail¹⁰ in our contrare; and how unacceptable it would be to other Princes, our confederates, in case he altered the religion. By this perswasion he was induced to condescend to the

¹ Condition.

² Treatment.

³ ["It was now Sunday night, the murder had been committed late on Saturday evening, and, according to their previous concert, Moray, Rothes, and Ochiltree, with others of the banished Lords, arrived in the capital, and instantly rode to the Palace. They were welcomed by Darnley, and so little did Mary suspect Moray's foreknowledge of the murder, that she instantly sent for him, and throwing herself into his arms, in an agony of tears exclaimed—'If my brother had been here, he never would have suffered me to have been thus cruelly handled.' The sight overcame him, and he is reported to have wept; but, if sincere, his compunction was momentary."—Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 39. Randolph and Bedford to Cecil, dated Berwick, 27th March, in Wright's "*Queen Elizabeth and her Times*," vol. i. p. 230.—E.]

⁴ Moray.

⁵ Mr Knox, and from him Abp. Spottiswood, say, that the Earl of Moray, &c., went on the 12th March, the day of the meeting of the Parliament, to the Tolbooth, where it was then ordinarily kept, and there took protestation that they were ready to answer the summons of forfeiture directed against them; and that none did pursue.—[Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 394.—E.]

⁶ [Stirling Castle.—E.]

⁷ Till.

⁸ Remove.

⁹ Without.

¹⁰ Against us.

purpose taken by us, and to retire him in our company to Dunbar; which we did under night, accompanied with the captain of our guard, Arthur Erskine, and two others only.¹ Of before we being of mind to have gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, desired in quiet manner the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly to have prepared some way whereby they might have performed the same; who not doubting therein, at the least taking no regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, devised that we should have come over the walls of our Palace in the night upon towes² and chairs, which they had in readiness to that effect.

“ Soon after our coming to Dunbar, sundry of our Nobility, zealous of our well, such as the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Marshall, Athole, Caithness; Bishop of St Andrew’s, with his kin and friends; Lords Hume, Yester, Sempil, and infinite others, assembled to us. By whose advice, proclamations being made for convening our lieges to attend to us and our service, the Lords conspirators perceiving the samen, the Earl of Glencairn, as innocent of this last crime, resorted towards us by our tolerance, and hath taken his remission, and sicklike the Earl of Rothes. The Earl of Moray and Argyle sent diverse messages to procure our favour, to whom in likewise, for certain respects, by advice of our Nobility and Council being with us, we have granted remission,³ under condition they nowise apply themselves to

¹ [Mary soon succeeded in detaching Darnley from the murderers, and he had the hardihood falsely to deny all connection with the conspiracy. On the assurance of a free pardon, Ruthven and his associates left the Palace of Holyrood, and went to the Earl of Morton’s house. The guards were removed, and the domestics of the Queen were permitted to resume their duties in the household. “ All men being gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of any that either she wolde departe, or not perform the promise to the Lords, aboute twelve of the clocke at night she conveyed herself a private way out of the house (Palace); she, her husbände, and one gentlewoman, came to the place where Arthur Erskene, the captayn of her garde, kept the horses, and so rode her waye behinde Arthur Erskene until she came to Seton. There she took a horse to herself, and rode to Donbarre, to the Castle, whither resorted unto her Huntly and Bothewell, and so dyvers of the whole cuntrye.” Randolph and Bedford to Cecil, dated Berwick, 27th March 1566, in Wright’s “ Queen Elizabeth and her Times,” vol. i. p. 230, 231.—E.]

² Ropes.

³ Sir James Melvil says, the Queen subscribed diverse remissions for my Lord Moray and his dependers, in the town of Haddington, on her

thir last conspirators, and retire themselves in Argyle during our will. Thinking it very difficult to have so many bent at once in our contrare, and knowing the promises past already betwixt the King and them, and our force not sufficient, through inability of our person, to resist the samen, and put the matter in so great hazard.¹

“ We remained in Dunbar five days,² and after returned to Edinburgh³ well accompanied with our subjects.⁴ The last conspirators, with their assisters, have removed themselves forth of the samen of before,⁵ and being presently

way from Dunbar to Edinburgh, and assigns the same reasons for her so doing.—[Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 66.—E.]

¹ Mr Knox says that the Queen “ might be the better revenged upon the slayers of David Riccio, she intended to give pardon to all such as before had been attainted for *whatsomever crime*.” But this is more than he, or any man for him, can make out. To decide concerning the *intentions* is no easy matter.—[Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 393.—E.]

² [Dunbar Castle was then crown property, though possessed by the Earl of Bothwell, who was infeft as keeper and captain of it in 1567.—E.]

³ [When the Queen returned to Edinburgh, she preferred the house of a private citizen in the High Street as her residence to the Palace of Holyrood, and a few days afterwards removed to another tenement nearer the Castle. Randolph and Bedford to Cecil, dated Berwick, 27th March 1566, in Wright's “ Queen Elizabeth and her Times,” vol. i. p. 232.—E.]

⁴ Knox also says, that the Queen's army consisted already of about 8000, and that she came to Edinburgh on the 18th of March; and that for fear of punishment the Lords conspirators fled from that city the day before, being Sunday.—[Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 393. Randolph and Bedford, in their letter to Cecil, dated Berwick, 27th March, reduce the alleged 8000 men to “ abowte three thousand.”—E.]

⁵ Our historians say, that the Earl of Morton, the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and Secretary Maitland, fled into England; that others betook themselves to the mountainous and inaccessible parts within the kingdom, and Mr Knox hid himself in the west country of Kyle, thereby plainly taking upon him to have been one of the contrivers (at least abettors) of the ungodly deed, as Mr Buchanan well remarks in the close of his observations on this head. “ And such a change,” says Abp. Spottiswood, “ you should have seen as they who the night preceeding did vaunt of the fact as a godly and memorable act, affirming some truly, some falsly, that they were present thereat—did, on the morrow, foreswear all that before they had affirmed.”—[Buchanan—*Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 211; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 313. Knox distinctly associated himself with the murderers of Riccio, who fled when the Queen returned to Edinburgh, and states that he retired to the district of Kyle in Ayrshire (Historie, p. 395); but John Craig, his colleague, who was also privy to the murder, remained in the city. Mr Tytler

fugitive from our laws, we have caused by our charges their hail fortunes, strengths, and houses, to be rendred to us; have caused make inventar of their goods and geir, and intend further to pursue them with all rigour.¹ Whereunto we are assured to have the assistance of our husband, who hath declared to us, and in presence of the Lords of our Privy-Council, his innocence of this last conspiracy, how he never counselled, commanded, consented, assisted, nor approved the same. Thus far only he oversaw himself, that at the enticement and perswasion of the late conspirators, he, without our advice or knowledge, consented to the bringing home forth of England of the Earls of Moray, Glencairn, Rothes, and other persons with whom we were offended. This ye will consider by his declaration made hereupon, which at his desire hath been published at the mereat crosses of this our Realm;² whereof with thir presents we thought necessary to send you the original. We have informed this bearer, Mr James Thornton, upon sundry other our particular affairs, to whom give credit. We require you, in case of your absence from Court, that ye pass thereto with diligence, to declare all our proceeding to the King and Queen-mother, and our uncle the Cardinal of Lorrain, to whom we have also written anent the premisses. And so we commit you to the protection of the eternal God. Of Edinburgh the second day of April 1566."

Postscript in French with the Queen's own hand.

"Je vous prie ne faillez, incontinent ces lettres vues, aller à la Cour, afinque vous puissiez empescher les bruits

completely proves that Knox was in the plot. See his "Historical Remarks on Knox's implication in Riccio's murder," History of Scotland, vol. vii. Appendix, p. 427-432.—E.]

¹ "How the Barons' wives are oppressed," says the Lord Ruthven, in his account of this murder, "by spoiling their places and robbing their goods, it would pity a *good* heart." He no doubt means the wives of the murderers, but the *places* and *goods* did not belong to them, but to their husbands; and their husbands had merited the severest treatment. Some have read a *godly* heart. *Goodness* and *godliness*, too, are much in the mouth of some people, while they are far enough from their hearts. We know that *bitter* has been put for *sweet*, and *sweet* for *bitter*.

² Our historians take notice of this Proclamation.

faux d'estre creus ; et faites en un discours à l'ambassadeur d'Espagne et autres etrangers.¹

“ Votre bien bonne Maistresse et Amie,

“ MARIE, R.”

By the close of this foregoing paper, and by the accounts given by our historians, the readers having seen what steps the Queen did take after she was rescued from the hands of the murderers, I have besides, for their more sure and particular information, added in the Appendix² all the Acts of Privy-Council relating to that affair. And though there was at first a very rigorous prosecution against the assassins, and all others who had any hand in that more than barbarous villany, yet, notwithstanding all this intended severity, so gracious was her Majesty, that before the end of the year she received all the delinquents into favour again. Young Lethington tasted first of the royal bounty by means of the Earl of Athole, though much against the inclination of the Earl of Bothwell ; and Morton and Lindsay obtained their remission at the requests of the Earl of Huntly and Bothwell. But the Lord Ruthven died on the 13th of June this year at Newcastle, for he was in a languishing state of health at the time of the murder. Two persons only³ were put to death, viz. Thomas Scot,⁴ hanged and quartered in the month of April, whose head

¹ i. e. “ I desire that how soon this shall come to your hand, you communicate the contents to the Court, thereby to prevent any false reports from being credited. Be sure likewise to impart the same to the ambassador of Spain and other foreign ministers.”

² Number XII.

³ Yet Buchanan thinks fit to say *some* were put to death, using this ambiguous expression to make the world believe that *undry* persons had been executed to death.—[Buchanan's History, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 313.—E.]

⁴ Knox calls him sheriff-depute of St. Johnston ; Holinshed, sheriff-depute of Perth ; and Randolph's Abstract, 4th April 1566, under-sheriff to the Lord Ruthven. So it appears the Lord Ruthven has been at the time high-sheriff of Perth.—[Lord Ruthven was Provost of Perth at the time of Riccio's murder. Thomas Scott of Cambusmichael, sheriff-depute of Perth, was tried, with William Harlaw and John Mowbray, described in the indictment as “ burgesses of Edinburgh,” on the 1st of April 1566. He was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, “ drawn, quarterit, and demaneit as ane traitour.”—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. i. Part II. p. 480.—E.]

was set on the tower in the Palace; and one Henry Yair,¹ formerly a priest, but now a retainer about the Lord Ruthven, in the month of August; his head was set on the gate of the city called the Nether-Bow. William Harlaw, sadler, and John Moubray, a merchant in Edinburgh, were convicted and brought to the place of execution; but had their lives spared at the intercession of the Earl of Bothwell.

We are told by Sir James Melvil,² that the Queen, upon her returning to Edinburgh after Riccio's murder, took up her lodgings within the Castle:³ and on the 5th of April we find this following Queen's diet, as it is termed, inserted in the Books of Privy-Council.

“*Apud Edinburgh, 5th April Anno Dom. 1566.*

“SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Jacobus Comes de Bothwell, Joannes Comes de Athole, Willelmus Comes Mariscall, David Comes de Crawford, Georgius Comes de Caithnes, Joannes Comes de Mar; Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis, Miles; Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ; Joannes Commendatarius de Lindoirs; Jacobus Balfour de Pittendrich, Miles; et Clericus Registri.*

“THE Lordis of Secreit-Counsall thinkis it maist commodious to the commoun weill of this cuntrie, gif it may stand with the Quenis Majestie's plessour, and with the helth of hir

¹ Mr Knox ushers in the story thus—“The Queen not yet satisfied with the death of her man David, caused in August to be apprehended a man——hanged and quartered.” By this manner of speech, one might rationally conclude that much blood had been shed upon this account before. But we are not lightly to credit the *innuendos*: nay, not the plain affirmations of every body indifferently.—[Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 399. Knox only gives the Christian name of this man, whom he designates *Harie*, “quho some tyme had been of hir (the Queen's) Chappell Royall, bot efterward became an exhorter in a reformed kirk, and for want of stipend, or uther necessaries, past in service to my Lord Ruthven, and chanced that nycht to be present when the said David was slain.” Now, this assertion that Henry Yair was apprehended in August by the Queen's command is a pure fiction. He was “delatit of treason” on the first of April 1566, the same day on which Scott of Cambusmichael was convicted, and his sentence was the same.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 481, 482.—E.]

² [Memoirs, folio, p. 66.—E.]

³ [The Queen went first to a private house in the High Street, and then to another nearer the Castle. See the third note, *ante*, p. 421.—E.]

body, that hir Majestie remane in the Castell of Edinburgh till hir Grace be deliverit of hir birth. And in caiss hir Majestie pas to ony uthir part to remane, the Counsall to remane still in Edinburgh, and sum forces with thame during the said space; and sum Nobillmen to remane with the Quenis Majestie where hir Grace remanes.”¹

The Castle of Edinburgh being thus pitched upon by the Lords of the Queen’s Council, as the most commodious place for her Majesty’s *in-lying*, it was at the same time thought likewise improper, that so noted a person as the Earl of Arran should remain a prisoner within the place, where her Majesty and the whole kingdom had the apparent prospect of receiving the joy of an heir to the imperial crown of this Realm. And, therefore, on the 26th day of the same month of April, there is an Act of Council for receiving the Earl of Huntly, Chancellor, Argyll, Moray, and Glencairn, Sir John Maxwell of Terreiglis, John Hamilton Archbishop of St Andrew’s, Claud Hamilton, Dean of Dunbar, William Bailly of Lamington, James Muirhead of Lauchop, and seventeen gentlemen besides, all of the name of Hamilton, as cautioners and sureties² severally, in the sum of 20,000 merks, that James Earl of Arran³ shall remain in Hamilton Castle and four miles about during the King and Queen’s pleasure, and shall in the mean time behave himself as an obedient subject, and return himself prisoner within the said Castle of Edinburgh, the Castles of Dunbar and Dunbarton, upon twenty days warning, if he shall happen to be required. And the Earl of Arran is obliged to relieve his cautioners.⁴

¹ [Initialed R. M. by our Historian, as obtained from his friend Mr Robert Miln.—E.]

² Archbishop Spottiswoode is far mistaken to mention only the Earls of Moray and Glencairn to be sureties.

³ [The son of the Duke of Chatelherault, who, though insane, was detained in Edinburgh Castle as a kind of state-prisoner.—E.]

⁴ Then follows immediately in the Council-Book the Earl of Arran’s bond (there called *relevamen*) to his forenamed cautioners, in which are these words—“And sicklyke sall obey, observe, use, and keip my friendis counsall in all sortis, als weill towart the behaviour of my body and use thairof, as utherwayis; and sall not intromett with my Lord my fadir’s leving, destroy nor cut down the wodis, parkis, deir thairin, cunyngaris, nor yit uthir part thairof. Attour sall not troubil, inquiet or

On the 29th of April the Earl of Huntly, Lord Chancellor,¹ produced in Council a letter subscribed by the King and Queen, discharging his own cautioners² from their obligation 3d August last year. Also, another letter commanding the clerk of Council to delete forth of the Books thereof the Act of the said 3d August. Which desire the Lords finding reasonable, ordered the foresaid Act to be deleted.

In this last Sederunt of Counsellors, viz. on the 29th of April, the Earls of Argyll, Moray, and Glencairn, are marked, which serves to confirm the account given us by Holinshed the English writer, preferably to our own historians, namely, that “in the end of April the Queen, willing to have the Earls of Argyll and Moray joined with the residue of the Council, sent for them to come to the Castle of Edinburgh, where all griefs and controversies that rested betwixt them on the one side, and the Earls of

molest my said Lord and fadir's chalmerlands, factouris, officiaris, nor na utheris personis intronetteris with his leving quhatsumevir pertening to him, in ony tyme cuning, but according to his directioun in all sortis; lyk as sall be preseryvit to me be his directioun and wryttings. And gif it sall happin me, as God forbid, to contravein the directioun, counsall and mynd of my saidis friendis in the premisses, or ony thing quhilk is for my weill, conform to our saidis soveranis directiouns, in that case, I am content, and be thir presentis consentis, that my saidis friendis tak and re-entir and put me within the castels of Edinburgh, Dunbar, or Dunbartane, conform to our soveranis plessour, directioun and ordinance maid thairupoun.” *N.B.*, In this obligation the bounds this Lord is at liberty to travel about Hamilton is said to be *two* miles only. And, *Note*, that this bond by the Earl to his cautioners will serve to clear what Spottiswoode narrates on this head.

¹ The Earl of Huntly was made Chancellor on the 20th of March last, in the room of the Earl of Morton.

² I forgot to take notice in the account of the late Earl of Huntly's misfortune, that Holinshed relates how that Mr Robert Richardson, Treasurer, Mr James Macgill, Clerk-Register (now with the late Chancellor Morton concerned in the murder of Riccio), Mr John Spence, the Queen's Advocate, and the Laird of Pitarrow, Comptroller, were left in Aberdeen as commissioners to compound for the escheats of those that were in the field with the Earl of Huntly, and from whom they had levied great sums of money. And it may not be amiss here to acquaint my readers, that I observe in the “Atlas Scotiæ,” printed by Blaen, 1662, and compiled by Mr Robert Gordon of Straloch, that the Earldom of Moray had been taken from the late Earl of Huntly during the regency of the present Queen's mother. And the same author takes no notice at all that ever the Earl of Huntly had enjoyed the Earldom of Mar; so that the difference between the Earl of Huntly and the Queen's bastard brother has not arisen upon account of either of these Earldoms.

Huntly, Atholl, and Bothwell, on the other side, were referred to the Queen, who agreed them;¹ and they all remained with her the rest of the summer." Some time after this, as would appear, the Queen being desirous to breathe in a better air for a little space (for the Castle of Edinburgh, though standing on a high rock, is nevertheless generally reckoned to be very unhealthy),² took a tour to Stirling, with some intention, according to Sir James Melvil, to ly-in there. From thence her Majesty went down to the pleasant seat of Alloa,³ and from that place returned again to the Castle of Edinburgh. The King, they say, followed her in this tour; but it was observed she did not regard him much, as in truth he was become universally despised for his late misbehaviour. The murderers of Riccio condemned him for his deserting them, and causing proclaim himself innocent of the deed; and it is much to be questioned, whether any woman of whatsoever rank could ever afterwards

¹ See Abstract, April 25th, 1566; and the Archbishop observes that the Queen did feast the Nobility in the Castle, and made them all friends.

² [Such may have been the case when the North Loch, which Bishop Keith did not live to see drained, was at the base of the rock on which the Castle is built on the north-east, and the Borough Loch was in the vicinity on the south. Edinburgh Castle is peculiarly healthy and salubrious.—E.]

³ It belongs to the Family of Mar, and is four miles below Stirling; but the many windings of the river Forth betwixt it and Stirling are computed to be no less than twenty-four miles; which renders the prospect from the Castle and town of Stirling, all down the Forth, most agreeable to the eye.—[Alloa is seven English miles from Stirling, and twenty-one miles by water, or the *Links of Forth*, as the beautiful windings of the river are called. Alloa Castle, or Tower, is close to the town, near the modern seat of Alloa House. It was built before A.D. 1300, and stands in a secluded park surrounded by oaks, beeches, sycamores, and other trees. The Tower is square, its walls eleven feet thick, and its highest turret eighty-nine feet from the ground. The edifice, which for centuries was the chief residence of the Noble Family of Erskine, Earl of Mar, had from time to time received considerable additions, but the whole was accidentally destroyed by fire in August 1800, and the Tower only remains. Many valuable curiosities were then consumed, among which was a portrait of Queen Mary, on copper, perhaps the only genuine original then existing in Scotland, gifted by her to one of the ladies who attended her before her execution. Queen Mary spent some of her infant years in Alloa Tower, and she passed two nights in it after her apparent reconciliation to Darnley in 1566, by Monsieur Mauvissiere, the French ambassador. This was on the occasion of another visit mentioned in a subsequent note.—E.]

be fond of a husband, who had treated her after the manner he had done the Queen. Such an action tears up the very foundation of conjugal affection; besides, it could not fail to leave a still deeper impression upon the Queen, who had raised her husband from the condition of a subject to royal honour and dignity.

The forementioned Holinshed informs that “the Queen, hearing that the Earl of Morton, the Lord Ruthven, and others their assistants, were received in England and remained at Newcastle, she sent Mr James Thornton, chanter of Moray, with letters to the Queen of England, and likewise to the King of France,¹ and other friends there, declaring by the tenor of the same letters, the abuse and presumptuous attempts of certain her subjects against her, desiring them not to receive them within their Realms nor Dominions. And shortly after the Queen of England sent a gentleman called Henry Killigrew into Scotland, with letters and message to the Queen, promising to cause them to depart forth of her Realm of England; and withal sent unto them warning to depart betwixt that present time and midsummer then next ensuing.—And from thenceforth the Earl of Morton and the Master of Ruthven remained secretly near to Alnwick, and other places on the Borders, till they obtained pardon, and were restored.”² Sir James Melvil tells us likewise,³ that his brother Robert, by her Majesty’s direction, pressed the Queen of England to put the Earl of Morton, &c. forth of her kingdoms; and he adds, that they durst not go to France, where the Queen had so many friends.

“In the mean time” (continues this author)⁴ “Mr Henry Killigrew was sent hither ambassador from the Queen of

¹ We see the Queen’s letter to her ambassador in France, with the account of the execrable murder of Riccio, was sent by the hand of this very person; which serves still to confirm the credit of this writer.

² The Queen of England sent a messenger—and promised to cause them depart before midsummer. But the reporter or warner said that *England was long and broad*. Calderwood’s MS. and Sir James Melvil observe that they were secretly overlooked, upon condition that they would keep themselves quiet.—[Calderwood’s *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, Svo. 1843, printed for the Wobrow Society, vol. ii. p. 317. Sir James Melville’s *Memoirs*, p. 68.—E.]

³ [Memoirs, p. 68.—E.]

⁴ [Sir James Melville’s *Memoirs*, p. 68, 69.—E.]

England, who was in great suspicion of her estate, finding so many of her subjects favourers of our Queen. The said ambassador complained against one Mr Ruxbie, who was harboured in Scotland, being a rebel and a Papist; declaring how that the Queen his mistress had commanded Morton and his complices forth of her country by open proclamation.

—Mr Killigrew alledged also, That the Queen's Majesty (of Scotland) had been practising with Oneel in Ireland, and that she had his ambassador presently in Edinburgh, in company of the Earl of Argile.¹ And thirdly, he (Killigrew) complained of some disorders upon the Borders made by Scottish men. But the principal pretext of his commission (Sir James adds) was to comfort the Queen over her late troubles, and congratulate her freedom and good success over her wicked and rebellious subjects."²

It is indeed true* that Christopher Ruxbie, the fellow complained of by Queen Elizabeth, was in Scotland; but it is no less true, that being a Papist, he feigned himself a refugee from England upon account of religion, but in reality was secretly sent hither by the Queen of England and Mr Secretary Cecil, under colour of appearing a zealous favourer of her Majesty's right and title to the Crown of England. He was to endeavour to speak with our Queen, and to take an occasion of informing her Majesty of the great friendship diverse of the Roman Catholicks had for her, who durst not deal with the Scottish ambassador in England, because he was a Protestant. Yet all this was nothing but downright roguery; for his true errand was to labour to come at the truth of what was passing betwixt our Queen and the subjects of England, and to give advertisement thereof to Secretary Cecil: For howsoever secretly Robert Melvil had managed his dealings in England, yet something thereof had reached Queen Elizabeth; and it was observed, no doubt with displeasure enough, that during the late indisposition of the English Queen the most part of her subjects, both

¹ This Irish gentleman of great interest in that country, gave Queen Elizabeth much trouble. Our Queen disclaimed having any dealing with him, though I suspect she therein repaid Queen Elizabeth in her own *English* coin.

² These compliments amongst Princes have rarely any foundation of reality.

Popish and Protestant, had determined to send for our Queen, and set the Crown upon her head.

Ruxbie got access to our Sovereign by the means of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross,¹ and wrote something which he had learned here in Scotland, to the English Secretary; from whom likewise he had a return written in cypher: But Robert Melvil, who was in great credit in England, coming to the knowledge of this contrivance, advertised our Queen to beware of Ruxbie, and how to behave herself with him, in order to countermine the English plot. So that when Mr Killigrew made his complaint against Ruxbie, the Queen immediately caused him to be apprehended, together with all his cyphers and papers, among which was found the letter written by Mr Secretary Cecil. Ruxbie finding himself thus discovered, fell immediately upon his knees, owned himself worthy of a thousand deaths, and humbly begged our Queen's pardon. And her Majesty caused him to be so secretly kept, that the English ambassador could get no intelligence for what cause he was taken into custody; until at last it pleased her Majesty to shew the ambassador, that upon his complaint, and to satisfy her good sister, she had caused apprehend Ruxbie, whom she promised likewise to deliver up any time after his return into England, as it should please her sister the Queen of England to send for him. But she very wisely took no notice that she knew any thing of his true errand; for her Majesty had been advised to appear altogether ignorant of any of his practices against her devised by Secretary Cecil, it not being thought her interest to put that shame upon one who professed so much to be her friend.² Nor was it time to cast off intelligence, so long as it was found profitable to entertain it.

As we owe this curious piece of English policy entirely to Sir James Melvil,³ so there can be no manner of doubt but

¹ Sir James Melvil blames this Prelate much, and I make no doubt but he has been duped by Ruxbie. It seems likewise that Mr Randolph has known nothing of Ruxbie's true errand. See Abstract, June 14th, 1566, in the Appendix.

² No body was at bottom a greater enemy to our Queen than Secretary Cecil; or rather, no body pursued his own Queen's interest with more assiduity and faithfulness to her.

³ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 68, 69.—E.]

the readers will be extremely well pleased to see Sir James's account fortified by the following original letter.

Ruxbie to Sir William Cecil,¹ Edinburgh, 2d July 1566.²

“ MY duty premised unto your Honour. This 1st of July I have received your letters, wherein I perceive not only your godly exhortation, but also your honourable and friendly counsel, which by the leave of God I design to follow, and think myself thereby more bound to your honour than ever my service could be able to deserve. Truth is, I cannot deny but I have offended the Queen's Majesty. Extremity drove me thereunto, but according to your desire I will stay. I desire God may be no glader of my soul than I would be to have favour of my Prince and country again, and would willingly spend my life therein. I am not one of that deep judgment as to wade into so high matters, for it requires great secrecy, otherwise I seek mine own destruction, which I doubt not but your honour will consider. And I, in hope of that good will I ever looked for from your hand, will hazard my life in following your advice. As yet you need not take notice that England hath any suspicion of me, making no more account of me but as a simple person, who by apparent causes of debt am driven out of my country. I dare not as yet venture to speak with Mr Killigrew, lest I should be suspected; but I trust to have means to have conference with him hereafter. In the mean time make notes of instructions of all things wherein you would have my labour used, and by the leave of God I will satisfy your expectation. But your Honour must understand I cannot come into any great credit with the Queen of Scotland, unless there may appear in me some towardness of doing her pleasure, which may be used with words, and not in deeds. I have taken such comfort in your Honour's letter, that I make bold to write to you myself. If I might by your good means have leave to speak to Sir Henry Piercy

¹ Cotton Library, Calig. B[ook] X. f. 379. — [British Museum. — E.]

² I would suspect a flaw in this date, seeing Sir James Melvil assures us, that when he went into England to acquaint Queen Elizabeth with the birth of the Prince of Scotland, he told that Queen, that his own mistress had already caused Ruxbie be apprehended. This date should therefore in all likelihood be June in place of July.

about Norham, I would trust to be better able to do service to my country —.¹"

In the month of June, the Queen perceiving the time of her deliverance to approach, wrote unto all the principal Noblemen of her Realm to come and remain within the town of Edinburgh during that juncture. In obedience to her Majesty's desire, a great many assembled thither; and the King, with the Earls of Argyll, Atholl, Moray, and Mar, remained with the Queen in the Castle; and the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and the other Noble persons, lodged in the city.² And matters being thus far regulated, it pleased Almighty God that the Queen was happily delivered of a male child on Wednesday, the 19th day of the same month of June, betwixt the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon.³

¹ This has been granted, for Sir James Melvil takes notice that Ruxbie conveyed his letters into England by the means of Sir Henry Piercy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, who was Popish at the time.

² Holinshed and Spottiswood.

³ Archbishop Spottiswood, from Buchanan probably, and the wretched English translator of Buchanan, have both perverted that author's words, so as to make this birth fall out betwixt these hours in the night of that day. But Sir James Melvil's clear authority rectifies their misunderstanding of Mr Buchanan's nice astronomical expression.—[Buchanan writes — "Atque decimo nono die Junii paulo post horam nonam equinoctialem filium peperit;" and his Translator (vol. ii. p. 313) renders the passage—"On the 19th of June, a little after nine o'clock at night, (the Queen) was brought to bed of a son." Sir James Melville's authority is conclusive.—Memoirs, p. 69. Darnley also, on the *forenoon* of his son's birth, announced the event in a letter to the Cardinal of Guise, which, he says, he sent by a certain "gentleman," whose name is not mentioned. This letter is dated "from Edinburgh Castle, 19th June 1566, *in great haste*," and is very short. It is inserted in Miss Strickland's "Letters of Mary Queen of Scots," Svo. London, 1842, vol. i. p. 21. It is singular that Mr Tytler (History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 48) narrates the birth of James VI. as in the *previous year*, or 1565. Mr Tytler observes of Queen Mary in preparing for her accouchement—"Uncertain that she should survive her confinement, she called for her Nobility, took measures regarding the government of the kingdom, made her will, became reconciled to the King (Darnley), and personally arranged every thing either for life or death." The Queen wrote three copies of her will, one of which, in the event of her decease, was to be sent to her relatives in France; another was presented to the Noblemen and Officers of State who conducted public affairs during her accouchement; and the third she kept in her own possession.—E.]



CHAPTER X.

CONTINUATION OF STATE AFFAIRS FROM THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF SCOTLAND, AFTERWARDS KING JAMES VI. ON THE 19TH OF JUNE 1566, UNTIL THE MURDER OF THE KING ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY 1567-8.

As the birth of a Prince was one of the greatest of blessings that God could bestow upon this poor divided land, so was the same most thankfully acknowledged by all ranks of people, according as the welcome news thereof reached their ears. Great joy and triumph was made in Edinburgh; and all the Nobility that were present, together with many people, repaired to the High Church,¹ and returned thanks to God for so signal a mercy both to the Queen and the whole Realm; and made their humble prayers that the young Prince² might be endued with the fear of God, with virtue and knowledge to govern the Realm and subjects thereof, whenever the same should happen to come into his

¹ Perhaps the Archbishop defers this assembling in the church till next day, because he marks the birth to have been in the evening before; but I have no proper voucher either to support or correct him, only Holinshed makes this assembling to have been the same day of the birth.—[Archbishop Spottiswoode seems to be the “Archbishop” referred to by our Historian, but the precise correctness of the incident is of little moment. St Giles’ church, in which John Knox preached, is the “High Church” mentioned by Bishop Keith, but though a part of it is so called, it was not then designated the High Church. The apartment in which James VI. was born in Edinburgh Castle is still shewn. If it has undergone no alteration, it is a most repulsive-looking room, of very limited dimensions, having a small fire-place, and lighted by one window looking down to the Grass-market and the south-east of the city. It is on the ground-floor of the south-east side of the quadrangle, in which the Regalia are kept, close to the Half-Moon Battery. This part of the quadrangle was often occupied as a royal residence, and in it Queen Mary’s mother died in 1560.—E.]

² [Margaret Houston, the widow of a person named Beveridge, was Queen Mary’s midwife, and Margaret (also called Helen) Little, spouse of Alexander Gray, burgess of Edinburgh, was the infant Prince’s “maistress nurse,” for which she and her husband obtained a liferent of half the lands of Kingsbarns near Crail in Fife; but Margaret Houston was not forgotten, as in July 1566 the Queen granted to her and her son Thomas Beveridge during their lives two chalders and four bolls of barley from Newtown of Falkland.—E.]

hands. Her Majesty had taken such care to advertise speedily the Queen of England of her delivery, that she had given previous orders to Mr (afterwards Sir) James Melvil,¹ to hold himself in continual readiness to mount his horse; and for that effect she had before-hand signed a letter to Queen Elizabeth, bearing a blank to be filled, either with son or daughter, according as it should please God to grant her.² And because no other author has touched at this gentleman's performance at this time but himself, and that no person could do it so well as himself, I shall take the freedom to insert here word for word his own account thereof.

"All the while," saith he,³ "I lay within the Castle of Edinburgh, praying night and day for her Majesty's good and happy delivery of a fair son. This prayer being granted, I was the first who was thereof advertised by the Lady Boin⁴ in her Majesty's name, to part with diligence the 19th of June 1566, betwixt ten and eleven in the morning. By twelve of the clock I took horse, and was that night at Berwick. The fourth day after I was at London, and did first meet with my brother Sir Robert, who that same night sent and advertised Secretary Cecil of my arrival, and of the birth of the Prince, desiring him to keep it quiet till my coming to Court to shew it myself unto her Majesty, who was for the time at Greenwich, where her Majesty was in

¹ He acquaints us that he supplied now the Secretary's place, young Lethington being not yet received into favour.

² Holinshed alone informs that "shortly after the Queen was brought to bed, she sent one of her gentlemen called Monsieur Clarinoch (this would seem to be the same person who came from her uncle the Cardinal, and mentioned by Sir William Drury February 16th, 1565-6, under the name of Clarenoc), with letters to the King of France and to the Duke of Savoy, desiring them to send ambassadors, which in their name as godfathers might receive her son at the baptism.—These Princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadors to that effect, as afterwards they did."

³ *Memoirs*, p. 69.—[See also the note at the end of the preceding Chapter.—E.]

⁴ [Or Boyne, a territorial designation, but who this lady was is not known, except that she was on this occasion a personal attendant on the Queen. It was common in Scotland to address the wives of landed proprietors by the name of their estates, though possessing no hereditary titles. A locality called Boyne is near Portsoy in Banffshire, in the parish of Fordyce, on the Moray Frith.—E.]

great mirth, dancing after supper. But so soon as the Secretary Cecil whispered in her ear the news of the Prince's birth, all her mirth was laid aside for that night; all present marvelling whence proceeded such a change, for the Queen did sit down putting her hand under her cheek, bursting out to some of her ladies—'That the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock.' The next morning was appointed for me to get audience, at what time my brother and I went by water to Greenwich, and were met by some friends, who told us how sorrowful her Majesty was at my news, but that she had been advised to shew a glad and cheerful countenance: which she did in her best apparel, saying, That the joyful news of the Queen her sister's delivery of a fair son, which I had sent her by Secretary Cecil, had recovered her out of a heavy sickness which she had lyen under for fifteen days. Therefore she welcomed me with a merry volt, and thanked me for the diligence I had used in hasting to give her that welcome intelligence. All this she said before I had delivered unto her my letters of credence. After that she had read it, I declared how that the Queen had hasted me towards her Majesty, as one whom she knew of all her friends would be most joyful of the glad news of her delivery, albeit dear bought with the peril of her life, she being so sore handled that she wished she had never been married. This I said, by the way, to give her a little scare from marriage. For so my brother had counselled me, because sometimes she boasted to marry the Archduke Charles of Austria, when any man pressed her to declare a second person. Then I requested her Majesty to be a gossip to the Queen, to which she gladly condescended. 'Your Majesty,' said I, 'will now have a fair occasion to see the Queen, whereof I have heard your Majesty so oft desirous.' Whereat she smiled, saying, she wished that her estate and affairs might permit her; in the meantime she promised to send both honourable lords and ladies to supply her room. Then I gave her Majesty, in my Queen's name, most hearty thanks, for her friendly visiting and comforting her by Mr Henry Killigrew. She enquired if I had left him in Scotland, and what was the cause of his long stay? I answered, that the Queen took her chamber shortly after his

arrival, which was the chief cause of his delay. But I had in commission to tell her Majesty something thereabout, to satisfy her mind in the mean time, and to thank her Majesty for the putting away of the Scots rebels out of her country, albeit there were some reports that they were yet secretly entertained by some of her subjects, though I hardly believed that any of her subjects durst be so bold or so disobedient. She affirmed they were out of her dominions, and if it might be otherwise tried out, it should not pass without rigorous punishment. I told her Majesty, that upon her desire, and ambassador's complaint, the Queen had caused to apprehend Mr Ruxbie, and had ordered him to be delivered to her Majesty whenever she should please to send for him. And as concerning O'Neel, she had no dealing with him, nor knew that there had been any servant of his sent to my Lord Argile, until Mr Killigrew's coming that she caused to enquire at the said Earl, who acknowledged that O'Neel had sent one unto him about private purposes betwixt themselves, but that she did neither see nor speak with that man, nor had any dealing with any man in Ireland.

" Her Majesty seemed to be well satisfied with the matters of Ireland, and concerning Mr Ruxbie; but she forgot to send for him. Before I took my farewell in order to my return, I entred with her Majesty concerning the title. For my Lord of Leicester was become my Queen's avowed friend, and had been twice in hand with the Queen of England a little before my coming, desiring her to declare my mistress next heir: alledging it would be her great security, and cried out in anger that Cecil would undo all. Likewise the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Pembroke, and several others, shewed themselves openly her friends, after they understood the birth of the Prince. So that her Majesty's matters in England were hopeful; and, therefore, I was advised to say unto her Majesty, that I was assured she had formerly delayed the declaring the Queen second person, only till she might see such succession of her body as now God had graciously granted; entreating her Majesty to embrace that fair offered opportunity of satisfying the minds of many, as well in England as in Scotland, who desired to see that matter out of doubt. And the rather

because that the Queen my mistress would never seek any place or right in England but by her Majesty's favour and furtherance. She answered, that the birth of the Prince was a great spur to cause the most skilful lawyers in England to use greater diligence in trying out that matter, which she esteemed to belong most justly to her good sister, and that she wished from her heart that it should be that way decided. I replied, that at my last being with her I found her Majesty upon the same terms, but that as I had brought her good news from the Queen, I was very desirous to be so happy as to carry home with me unto her Majesty the good tidings of that so long delayed declaration. She answered, she was resolved to satisfy the Queen in that matter by those Noblemen she was resolved to send into Scotland for the baptism of the Prince. All this I perceived to be but shifts, and so took my leave, because my brother was to remain there. The next day her Majesty sent unto me her letter, with the present of a fair chain."

What follows here in Sir James's Memoirs¹ being still necessary, or convenient at least for the suit of the History, I have therefore adventured to add the same likewise here.

" My brother gave me the advice of her Majesty's friends, together with his own instructions how to proceed after my coming home, as followeth.

" *First*, That he is in such suspicion for his handling there, by the advertisements of Mr Ruxbie, and practices of her enemies, that her Majesty must signify to Mr Killigrew that she is minded shortly to call him home, else he fears he shall be commanded to return.

" *Secondly*, That her Majesty require the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Cecil to be sent to be her gossips, as fittest instruments to perfect all articles and good offices of amity betwixt them.

" *Item*, That Mr Killigrew be well treated and rewarded, that he may make good report to hold of discord, that intelligence may continue; and desire him to declare unto the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Cecil, that it cannot stand with good friendship to be so long fed with fair words without effect.

¹ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 71-74.—E.]

“ *Item*, That her Majesty cast not off the Earl of Northumberland, albeit as a fearful and facile man he delivered her letter to the Queen of England ; neither appear to find fault with Sir Henry Peirey as yet for his dealing with Mr Ruxbie, which he doth to gain favour at Court, being upon a contrary faction to his brother the Earl.

“ *Item*, That Mr Ruxbie be well kept, and sent far north to some secure part, that he give no hasty intelligence ; for he hath already written unto Secretary Cecil by Sir Henry Peirey his convoyance, that he can discover all your practices and secrets.

“ Let my Lord Argile entertain O’Neel as of himself, the Queen not appearing to know thereof.

“ The Secretary Cecil devised strange practices against the meeting, which because my Lord of Leicester discovered unto the Queen his mistress, Cecil stirred up the Earl of Sussex to forge a quarrel against him, but the Queen took the Earl of Leicester’s part, and finally agreed them, and also Leicester and Ormond.

“ *Item*, That her Majesty should write two letters with Mr Killigrew to my brother, the one that he might shew unto the Queen of England, the other that he might shew unto the Secretary Cecil.

“ *Item*, To advertise my brother what he should do more for my Lady Lenox, whose liberty might do much good.

“ Now to conclude, seeing the great mark which her Majesty shoots at, let her Majesty be more careful and circumspect that her desires being so near to be obtained, be not all overthrown for lack of secrecy, good management, and princely behaviour, having so many factious enemies lying in wait to make their advantage of the least appearance that can be made.

“ Shortly after my coming home, Mr Killigrew, the English ambassador, obtained his dispatch, with a friendly answer to his contentment, and a fair chain ; and with him her Majesty sent these two letters following to my brother by his own advice, that he might take occasion to let the Queen of England see the one, and Mr Cecil the other, partly to serve to put some doubts out of their minds ingendered by Mr Ruxbie’s advertisements ; for, as I have said, the Bishop of Ross made the said Ruxbie’s address to the

Queen, for neither he nor the Earl of Bothwell desired her Majesty's affairs to prosper under my brother's management, because he was not of their faction, so that by their means Ruxbie got that intelligence as put all her Majesty's affairs once in a venture, until my brother's extraordinary intelligence, from such as were most intimate with the Queen of England, made him cause to apprehend the said Ruxbie with his whole letters and memoirs, as said is ; so are many good princes handled, and commonly their truest servants decourted, by the envy and craft of their factious enemies ; for wicked men who have lost their credit by trumpery and tricks, whereby they get no place to do good service to princes, essay to creep unto their favour by wiles, flattery, and other unlawful means, whereby they may decourt such as surmount them in virtue and honest reputation. Her Majesty's letters to my brother were as followeth—

“ ‘ *Trusty and well beloved, Wee greet you well*: Whereas your brother James hath told us of the friendly and faithful advice given unto you and him by Mr Secretary Cecil, toward the continuation of the amity betwixt the Queen our good sister and us, tending also to our own particular advantage, we thought meet to send these few lines to you, that you may thank him heartily in our name, and declare unto him our meaning and intention, as you find opportunity, touching the three points that he did mention at that time.

“ The *first*, as we understand, touching our towardliness to them of the religion. The *second*, touching strict justice to be observed upon the Borders. The *third*, that we will endeavour by no means to come to the Succession of the Crown of England, but by the favour and forth-setting of our good sister.

“ As to the *first*, you shall answer in our name, That since our return out of France we have neither constrained nor persecuted any for cause of religion, nor yet minds to do ; their credit with us being so manifest, that they are entrusted with the principal offices, and bear the chiefest charges in the kingdom, and principally employed in our most urgent affairs before all others. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton can testify what he hath seen and heard at his being

here thereanent, howbeit that contrary bruits are blown abroad by the malice and practices of our enemies. To the *second*, concerning the Borders, it is most certain that the principal officers on both the sides are special instruments of all the disorders, taking occasion upon our late troubles, when as they perceived that we might not so well take order with them, as we were willing; as now when it hath pleased God to grant unto us more quietness. Desiring him also to procure at the Queen his sovereign's hands that the like diligence be taken for her part as shall be seen used by us; and then we doubt not but that both he, she, and all other who complain shall be satisfied. As to the *third* and *last* head, you shall shew unto him the tenor of our other letter, for satisfaction to the Queen and our other friends in these parts. So with my friendly commendations to him and his wife, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty. From the Castle of Edinburgh, this year 1566.'

“ ‘ *Trusty and well beloved, We greet you well:* We have received great comfort and contentment by the declaration your brother hath made to us of the Queen our good sister's continual affection and constant love towards us, which she hath now shewn unto you, and your brother at his coming, as also by her letters unto our self: Likewise for the grant she hath made to be our gossip, and promises to send so honourable a company of lords and ladies for solemnizing the same in her name, for which in our behalf you shall give her Majesty most hearty thanks, and shew unto her that we desire nothing to be done therein but as may conduce best for her advantage, and least to her expence; praying her always that the principal man, whom it will please her to send, be such a one as we have by long experience known to have been most familiar with her, to whom we may the more freely open our mind, and signify divers things which we intended to have spoken by mouth unto herself, if God had granted our desired meeting. As concerning O'Neel, Ruxbie, and all other matters, we hope that Mr Killigrew will satisfy her sufficiently; and also how that we desire to have no advancement in that country, but by her only means and help, hoping and intending so to direct our course and behaviour toward her, as she shall

have cause more and more to procure earnestly and carefully her self, all things that may further our weal and advancement in this country, that kingdom, or any other. In the which hope we will do our best to follow such measures as may please her, and to avoid all things that may offend her; and we give our most strict command unto you to do the like, so long as you remain there, and wherever you be about our service even as I gave you commandment of before: Nevertheless, in the mean time entertain most kindly and discreetly all those in that country who profess to bear good will unto us and to our title, yet in such sort as neither you nor they offend the Queen our good sister. And if there chance to come to you any hasty or seditious persons, admonish them gently to cease; and if they forbear not, shew unto them that we have promised to the Queen to declare the names and practices of such unto her, and that we will not fail to do it indeed, if they cease not: So shall it be known that such as are about to sow discord between the Queen our good sister and us doth it rather upon particular respects and for their own advantage, than for any design to advance her affairs or ours.'

"These kind of writings were for that time devised to overthrow and cast down some intelligences which were discovered by Ruxbie, and some reports raised by enemies, that my brother by his practices and perswasions had kindled a great fire, and had raised a great faction in England. He did not deny but he had dealt with many to win what favour he could to his mistress, but that he had done nothing that could offend the Queen of England, and that he had no commandment to enterprize any thing which could be displeasing to her. By this means Ruxbie's intelligence was suppressed, and my brother suffered to stay still in England, whereby the Queen's friends so increased that many whole shires were ready to rebel, and their captains already named by the election of the Nobility." To return now.

The readers will observe, in the course of the rebellion last year, that Mr Randolph, the Resident of England, had come into much suspicion of favouring and assisting these rebels, and that he had even been advertised by our Queen not to proceed in that manner; however, it would seem the

evidence for it had not been so plain, that the Queen could fix it upon him with incontestable conviction. But now her Majesty, having come at a more certain intelligence of that gentleman's misbehaviour (for he had all along made it his business to foment misunderstandings between her and her subjects), resolved once for all to get rid of him, and send him out of her dominion. There is a notable letter on this head chances to be preserved, and which well deserves a room here.

*Queen of Scots to the Queen of England.*¹

“RYCHT excellent, rycht heich and myehtie Princesse, oure derrest sister and cousin, in oure maist hartlie maner we commend ws unto zow : We have undirstand be zowr declaratioun maid not onlie to oure derrest brither the King of France, and to his ambassatour resident thair with zow, bot alswa to Monsieur Rambolet, his lait ambassatour heir, and be Maister Randolphe zowr agent, that neither ze had aydit, nor was myndit to ayde and support, oure rebellis agains ws ; quhilk we have alwayis takin to be undoubtedlie trew, and will luke for na uther at zowr handis : sic accompt make we of zow, and of that zowr declaratioun, quhilk we will na wayis mistrust. Zit we have certane knowledge that oure saidis rebellis wer supportit with the soun of three thousand crownis, sent to the Lady Murray be Maister Randolphe about the middis of August bipast, as the man quha caryit the money hes confessit in his awin presence : Quhilk his proceeding as we have just occasioun to think maist strange, and besydis the office of a gude minister professing himself a peacibill officiar and intertenear of amyty : evinsa we and oure Counsall cannot think weill of his behaviour, bot

¹ *Shattered MS.*—[Our Historian thus preludes in a marginal note Randolph's dismissal—“The English Resident Randolph is sent away for his assisting the Scottish rebels ;” and he entitles the above document—“Letter by the Queen to the Queen of England in justification of the measure.” According to Mr Tytler, Randolph was dismissed for his intrigues with Moray before the murder of Riccio.—“At this time (13th February 1565-6) Randolph, who, from the terms in which he described it, appears to have had no objection to the plot (the murder of Riccio), was banished by Mary to Berwick, the Queen having now discovered certain proof of his having encouraged and assisted Moray in his rebellion.” *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 23, 24.—E.]

takis it to be besydis zowr opinioun, and tending to sum uther fyne and purpois nor that for the quhilk he wes directit heir be zow; and hes tane occasioun to send him hame to zow, quhair his behaviour in this caiss may be tryit, and he orderit accordinglie at zowr discretioun. Of the quhilk our proceeding we pray zow think not strange, seing our cognitioun thairin is upoun na lycht report, bot, as we have said, of the same self man quha ressavit of his handis the money caryit in, and reportit the Lady Murray's lettre of the ressait of the samyn agane to him, as at grittar lenth we have commandit our servand Robert Malville¹ to communicat unto zow. And gif, as of befor, zowr plessour be to have a servand resident heir, quhomsoevir it sall pleis zow send, being a man inelynit to amytic and gude offices, he sall be gladelie weleum; and for zowr respect will we command all humanitie and gude intertenement to be schawin that appertenis. And thus, rycht excellent, &c."

Though the date of the foregoing letter be not affixed, yet there are some abstracts remaining which go near to ascertain the time of this event.—"May 26th, 1566, *Randolph to Sir William Cecil*. Queen Mary accuses Randolph for having given 3000 crowns to Moray, which was discovered by a servant of Moray's. He denied it. She also blames him for being the author of a scandalous book reflecting on that Queen's birth, dignity, and government. She sent Robert Melvil to the English Court to have him recalled.

"*Randolph to Sir William Cecil*, June 17th, 1566—He is glad that he has liberty to return from the Borders to Court.² He acquainted the Scotch Protestant Lords that he is to be succeeded by Mr Killigrew, with whom they are to communicate their affairs."—"July 17th, 1566, *Earl of Bedford to Sir William Cecil*—Randolph is recalled, and Killigrew comes in his place. This change is a great loss

¹ [He was brother of Sir James Melville of Halhill, the author of the "Memoirs."—E.]

² He has, it seems, remained on the Borders within the limits of England, after his having been sent out of Scotland, until he should obtain his mistress's allowance to come to Court.—[Randolph, we have seen, resided for some time at Berwick.—E.]

to the intelligence from Scotland, and which can only be supplied by the Laird of Grange.¹"

The two last abstracts are of farther use to certify us that Mr Killigrew, who had lately gone into England after Sir James Melvil's return from thence, was again sent down to Scotland, to take upon him the management of Queen Elizabeth's affairs here in the room of Mr Randolph. Neither Mr Cambden nor Sir James Melvil take notice of that gentleman's having come twice into Scotland: and the former, though he narrates very exactly Killigrew's commission² in the month of June, according as Sir James has given the account thereof at good length, yet he is so far mistaken as to omit that first journey altogether, and refers the commission concerning Ruxbie to Killigrew's second coming into Scotland, in order to pay the Queen of England's compliment to our Queen after the birth of her son. So the only historian that has taken due notice of Killigrew's two journeys hither is Mr Holinshed, who sets them down most distinctly one after the other, and has his authority as clearly affirmed by these two collateral proofs of Melvil's Memoirs³ and the above recited abstracts.

The Queen being now pretty well recovered after child-bearing, thought fit for the sake of her health to take a little refreshment of better air in the country; and the place she made choice to retire unto was the sweet seat of Alloa, whither she went by water in the beginning of August, accompanied by the Earl of Mar, the proprietor of the place, and the Earl of Moray.⁴ During the time her Majesty remained in Alloa, Mons. Malvoisir⁵ arrived in Scotland to

¹ Hereby we see the loss the English ministry were sensible they sustained by the want of Randolph in Scotland.—[By the "Laird of Grange" Sir William Kirkaldy is indicated. See some notices of him and his family in the note, vol. i. p. 24, 25, of the present edition.—E.]

² [History and Annals of Quene Elizabeth, 4to. 1625, p. 128; but Camden writes as if the English Queen had sent Killigrew into Scotland solely to congratulate Mary on the birth of her son.—E.]

³ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 68, 69.—E.]

⁴ Holinshed.

⁵ Though Castelneau Mauvissier says nothing expressly of this matter in his own Memoirs, yet he acknowledges his being sent into Scotland some time after the murder of Riccio. And the Abstracts in the Appendix

congratulate her safe delivery and birth, on the part of the French King; and was conveyed thither by the Bishop of Ross. This gentleman being well acquainted with her Majesty, was joyfully received by her; and made it his business while here, to labour a reconciliation in the Queen both towards the King her husband and the other assassins of Riccio. And in both these he seems to have succeeded pretty well; for by abstracts in the Appendix we learn that Secretary Maitland was allowed to wait of her Majesty at Alloa; and there likewise the King and she were together two nights.¹ And in the end of the same month, the King

render it certain, that he was in Scotland at this precise time.—[Queen Mary promoted Joseph Riccio, the brother of David Riccio, who had arrived in the suite of Malvoiser, or Mauvissiere, the French ambassador, when he came into Scotland in 1565, to be her private Foreign Secretary. For Mauvissiere's arrival in 1565, see p. 304 of this volume.—E.]

¹ Let the readers compare this with Buchanan's story.—[Buchanan's story is, that when Queen Mary left Edinburgh to proceed to Alloa Tower, Bothwell "was alone the man; he managed all affairs. The Queen was so inclined to him, that she would have it understood no suit would be obtained from her but by his mediation; and as if she were afraid her favours to him were but mean, and not sufficiently known, on a certain day she took one or two with her, and went down to the haven called Newhaven (near Leith), and her attendants not knowing whither she was going, she went on board a small vessel prepared there for her; William and Edmund Blacater, Edward Robertson, and Thomas Dickson, all Bothwell's creatures, and pirates of known rapacity, had filled the ship before. With this guard of robbers, to the great admiration of all men, she ventured to sea, taking none of her honest servants with her. She landed at Alloa, a castle of the Earl of Mar, where she so demeaned herself for some time as if she had forgotten not only the dignity of a Queen, but even the modesty of a matron."—*Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 211, 212; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 314, 315. The malignancy of this narrative is obvious. It seems that Darnley followed the Queen, and a reconciliation was effected between him and the Queen by the French ambassador Mauvissiere in Alloa Tower; but Buchanan scruples not to assert that though "his design and hopes were to be with her, and to enjoy mutual society as husband and wife, yet he, as an unfortunate disturber of her pleasures, was ordered to go back from whence he came, and had hardly time allowed him for his servants to refresh themselves." The reader need hardly be reminded that all this is gratuitous fiction, having no foundation in fact. Chalmers justly observes (*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 165)—"It was reserved for Buchanan's falsehood to say that she went to Alloa with *pirates*." The "*pirates*" were Bothwell, Lord High Admiral of Scotland, who provided the vessel and the seamen for the Queen's conveyance, and she was accompanied by the Earls of Mar and

and Queen together, accompanied by the Earls of Huntly, Moray, Bothwell, and divers others, went into Megatland¹

Moray. As carriages were not known in Scotland, and as the Queen was not sufficiently recovered from her accouchement to risk a long ride on horseback, she resolved to proceed to Alloa by water. Randolph informs Cecil that the Queen had *walked out* a mile beyond Edinburgh Castle while recovering from child-birth—an incident proving that Mary had no wheeled carriage, and we have repeatedly seen that riding on horseback was her usual mode of journeying. The first wheeled carriage seen in Scotland was a chariot which the Princess Margaret, Queen of James IV. and daughter of Henry VII., brought with her from England, and after her death it was conveyed from Methven Castle to Edinburgh, and repaired in March 1542-3. But to return to Buchanan's "*pirates*," we have seen that they were the Lord High Admiral Bothwell, the crew of the vessel, the Earl of Mar, and Buchanan's particular friend the Earl of Moray, who attended Queen Mary on this occasion. Darnley would not accompany the Queen on this short voyage on account of his feud with Moray, but preferred travelling by land, and joining her at Alloa Tower. Mary remained at Alloa only a few days. On the 29th of July 1566, a payment of ten shillings to a boy passing from Edinburgh with sealed "*writings*," or letters, to the Queen at Alloa is entered in the Lord High Treasurer's Books. Mary returned to the Palace of Holyrood on the 31st of July, went back to Alloa on the 3d of August, and after residing a few days she left for Edinburgh, and prepared for the hunting expedition into Meggetdale.—E.]

¹ Holinshed. This Megatland is a large open tract of ground in the shire of Tweeddale, that same very likely whither the King had resorted, when Buchanan made his invidious reflection already taken notice of.—[The district of Meggetland, or Meggetdale, which takes its name from the Megget Water, comprizing the southern extremity of Peebles-shire, on the borders of the counties of Selkirk and Dumfries. It is one of the most elevated districts in the South of Scotland, and some of the mountains rise to a considerable height. The district is above six miles in length, and in some parts upwards of five miles in breadth, bounded on the east by the parish of Yarrow, on the south by those of Eterick and Moffat, on the west by that of Tweedsmuir, and on the north by that of Mannor. It is entirely mountainous, the hills extending in two parallel ranges from east to west, having between them a narrow valley, scarcely a quarter of a mile in breadth, traversed by the Megget Water, which rises among the hills on the west, and after a short course, and receiving various tributaries, enters, at the east, the large and beautiful lake called St Mary's Loch, from which issues the Yarrow. Meggetland, or Megget, is parochially connected with the parish of Lyne, although that parish is fourteen miles distant, the river Tweed and the parish of Mannor intervening.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Peebles-shire, p. 167. "As Megget," says the writer of that Report, "approaches the confines of England and Scotland, it may be supposed that when the two kingdoms were governed by different sovereigns, its inhabitants would experience the disturbances, and be distinguished by the character and habits, which were then so prevalent among the Borders."—E.]

to take the recreation of hunting.¹ And after they had returned to Edinburgh, they went both together to Stirling.²

¹ [This was on the 14th of August, after the Queen's return from Alloa detailed in another note, for on the 12th a payment of twelve shillings is entered in the Treasurer's Books to a boy who "passed with close writings" from the King, as Darnley was called, and the Queen, to the Earl of Bothwell, the Sheriff of Selkirk, and the "Gudeman" of Torsonce, which were doubtless commands to make preparations for the royal sport. On the 16th of August the Queen, Darnley, and their retinue, held a Council at Rodono in the district, where they made an ordinance reciting the scarcity of deer, which had spoiled their amusement, ordaining that the animals should not be shot under pains of law. They were at Traquair on the 19th, and returned to Edinburgh, disappointed at the result of their expedition, on the 22d.—E.]

² [This was on the 22d of August, two days after the arrival of Mary and Darnley at Holyrood Palace from Peebles-shire, though it appears that from the time of the Queen's accouchement to the 14th of August the latter chiefly resided in Morton's castle of Dalkeith. They took with them the infant Prince, who had been placed under the care of the Earl and Countess of Mar in Edinburgh Castle, and leaving him in Stirling Castle with them, they went on a hunting expedition into Perthshire, visiting Glenartney, an extensive red-deer forest in the glen so called between the mountains Bon-Voirlich and Strick-a-chroan, in the vicinity of Loch Earn. On the 30th of August, the Queen and Darnley were at Drummond Castle, in the parish of Muthill near Crieff, the seat of the Lords Drummond, ancestors of the Earls of Perth, and on the 31st they returned to Stirling, where they remained together nearly a fortnight. On the 11th or 12th of September the Queen went to Edinburgh on public business, but Darnley declined to accompany her, not wishing to have any intercourse with Moray and the other members of the Privy-Council. The Queen held meetings of the Council on the 17th and 21st of September, and returned to Stirling on the latter day. She was anxious that Darnley would remove with her to Edinburgh, where her presence was necessary, but he obstinately refused, and chose to remain at Stirling. Mary in consequence returned to Edinburgh, where she held meetings of the Privy-Council on the 23d and 24th of September. She left Le Croc, the French ambassador, with Darnley at Stirling, where Beaton, the brother of the Archbishop of Glasgow, had arrived from France before her departure, and during her absence Darnley first intimated to Le Croc that he intended to leave the kingdom, though he did not inform the latter of the whole of his project. His father Lennox came from Glasgow on a visit to him at Stirling, and when he was told of his resolution to go abroad he remonstrated with him on the folly of such a procedure. When Lennox returned to Glasgow he announced his son's resolution, and his inability to dissuade him from it, in a letter to the Queen, which she received on the morning of the 29th of September, and laid it before the Privy-Council. About ten o'clock in the evening of that day Darnley arrived at the Palace of Holyrood, where the Queen was residing, and not in the "Checker House," as related by Buchanan, who so states to inculcate her with Bothwell. Darnley refused to enter the Palace unless

Strange and surprisingly wild are the accounts given by Knox, but most especially by Buchanan, concerning the King and Queen about this time. I shall not reckon it worth while to transcribe them here; and the best and shortest confutation I could propose of them, is to leave my readers the trouble, or rather satisfaction, to compare the same with the just now mentioned abstracts, and the three following authentick letters.

*Letter from Mons. le Croc¹ the French Ambassador in Scotland, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Queen of Scots' Ambassador in France.*²

“ MONSIEUR—On the 22d day of the last month your brother Mr Bethune³ arrived in Stirling, where he found this Queen in good health, as likewise the Prince her son, who is a very fine child, and thrives so well, that against the time of his christening his godfathers will feel the weight of bearing him in their arms. They are lookt for about the end of this month. The Queen is now returned from Stirling to Lisleburgh,⁴ as being vacation season, which, as you know,

Moray, Argyll, Rothes, Secretary Maitland, and some other of the Officers of State left it; and when this was intimated to the Queen, she condescendingly went without to receive him, conducted him to her own apartments, in which he remained with her during the night. She questioned him about his design to leave Scotland, and requested his reasons for such an extraordinary project, which he refused to assign, yet he would not acknowledge that he had any cause of discontent. On the following day the Privy-Council met in the Queen's apartments, at which the Queen and Darnley were present. The Privy-Council argued the matter with him, as related in Le Croc's letter, to which the reader is now referred.—E.]

¹ [Le Croc had been in Scotland in 1559. See vol. i. p. 225 of the present edition.—E.]

² Bibl. Colleg. Scot. Paris. Mem. Scot. Tom. ii. p. 255, an Original. I have translated this and the following letter into English for the benefit of the ordinary readers; but have likewise put the French copies of them into the Appendix, Number XIII.

³ [This gentleman was the brother of Archbishop Beaton, or Bethune, of Glasgow, and he was a nephew of the celebrated Cardinal Beaton, having been one of the seven sons of John Beaton of Balfour, the Cardinal's elder brother.—E.]

⁴ [Edinburgh. See the fourth note, vol. i. p. 166 of the present edition, and also the note by our Historian to the letter from the Lords of the Scottish Privy-Council, which immediately follows this from Mons. le Croc to Archbishop Beaton in the present volume.—E.]

continues in this country from August until Martinmass, and during which the Nobility are convened to look after the publick affairs of the Queen and her Realm. The King, however, abode at Stirling, and he told me there that he had a mind to go beyond sea, in a sort of desperation.¹ I

¹ [This and the following letter refer to a project of leaving Scotland, which Darnley had formed either of his own accord, or at the suggestion of others, for some sinister purpose. To explain this it is necessary again to revert to the murder of Riccio. After the perpetration of that crime, it was certainly ominous to see such personages as the Earls of Bothwell and Moray reconciled, and the Earls of Argyll and Atholl agreeing to suspend their differences. While such discordant and unprincipled alliances were forming, Queen Mary was apparently disposed to pardon the Earl of Morton, Maitland of Lethington, and the other principal conspirators, if that procedure could have secured peace to the kingdom. When Darnley was informed of her intentions, he became alarmed, and loudly denounced his former friends who had murdered Riccio. This exasperated them against him; they retaliated, by accusing him in the most unequivocal language as the sole instigator and contriver of that crime; and to prove this they laid the two Bonds, or Covenants, before the Queen, who saw at once for the first time his falsehood and duplicity—that he was, to adopt the expressive words of Mr Tytler, the “principal conspirator against her, the defamer of her honour, the plotter against her liberty and her crown, the almost murderer of herself and her unborn child”—that he was “convicted as a traitor and liar, false to his own honour, false to her, false to his associates in crime.” Randolph wrote to Cecil, dated Berwick, 4th April 1566—“The Queen hath now seen all the Covenants and Bands that passed between the King (Darnley) and the Lords, and now findeth that his declaration before her and the Council of his innocency of the murder of David was false.” The consequence was that while Morton, Moray, Maitland of Lethington, and their associates, were in the utmost indignation at Darnley’s conduct, accusing him of betraying them, and of attempting to purchase his own safety by their destruction, Mary avoided the company of her wretched husband, and prohibited her friends to countenance him, or shew him any kindness. It appears that she was meditating a divorce, and it was reported that she had sent Thornton, mentioned by Le Croc in this letter, to Rome for that purpose (Randolph to Cecil, dated Berwick, 25th April 1566, MS. State-Paper Office, in Tytler’s *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 47). So miserable was the Queen, that she entertained the extraordinary design of returning to France, and entrusting the government of the kingdom to a Regency composed of the Earls of Moray, Huntly, Mar, Atholl, and Bothwell. But as the period of her accouchement approached, she relented towards Darnley, and immediately before the birth of her son James VI. she was reconciled to him. After that event the Queen was convinced of the expediency of recovering her authority, and she was disposed to sacrifice her own feelings and adopt a lenient course towards Morton and the exiled Nobility. She listened to the intercession of Moray, whom she again treated with confidence. Maitland of Lethington was reconciled to Bothwell and pardoned. Crichton of Brunstane,

said to him what I thought proper at the time, but still I could not believe that he was in earnest. Since that time the Earl of Lenox his father came to visit him; and he has written a letter to the Queen, signifying that it is not in his power to divert his son from his intended voyage, and prays her Majesty to use her interest therein. This letter from the Earl of Lenox the Queen received on Michaelmass Day in the morning, and that same evening the King arrived here about ten of the clock. When he and the Queen were a-bed together, her Majesty took occasion to talk to him about the contents of his father's letter, and besought him to declare to her the ground of his designed voyage; but in this he would by no means satisfy her. Early next morning the Queen sent for me, and for all the Lords and other Counsellors. As we were all met in their Majesties' presence, the Bishop of Ross (John Leslie) by the Queen's commandment declared to the Council the King's intention to go beyond sea, for which purpose he had a ship lying ready to sail; and that her Majesty's information hereof proceeded not from the rumour of the town, but from a letter written

Sandilands of Calder, and Cockburn of Ormiston, the chief leaders of the Reforming party, were received into favour; but John Knox was still compelled to continue in his retreat in Ayrshire. The Earl of Morton, Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, were in exile, but the Earls of Moray, Bothwell, Argyll, and Atholl, and Maitland of Lethington, who all now acted in concert, zealously exerted themselves to procure a pardon for their banished associates, to which the Queen was inclined to listen. This enraged Darnley, and he began to intrigue with the Roman Catholic party, writing even to the Pope, and impugning the conduct of the Queen for delaying to restore the ritual of the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding the apparent reconciliation between him and the Queen at Alloa, his folly and imbecility incited him to such desperate courses. "When his letters were intercepted," says Mr Tytler, "and his practices discovered, he complained bitterly of the neglect into which he had fallen, affirmed that he had no share in the government, accused the Nobles of a plot against his life, and at last formed the desperate resolution of leaving the kingdom, and remonstrating to foreign powers against the cruelty with which he was treated. This mad project alarmed his father Lennox, who communicated his fears to the Queen, and Mary made an earnest attempt to restore him to his duty."—*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 49, 50. The interview and remonstrances are detailed in the above letter of Le Croc, and in that which follows from the Lords of the Privy-Council to the Queen-mother of France, and "are of much importance," as Mr Tytler observes, "in estimating the dark charges afterwards brought against Mary."—E.]

to her by his own father the Earl of Lenox, which letter was likewise read in the Council ; and thereafter the Queen prayed the King to declare in presence of the Lords and before me the reason of his projected departure, since he would not be pleased to notify the same to her in private betwixt themselves. She likewise took him by the hand, and besought him for God's sake to declare if she had given him any occasion for this resolution ; and entreated he might deal plainly, and not spare her. Moreover, all the Lords likewise said to him, that if there was any fault on their part, upon his declaring it, they were ready to reform it. And I likewise took the freedom to tell him, that his departure must certainly affect either his own or the Queen's honour—that if the Queen had afforded any ground for it, his declaring the same would affect her Majesty ; as on the other hand, if he should go away without giving any cause for it, this thing could not at all redound to his praise : therefore, that since I was in this honourable employment, I could not fail, according to my charge, to give my testimony to the truth of what I had both formerly seen, and did presently see. After several things of this kind had passed amongst us, the King at last declared that he had no ground at all given him for such a deliberation ; and thereupon he went out of the chamber of presence, saying to the Queen—‘ Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space :’ after which he likewise bade me farewell, and next, turning himself to the Lords in general, said—‘ Gentlemen, Adieu.’ He is not yet embarked, but we receive advertisement from day to day that he still holds on his resolution, and keeps a ship in readiness. It is in vain to imagine that he shall be able to raise any disturbance, for there is not one person in all this kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, that regards him any farther than is agreeable to the Queen. And I never saw her Majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured ; nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects, as at present is by her wise conduct, for I cannot perceive the smallest difference or division. I suppose your brother Mr Bethune, Mr Thornton,¹ and other friends, write

¹ This is the Chanter of Moray.—[The person said to have been sent by Mary to Rome for the purpose of obtaining a divorce from Darnley.—E.]

you so amply concerning all matters, that I need trouble you with no more. This Queen hath commanded me to write to the Queen her mother-in-law (Queen-mother of France) touching the promise which the late King her father-in-law made be ratified to you by the late King her husband, and afterwards by the King now reigning. Mr Thornton can inform you what I have wrote thereanent. And I beg you'll believe that I will as cheerfully perform any thing that concerns you, as you can desire me; for I am very much beholden to you, both for the good offices you do me yourself, and for those I receive from your friends here, for all which I render you my most humble thanks. The Cardinal of Lorrain acquaints me that I must remain here about the Queen two months longer than was in my commission, and assures me that money for the defraying of my charges shall be sent by my son, who is to come hither in the retinue of the Count de Briene.¹ I wish it may be so, for in the mean time I lay out a great deal of money, though still I be not able sufficiently to express the honour and bounty the Queen here shews me, for she often prays me to ask money from her, or any other thing I stand in need of. All the Lords likewise open their purses to me, and testify a desire that I may not go away. Howsoever, I am hopeful (please God) to return immediately after the baptism is over. You will be informed that the Nobility here do write an account of all things they and I were and are daily witnesses of to the King and Queen² (of France), and the Cardinal of Lorrain. This is all I have to say at this time, except to recommend myself most humbly to your favour, in which I beseech you to allow me both to live and die. I pray God, Monsieur, to grant you long life and health. From Jedburgh this 15th of October 1566.

“ Your most humble and obedient servant,

“ LE CROC.”

“ P.S.—After I had finished this letter, the Queen resolved to delay her dispatch until she should be at this town of

¹ This gentleman came into Scotland in the end of the year, to assist at the baptism of the Prince.

² The account to the Queen of France is that which immediately follows here.

Jedburgh, and ordered me to follow her thither in five or six days, which I did. And during the five or six days that I continued at Lisleburgh,¹ the King, who had gone to Glasgow, sent me word to come and meet him half-way betwixt Lisleburgh and Glasgow.² I obeyed him, and found his father the Earl of Lenox with him. We had much communing together, and I remonstrated to him every thing that I could think of; and now I believe he will not go out of the kingdom, though I can perceive that he still entertains some displeasure. I came hither to Jedburgh, on purpose to signify to the Queen what the King had spoken to me, and what I had said to him.”

The above letter, the readers will see, is penned with much discretion and good sense, and confirms the character given to the author by Mr Holinshed, whose words concerning him are these—“About this time”—(viz. some time after Riccio’s murder, and before the birth of the Prince)—“there came from the King of France a wise aged gentleman named Mons. le Croc, as his ambassador, and remained in Scotland all the winter following.” And as this gentleman’s testimony alone may be a sufficient counterbalance to that of Mr Buchanan, so these that are yet to follow must cast the scales entirely against him.

Letter by the Lords of the Privy-Council of Scotland to the Queen-mother of France,³ dated October 3th 1566,⁴ sent by Secretary Lethington⁵ to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the 24th October 1566.

“MADAM—The great benefit this nation has always reaped from the ancient confederacy and mutual good understanding

¹ [Edinburgh. See the fourth note, vol. i. p. 166 of the present edition, and the note on the following page of this volume.—E.]

² [Probably at Linlithgow or Falkirk. Darnley had gone to Glasgow to visit his father Lennox, while the Queen and the Privy-Council were preparing to hold a Justice Court at Jedburgh. He had proceeded to Glasgow after his unceremonious retreat from the Privy-Council, and his abrupt leave of the Queen mentioned by Le Croc in his letter.—E.]

³ [Catherine de Medici, mother of Francis II., Queen Mary’s deceased husband, and of his brother and successor Charles IX.—E.]

⁴ Biblioth. Colleg. Scot. Paris. Mem. Scot. Tom. ii. f. 250, a copy.

⁵ [Maitland of Lethington to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Scottish ambassador at Paris.—E.]

between the two Crowns of France and Scotland emboldens us to transmit this narration to your Majesty, though we are sorry at the same time to have any grounds of complaint against those to whom we owe all dutiful obedience. The respect we bear to the King, as being husband to the Queen our sovereign, on whom she has been pleased to confer so much honour, and raise him to so high a degree of dignity, inclines us to speak of him, and of every thing that relates to him, with much modesty, and would dispose us joyfully to pass over in silence the huge injury he does to himself, to the Queen's Majesty, and of consequence to all of us here, if our concealing the same could had the influence to bury it in obscurity. But seeing that he himself is the very first person who by his deportment will needs discover it to the world, we can do no less, both for satisfying the office we bear, and the duty we owe to the Queen, than to testify the things which we have both seen and heard, to all those who are allied to her Majesty, especially to the King your son and your Majesty's own self, whom we look upon to be the principal supports of our sovereign and her Crown; that by these you may have opportunity to perceive the great trouble and vexation the Queen our sovereign labours under at present, and the occasion of it. About ten or twelve days ago the Queen at our request came to this town of Lisleburgh,¹ to give her orders about some affairs of state, which without her personal presence could not be got dispatched. Her Majesty was desirous the King should have come along with her, but because he liked to remain at Stirling, and wait her return thither, she left him there, with intention to go towards him again in five or six days. Meantime, while the Queen was absent, the Earl of Lenox, his father, came to visit him at Stirling, and having remained with him two or three days he went his way again to Glasgow, the ordinary place of his abode. From Glasgow my Lord Lenox wrote to the Queen, and acquainted her Majesty, that

¹ By many and incontestable evidences, I now see that Lisleburgh was the French appellation for Edinburgh, but why they come so to call it I know not.—[See the note, vol. i. p. 166 of the present edition. It is there stated that Edinburgh was so designated by the French on account of the number of small lakes which then surrounded the city. Dr Jamieson, in his "Scottish Dictionary," adds that it may have originated in some fancied resemblance of Edinburgh to Lisle in Flanders.—E.]

although formerly both by letters and messages, and now also by communication with his son, he had endeavoured to divert him from an enterprize he had in view, he nevertheless had not the interest to make him alter his mind. This project, he tells the Queen, was to retire out of the kingdom beyond sea,¹ and that for this purpose he had just then a ship lying ready. The Earl of Lenox's letter came to the Queen's hand on St Michael's Day (29th September), and her Majesty was pleased to impart the same incontinent to the Lords of her Council, in order to receive advice thereupon. And if her Majesty was surprised by this advertisement from the Earl of Lenox, these Lords were no less astonished to understand that the King, who may justly esteem himself happy upon account of the honour the Queen has been pleased to confer upon him, and whose chief aim should be to render himself grateful for her bounty, and behave himself honourably and dutifully towards her, should entertain any thought of departing after so strange a manner out of her presence, nor was it possible for them to form a conjecture from whence such an imagination could take its rise. Their Lordships, therefore, took a resolution to talk with the King, that they might learn from himself the occasion of this hasty deliberation of his, if any such he had; and likewise that they might thereby be enabled to advise her Majesty after what manner she should comport herself in this conjuncture. The same evening the King came to Edinburgh, but made some difficulty to enter into

¹ Mr Knox says, the King "wrote to the Pope, to the King of Spain, and to the King of France, complaining of the state of the country, which was all out of order, because that Mass and Popery were not again erected, giving the whole blame thereof to the Queen as not managing the Catholick cause aright. By some knave this poor Princee was betrayed, and the Queen got a copy of these letters into her hands, and thereafter threatened him sore, and there was never after that any appearance of love betwixt them." Of this story we meet with no vestige in these letters by the Lords of Privy-Council, and the French ambassador. But if the thing was so as Knox relates it, surely it was no wonder that the Queen was highly displeased. Mr Knox calls him now *poor Princee*! Commiseration is certainly a good quality, but when it is too much restricted to particular persons and things, people are ready to term it partiality. However, the King was not always in Knox's good graces.—[The passage quoted from Knox in this note occurs in his "Historie," Edin. edit. 1732, p. 399.—E.]

the Palace, by reason that three or four Lords were at that time present with the Queen, and peremptorily insisted that they might be gone before he would condescend to come in : which deportment appeared to be abundantly unreasonable, since they were three of the greatest Lords of the kingdom, and that those Kings who by their own birth were sovereigns of the Realm have never acted in that manner towards the Nobility. The Queen, however, received this behaviour as decently as was possible, and condescended so far as to go meet the King without the Palace, and so conducted him into her own apartment, where he remained all night ; and then her Majesty entred calmly with him upon the subject of his going abroad, that she might understand from himself the occasion of such a resolution. But he would by no means give or acknowledge that he had any occasion offered him of discontent. The Lords of Council being acquainted early next morning that the King was just a-going to return to Stirling, they repaired to the Queen's apartment, and no other person being present except their Lordships and Mons. du Croc, whom they prayed to assist with them, as being here on the part of your Majesty. The occasion of their meeting together was then with all humility and reverence due to their Majesties proposed, namely, to understand from the King whether, according to advice imparted to the Queen by the Earl of Lenox, he had formed a resolution to depart by sea out of the Realm, and upon what ground, and for what end—that if his resolution proceeded from some discontent, they were earnest to know what persons had afforded an occasion for the same—that if he could complain of any of the subjects of the Realm, be they of what quality soever, the fault should be immediately repaired to his satisfaction. And here we did remonstrate to him, that his own honour, the Queen's honour, the honour of us all, were concerned ; for if, without just occasion ministred, he would retire from the place where he had received so much honour, and abandon the society of her to whom he is so far obliged, that in order to advance him she has humbled herself, and from being his sovereign, had surrendred herself to be his wife—if he should act in this sort, the whole world would blame him as ingrate, regardless of the friendship the Queen bare him, and utterly unworthy

to possess the place to which she had exalted him. On the other hand, that if any just occasion had been given him, it behoved the same to be very important, since it inclined him to relinquish so beautiful a Queen and noble Realm; and the same must have been afforded him either by the Queen herself, or by us her ministers. As for us, we professed ourselves ready to do him all the justice he could demand; and for her Majesty, so far was she from ministring to him occasion of discontent, that, on the contrary, he had all the reason in the world to thank God for giving him so wise and virtuous a person, as she had shewed herself in all her actions. Then her Majesty was pleased to enter into the discourse, and spoke affectionately to him, beseeching him that, seeing he would not open his mind in private to her the last night, according to her most earnest request, he would at least be pleased to declare before these Lords where she had offended him in anything. She likewise said, that she had a clear conscience that in all her life she had done no action which could anywise prejudice either his or her own honour; but nevertheless that as she might perhaps have given him offence without design, she was willing to make amends as far as he should require, and therefore prayed him not to dissemble the occasion of his displeasure, if any he had, nor to spare her in the least matter. But though the Queen and all others that were present, together with Mons. du Croc, used all the interest they were able to persuade him to open his mind, yet he would not at all own that he intended any voyage, or had any discontent, and declared freely that the Queen had given him no occasion for any. Whereupon he took leave of her Majesty, and went his way; so that we were all of opinion that this was but a false alarm the Earl of Lenox was willing to give her Majesty. Nevertheless, by a letter which the King has since wrote to the Queen in a sort of disguised stile, it appears that he still has it in his head to leave the kingdom, and there is advertisement otherwise that he is secretly preparing to be gone. Of all which, and what passed betwixt their Majesties and us, we could not fail to inform you, and to testify, likeas we do by these presents, that so far as things could come to our knowledge, he has had no ground of complaint; but on the contrary, that he has the very best

of reason to look upon himself as one of the most fortunate Princes in Christendom, could he but know his own happiness, and make use of the good fortune which God has put into his hands.¹ It is true that in the letter he wrote the Queen, he grounds a complaint on two points. One is, that her Majesty trusts him not with so much authority, nor is at such pains to advance him and make him be honoured in the nation as she at first did; and the other point is, that nobody attends him, and that the Nobility desert his company. To these two points the Queen has made answer, that if the case be so he ought to blame himself, not her, for that in the beginning she had conferred so much honour upon him as came afterwards to render herself very uneasy, the credit and reputation wherein she had placed him having served as a shadow to those who have most hainously offended her Majesty; but, howsoever, that she has notwithstanding this, continued to show him such respect, that although they who did perpetrate the murder of her faithful

¹ [Although John Knox despised Darnley, yet his hatred to Queen Mary induced him to write of her infatuated husband in a sympathizing mood:—"Always," he says (*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732) "he was destitute of sic things as were necessary for him, having scarcely six horses in train; and being thus desolate, and half desperate, he sought means to go out of the country." This is Knox's version of Darnley's insane project. Buchanan, also, who thoroughly hated Darnley, boldly asserts in his "Detection," that he could not get as much as would maintain his daily expenses. Chalmers (*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 186) proves that "such calumnious intimations are clearly falsified by the Lords of the Council, and also by the Treasurer's Accounts." On two days alone, the 13th and 31st of August, the Treasurer supplied Darnley, by the Queen's and Darnley's own order, with a vast number of articles, amounting to L.300, which was more than the Queen herself received, including her necessaries, during her accouchement. "The fact is," says Chalmers, "that he was allowed to order by himself payments in money and furnishings of necessaries from the public treasury. Of those payments and furnishings which were made by the Treasurer, part were by the King's (Darnley's) order alone, part by the joint order of the King and Queen, and part by the Queen alone, as the Treasurer's Books evince; and the Treasurer's Accounts show that he was amply furnished with necessaries at the very time when those calumnious statements were asserted by men who knew them to be untrue." The truth is, Darnley's conduct was becoming so intolerable, his temper so capricious and unbearable, and his carriage so outrageous, that we need not be surprised at the dreadful catastrophe which soon befell him, and which was at this very time projected, although the mode of murdering him had not been decided.—E.]

servant, had entred her chamber with his knowledge, having followed him close at the back, and had named him the chief of their enterprize, yet would she never accuse him thereof, but did always excuse him, and was willing to appear as if she believed it not. And then as to his being not attended, the fault thereof must be charged upon himself, since she has always made an offer to him of her own servants. And for the Nobility, they come to Court, and pay deference and respect according as they have any matters to do, and as they receive a kindly countenance, but that he is at no pains to gain them, and make himself beloved by them, having gone so far as to prohibit these Noblemen to enter his room, whom she had first appointed to be about his person. If the Nobility abandon him, his own deportment towards them is the cause thereof: for if he desire to be followed and attended by them, he must in the first place make them to love him, and to this purpose must render himself amiable to them, without which it will prove a most difficult task for her Majesty to regulate this point, especially to make the Nobility consent that he shall have the management of affairs put into his hands, because she finds them utterly averse to any such matter. And now your Majesty will by this narrative be able to form a judgment, whether or no the reasons be well grounded which the King alledges for the colouring over his project. We were willing to lay them before you, according to all the knowledge we have of them, most humbly beseeching your Majesty that if, in order to palliate his fault, any other persons shall happen to report any otherwise to you than what we do write, your Majesty may not trust any thing they shall contrive, in prejudice of the truth and of our testimony. And thus, Madam, we earnestly pray God may grant you health, and the accomplishment of all your desires. From Lisleburgh¹ this 8th October 1566."

¹ [Or Edinburgh. The Privy-Council Register specifies the names of those who were present, and authorized the above letter. They were the Earl of Huntly, who had now succeeded the Earl of Morton as Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Argyll, Lord Justice General; the Earls of Moray, Atholl, Caithness, and Rothes; Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews; Gordon, still called Bishop of Galloway; John Leslie, Bishop of Ross; Adam Bothwell, styled Bishop of Orkney; Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld; Secretary Maitland of Lethington; and the usual Officers of

Letter by Mr Robert Melvil,¹ Ambassador for Mary Queen of Scots at the Court of England, to Archbishop Bethune, her said Majesty's Ambassador in France.²

“EFTER my humil commendatioun and service unto zour Lordschip, I have bien in this countre this aught dayis past, and wauld have bien glad to have advertisit your Lordschip as weil of the estait heir as of our awin countre, and the lak (*want*) of suir bearirs hes impedit the same. First, for our awin affaires, I will impairt to your Lordschip quhilk I am sory of. The Quene our soverane wes in sum displeisur at my department upoun evil behaviour of the Kingis pairt, who wes of mynd to depairt out of the Realme, and no occasioun gevin him be hir Majestie, as the hole Counsale can record; nether will he declair quhairin his discontentment is, bot in general that he is not regardit with the

State. The Earl of Bothwell was present in the Council on the 3d and 6th of October, and on the latter day departed to the Borders to prepare for the Queen's reception. “The long statement of the Privy-Council to the Queen-mother of France,” says Chalmers, “in which Moray and Maitland joined, was drawn by Maitland, and decidedly falsifies Moray's journal, which was afterwards fabricated by Buchanan to calumniate the Queen.”—*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 188. Mr Tytler observes—“Yet neither the temperate conduct of the Queen, the remonstrances of the Council, nor the neglect into which he found himself daily sinking, produced any amendment in Darnley. He persisted in his project of leaving the kingdom, denounced Lethington, the Justice Clerk Bellenden, and Maegill the Clerk Register, as principal conspirators against Riccio; insisted that they should be deprived of their offices; and became an object of dislike and suspicion not only to Mary, but to all that powerful and now united party by whom she was surrounded. Its leaders Moray, Lethington, Argyll, and Bothwell, saw in him the bitter opponent of Morton's pardon. The faction of the church hated him for his intrigues with Rome; Cecil and the party of Elizabeth suspected him of practices with the English Roman Catholics; the Hamiltons had always looked on him with dislike as an obstacle between them and their hopes of succession; and the Queen bitterly repented that she was tied to a wayward and intemperate person, who had already endangered her life and her Crown, and was constantly thwarting every measure which promised the restoration of tranquillity and good government.”—*MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, Foster to Cecil, Alnwick, 16th May 1566; Randolph to Cecil, Berwick, 13th May 1566; Knox's Historie, Glasgow edit. by McGavin, 1832, p. 348; Rogers to Cecil, dated Oxford, July 5, 1566,*” all cited in Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 54.—E.]

¹ [Brother of Sir James Melville of Halhill. — E.]

² *Biblioth. Collég. Scot. Paris. Mem. Scot. Tom. ii. an Original.*

Nobilite as he sould be, nether can obtene sic thingis as he sickes, to witt, sic personis as the Secretary (Lethington) the Justice-Clerk, and Clerk Register,¹ to be putt out of thair office ; alledging they sould be gilty of this last odious fact,² quhairof the Quenis Majestie hath takin tryal, and findis thame not giltie thairin, with dyvers uthir thingis not worth the rehearsal. Sens my depairture³ I heir he is stayit, bot hes not sens come neir the Quene. Hir Majestie in Jedward⁴ presentlie and remanis fiteene dayis langar, gif the goeing of the Commissionaris for the christening of the Prince do not haist hir Majestie. The Erle Bodwel⁵ having an occasioun to ryd in Liddisdail⁶ befor, to bring in sum of the Elioats, wes hurt be one of thame, bot he will recover. The circumstances this berar can declair to your Lordschip. The Nobilite wes in gude accord among thairselvis, and the countre quyet.

¹ [Maitland of Lethington, Bellenden of Achnoull, and Macgill of Rankeillour.—E.]

² David Riccio's murder.

³ By this and the first part of the letter it appears Mr Robert Melvil had lately made a trip into Scotland.

⁴ [The royal burgh of Jedburgh, 46 miles from Edinburgh by Lauder, and 12 miles from the English Border, is beautifully situated in a vale on the west side of the river Jed, which enters the Teviot about two and a half miles below. Queen Mary, the Officers of State, and the whole Court left Edinburgh, for Jedburgh on the 8th of October, the very day on which Bothwell was severely wounded in the hand at Hermitage Castle, in a scuffle with Elliot of Park. The Queen received notice of this within two days afterwards, and we shall immediately see the result. Darnley proceeded to his father at Glasgow, and a few days after the departure of the Queen and the Court he sent to Le Croc, requesting that ambassador to meet him half-way between that city and Edinburgh. Le Croc complied with his wishes, and found his father Lennox with him. After this conference Le Croc followed the Queen to Jedburgh by appointment, to inform her of Darnley's intentions.—E.]

⁵ [The Earl of Bothwell held the office of the Queen's Lieutenant of the Borders.—E.]

⁶ [Liddesdale was so called from the river Liddel, which rises in the Dead Water Bog, and during its course forms the boundary with England for a few miles till it joins the Esk above Canonbie. This mountainous part of Roxburghshire now forms the parish of Castleton, the largest in the South of Scotland, extending eighteen miles in length, and from twelve to fourteen miles in breadth, bounded on the south and east by the English Border. The monuments of antiquity are numerous in this sequestered mountain district, and in it are the Castle of Hermitage, mentioned in a subsequent note, and the town of Langholm.—E.]

“ For the estait of this Realme, the Parliament sitts daily, and no matter of importance passit at this present.¹ I was direckit from my soverane to know at the Quene heir, quhither it be hir mynd to move any thyng of the succession, &c.”—(The rest of this letter is concerning the succession, like others from the same hand.)—“ At London the 22d of October.

“ Be zour Lordschip’s to command at power and service,
“ ROBERT MELVIL.”

As there had not been a settled peace on the Borders of the two nations from the time that our Queen’s marriage began to be talked of in earnest, occasioned by the animosity and displeasure of the Queen of England, as the readers will have perceived by undoubted vouchers ; so of late much more had the disturbances and troubles increased there, to the great prejudice of our Queen’s authority within her own Realm. By several abstracts of letters in the Appendix it does appear that the Earl of Morton had gained many of the Scottish Borderers to his party, and among these the Laird of Cessford³ himself, Warden of the Middle Marches ; and as the Queen was resolved not to tolerate such a public

¹ Though Mr Cambden, whose “Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth” is in most people’s hands, fixes the beginning of this English Parliament to the 1st day of November, yet the “Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,” collected by Sir Simon D’Ewes, afford us better assurance that this Parliament did really meet on the last day of September 1566, and continued to sit and do business until the 2d of January thereafter. In this book of Journals any curious person may see the whole authentic progress of the points moved in the Parliament concerning the marriage of the Queen of England, and her appointing of a successor in failure of heirs of her own body. On the 18th of October a motion thereof was first made in the House of Commons, and although afterwards there were several speeches concerning these two points both in that House and in the House of Peers, yet the Journalist observes that no direct petition from the Parliament was at all preferred to Queen Elizabeth on these heads. On the last day of the Parliament her Majesty took occasion to shew her resentment against the sticklers for her marriage and successor, especially the latter—a point, as has been observed, she never liked to hear of.

² See the Earl of Bedford’s Instructions, November 7th.

³ [Sir Walter Ker of Cessford, frequently mentioned in preceding notes, grandfather of Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, about 1599 created Baron Roxburghe, and in 1616 Earl of Roxburghe, Lord Ker of Cessford and Caverton.—E.]

contempt and disowning of her authority, she intended now to pass in person towards the Borders, and hold Courts of Justice at the town of Jedburgh for the trial and punishment of all loose, disorderly, and traitorous persons.¹ And because the Earl of Bothwell was Lord Lieutenant in these parts, and had an interest there, she sent him before² “to the province of Lidsdale, to compel certain unbridled insolent thieves to give their obedience to her. But when his Lordship went thither, they, according to their unruly custom, despised him and his commission in such sort, that they invaded him fiercely, and hurt him in divers parts of his body and head, that hardly he escaped with safety of his life, and that in particular by the hands of John Eliot of the Park,³ so that he was carried to his own Castle of Hermitage,⁴ until

¹ See the Proclamation at Jedburgh, p. 468, 469.

² On the 17th of September the Earl of Bothwell is in the Council at Edinburgh, but is not there on the 6th of October.—[According to another authority our Historian is here mistaken. Bothwell, as observed in a previous note, *was* present in Council on the 3d and 6th of October, and left Edinburgh for the Borders in the afternoon of the latter day. Chalmers’ Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 188.—E.]

³ The Elliots, Armstrongs, and Scots, were all now bandied together.—[The mountainous district of Liddesdale was chiefly inhabited by the Elliots and the Armstrongs, septs prominent in the predatory history of the Border, and several of their castles or peel-towers are still to be seen in ruins. On this occasion a deadly feud existed between the Armstrongs and the Johnstones, in which the Elliots and Scotts took part, and Bothwell’s expedition was to reduce them to obedience. Elliot of Park, who severely wounded Bothwell, was killed, and his head sent to Edinburgh. Birrel’s Diary, p. 5.—E.]

⁴ It was a castle in Liddisdale, alias Lidderdale, near the English Border. The inhabitants of Liddisdale were mostly of the surname of Armstrong.—[One of the most graphic descriptions of the habits, customs, and peculiarities of the inhabitants of Liddesdale is in GUY MAXXERING, for it is the country of Dandie Dinmont. Hermitage Castle, the property of the Duke of Buccleuch, is situated on the stream called the Hermitage Water, a tributary of the Liddel, in a valley ten miles in length, between ranges of steep lofty mountains. This castle, anciently one of the largest and strongest on the Borders, and now thoroughly repaired by his Grace Walter Francis fifth Duke of Buccleuch, consists of a massive tower nearly 100 feet square, defended by a strong rampart and ditch. It was built by Comyn Earl of Menteith in the thirteenth century. It passed into the possession of the Family of Soulis, and was next acquired by the Family of Douglas. The sixth Earl of Angus exchanged it with the Earl of Bothwell for the castle and barony of Bothwell on the Clyde. Among the crimes and atrocities perpetrated in this castle was the murder of the brave Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, who was starved to

he should recover of his wounds. The Queen being then at Jedburgh, and understanding the certain report of this accident, was so highly grieved in heart, that she took no repose in body until she saw him."¹ And, indeed, if we shall consider the situation of the Borders at that time, and the insolence of the rogues in attacking openly the person of the Queen's representative, it was no wonder though her Majesty should not deem it below her to put such a mark of regard on the Earl in his present distress, as to pay him a visit, especially seeing he surely believed to have departed from this life, and hereof had advertised the Queen.² Her Majesty, therefore, went from Jedburgh to

death in it by Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, in 1342. See a description of Hermitage Castle before it was repaired, and many curious traditions concerning it, in Sir Walter Scott's "Border Antiquities," vol. i. p. lix. vol. ii. p. 160-169.—E.]

¹ Crawford's Memoirs, MS. The reader will observe the difference betwixt this account of the matter and that which is given by Knox and Buchanan.—[Respecting Crawford's Memoirs, MS., see the third note, vol. i. p. 234 of this edition. Knox simply states (*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 311) that Bothwell "believed himself surely to have departed furth of this lyfe, and sent word thereof to the Quenis Majesty, who soon after past furth of Jedwart to the Hermitage, to visit him and give him comfort." Buchanan, however, is most erroneous in his narrative, for he states that the Queen was first informed of Bothwell's wound at *Borthwick*, whence she "flew in haste" first to *Mulross*, or *Melross*, then to *Jedburgh*, and though she received certain intelligence that the Earl was alive, "yet being impatient of delay, and not able to forbear, even in such a bad time of the year"—though the month of October is not often in Scotland a *bad time* of the year—"and the danger of robbers, she put herself on her journey, with such attendants as hardly any honest man, though he was but of mean condition, would trust his life and fortune to." This is in the same distorted style of his story that the Queen sailed from Newhaven, near Leith, to Alloa, after her recovery from childbirth, in the company of *pirates*!—E.]

² [Bothwell appears to have considered himself dangerously wounded. His arrival as the Queen's Lieutenant, with a commission to reduce the turbulent septs to obedience, increased the disturbances, and in attempting to secure Elliot of Park, he was left for dead on the field. Lord Scrope sent an account of this skirmish to Cecil. "I have," he writes, "presently gotten intelligence out of Scotland, "that the Earl of Bothwell, being in Liddesdale for the apprehension of certain disordered persons there, had apprehended the Laids of Mangerton and Whitehaugh, with sundry other Armstrongs of their surname and kindred, whom he had put within the Hermitage. And yesterday, going about to take such like persons of the Elliots, in pursuit of them, his Lordship being foremost, and far before his company, encountered one John Elliot of the Park, hand to hand, and shot him through the thigh with a dag (pistol), upon

Hermitage Castle, but returned that very same day to Jedburgh again,¹ because she did not think her person in security in the midst of so many loose vagabonds, who might easily have conveyed her over into England in a few hours. Upon her return to Jedburgh she quickly fell into a sharp burning fever, occasioned, no doubt, by such a long journey in the night air.² At first she swooned away, and

which wound the man feeling himself in peril of death, with a two-handed sword assailed the Earl so cruelly, that he killed him ere he could get any rescue or succour of his men.”—MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Lord Scrope to Cecil, dated Carlisle, 8th October 1566. Sir John Foster to Cecil, dated Berwick, 23d October 1566, in Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 57, 58. Bothwell, however, revived, and was carried severely wounded to his Castle of Hermitage. This occurred on the 7th of October; the Queen arrived in Jedburgh on the 8th, and opened the Justice Court, at which she was occupied till the 15th, when she rode to Hermitage, and visited Bothwell.—E.]

¹ Crawford’s MS. The distance may be about eighteen miles betwixt Jedburgh and Hermitage.—[The distance of Hermitage Castle from Jedburgh is from twenty to twenty-five English miles. Queen Mary rode to Hermitage and back to Jedburgh in *one day*, achieving a ride of nearly fifty miles. The journey was the more severe, when it is recollected that it was obstructed by every local difficulty, few bridges, and miserable roads, and that the Queen penetrated into a district which must have been a *terra incognita* to her. The assertion of Buchanan and others that Queen Mary ventured into Liddesdale with few and disreputable attendants is the reverse of the fact. She was accompanied by his friend the Earl of Moray and several of her Officers of State, in whose presence she conversed with Bothwell.—E.]

² Ibid. adds—“And the great distress of her mind for the Earl of Bothwell.”—[The object of Queen Mary’s visit to Bothwell appears to have been to obtain information from him on the state of the disturbed district of which he was the Lieutenant. Her anxiety was natural under the circumstances, as Bothwell was the only personage who could explain to her the position of the hostile septs, before she could advise with the Privy-Council to restore order and peace on the Borders. “Lord Scrope, who immediately informed Cecil of the visit,” says Mr Tytler, “added the precise information, that she had remained two hours at the Castle, to Bothwell’s great pleasure and contentment. Such a visit was undoubtedly a flattering mark of regard paid by a sovereign to a subject; but he was of high rank, he had nearly lost his life in the execution of his duty, and he was a favourite with the Queen.”—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 58, 59. For ten days the physicians despaired of the Queen’s life. She believed herself dying, expressed her entire resignation to the Divine will, earnestly entreated the Nobility to live in unity and peace with each other, and diligently provide for the government of the kingdom and the education of her son. The Queen also sent her affectionate remembrances by Le Croc to the King of France and her relatives in that kingdom, and declared her resolution to die in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion.—

lay as dead for the space of two hours, and for some time thereafter the fever became so violent as to deprive her of the use of her senses. But these afterwards returning, she very wisely thought that perhaps death might be approaching, and therefore she desired the Lords present to pray for her, and behaved herself with much piety and wisdom during all the course of her illness; and her Majesty was pleased to recommend her son to the guardianship of the Queen of

Tytler, vol. vii. p. 60, referring to MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Maitland of Lethington to Cecil, dated 24th October 1566, and to No. XIV. of Bishop Keith's Appendix to this Book II.—the Scottish Privy-Council to Archbishop Beaton at Paris. Even Knox, in his own way, admits that the Queen sustained herself piously during this dangerous malady. "She desired," he says (Historie, p. 399), "the Lords to pray for her to God; she said the Creed in English, and desired the Lord of Moray, if she should chance to depart, that he would not be over extreme to such as were of her religioun: The Duke (of Chatelherault) and he should (*were to*) have been Regents. The bruit went from Jedwart in the month of October 1565 (properly 1566) that the Queen was departed this lyfe, or at least she could not live ony time; wherefore there were continually prayers publicly made at the church of Edinburgh and divers other places for her conversion towards God and amendment. Many were of opinioun that she should come to the preaching, and renounce Popery; but all in vain, for God had other things to do by her." The Queen's illness was ascribed by some to the fatigue of her long journey to and from Hermitage Castle, which doubtless would be one principal cause; but Maitland of Lethington, in a letter to Archbishop Beaton, with equal probability alleged that it was also occasioned by distress of mind on account of Darnley's ungrateful and outrageous conduct. "The Queen's sickness," he writes, "so far as I can understand, is caused of thought and displeasure, and, I trow, by what I could wring further of her own declaration to me, the root of it is the King."—Sloan MSS., British Museum, 3199, fol. 141; Maitland to Archbishop Beaton, 24th October 1566, quoted by Mr Tytler in his History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 59, 60. It is also probable that the Queen's regard for Bothwell had its due influence. Her partiality for him, though he was ten years her senior, and had married Lady Jane Gordon only seven months before this event, had been early detected by Moray, Maitland, and their associates, who artfully flattered his vanity, and encouraged an ambition daring enough at any time to aspire to a height which he had never before contemplated. Sir James Melville (Memoirs, p. 170, 173) alleges, from personal observation, that Bothwell's plot for the murder of Darnley and possession of the Queen commenced about the time he was sent to suppress the disturbances in Liddesdale. This was Bothwell's *private scheme*, but Moray, Morton, Maitland, and others, were also in a plot against Darnley, which seems to have been formed about the end of September 1566, especially after he abruptly left the Queen's presence in Holyroodhouse, exclaiming—"Adieu, Madam! you shall not see my face for a long space."—E.]

England.¹ Care was taken to advertise the King of her Majesty's sickness; but if he came at all to see her, it is certain he made no great haste, contrary to what Buchanan and Knox have related.² Of this we have the sure testimony of the French Ambassador, in a letter from Jedburgh of the 24th of October, wherein he has these words:—"The King is at Glasgow, and has not come to this place, although he has both received advertisement, and has had time enough to come had he been willing. This is such a fault as I know not how to apologize for it."³

During the Queen's illness at Jedburgh,⁴ the Lords that were there present with her Majesty, suspecting that some disorders might possibly fall out at that time, as is but too

¹ See the Queen's letter, p. 472.

² [Buchanan pretends that when Darnley heard of the Queen's illness he instantly set out to Jedburgh from Glasgow to shew his sympathy, and to advise her to a "better course of life, hoping she might repent of what she had done;" but she would not be reconciled to him, and prohibited any one from saluting him when he appeared, or offering him a single night's entertainment (Historia, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 212: Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 316. The whole of Buchanan's narrative of this affair is a gross misrepresentation. Darnley did not visit the Queen at Jedburgh till the 28th of October, the *second day* after she had recovered from her sickness. He remained only one night in Jedburgh, and conversed chiefly with the French ambassador, for he returned on the following day to his father Lennox at *Glasgow*, and not to *Stirling*, as Buchanan and Knox erroneously assert. Knox tells his story briefly in a similar manner to Buchanan, Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 399, 400.—E.]

³ —"Le Roy est à Glasco, et n'est point venu icy, si est ci qu'il a été averti par quelques uns, et a eu du temps assez pour venir s'il eust voulu. C'est une faute qui je ne puis excuser."—Colleg. Scot. Paris. In the same Repository is an original letter of the 23d October at Jedburgh, from the Lords of Privy-Council to Archbishop Bethune, of the Queen falling sick six days before, signed by Huntly, James Stewart (Moray), Atholl, Lethington. *Item*, A letter by the Bishop of Ross, containing an account of the Queen's behaviour, &c. during her illness. See Appendix, Number XIV. —[The French extract at the commencement of this note, of which our Historian gives a translation in his text, is from a letter written by Le Croc.—E.]

⁴ [The house in which Queen Mary resided during her severe sickness at Jedburgh is (1845) entire, in a back street—a large building with small windows and very thick walls. A broad stone stair leads to the second storey, and a narrow winding stair to the third, and to the Queen's private apartment—a small room with two windows. In the Privy-Council Record this tenement is styled the *house of the Lord Compositor*. It is said that some of the tapestry which it contained at the time is still in good preservation.—E.]

usual in the sickness and deaths of Princes, very wisely thought fit to emit this following Proclamation.

Jedburgh, 25 Octob. Anno Dom. 1566.

SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie ; Jacobus Comes de Moray ; Jacobus Comes de Bothwell ; Joannes Comes de Athole ; Andreas Comes de Rothies ; Georgius Comes de Cathnes ; Episcopus Galloway ; Episcopus Rossen. ; Episcopus Orchaden. ; Secretarius ; Thesaurarius ; Clericus Registri ; Clericus Justiciaræ.*

Proclamatioun to keip gude Reule at Jedburgh.

“ FORSAMEKILL as the Quenis Majestie, movit of the zeale her Hienes hes continowallie borne to justice, reparit to this countrie accompanyit with her Nobilitie,¹ for administratioun thair of to the uthir oppressit subjectis, and for hir hither cuming, at Goddis plessour, hir Majestie is vexit with infirmite and sicknes, quhairthrow hir Hienes is not abill. according to hir gude inclinatioun, to attend upoun that thing quhillk wes the occasioun of hir Majestie’s reparing in thir partis at first ; and albeit the Nobillmen and Counsal present hes gude hoip and confidence of her gracious convalescence and restoring to helth, yet in the men tyme divers personis, luffaris of unquyetnes, and innemeis to this

¹ By this authentick Proclamation, and the foregoing letter of the French ambassador, the readers will observe the notorious falshood of Buchanan, who represents the Queen to have flown in great haste from Borthwick to Melros, and from Melros to Jedburgh, upon her hearing the misfortune of Bothwell. Her Majesty was at Jedburgh several days before that accident fell out, and went thither, as this Proclamation informs, in the company of her Nobility, and with a very honourable and laudable design. This Proclamation confirms the ingenuity of Crawford’s MS., which represents the Queen as having gone to Jedburgh to hold Courts of Justice, and as hearing, while there, the misfortune the Earl of Bothwell had come by. Very contrary, indeed, to the other author’s misrepresentations. No wonder that his repeated falshoods deprive him of credit.—[Buchanan’s notoriously false statements about the Queen proceeding from Borthwick to Melrose, and from Melrose to Jedburgh, when she was informed of Bothwell’s accident, deserve this severe attack by our Historian. Chalmers observes too truly—“In proportion as the sad catastrophe of Darnley approaches, the writings of Buchanan and Knox, Melville and others, become more absurdly false, and outrageously calumnious against the Queen, in order to cast the guilt from Moray’s faction upon her.”—*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 193.—E.]

commoun weill, mair respectand thair particular querrellis nor the quytneſ of the countre, may peradventure tak occasioun, throw hir Hienes' disease and seiknes, to revenge thair privat querrellis, and mak molestatioun and perturbatioun, to the disturbing of all gude ordour; quhilk the Nobilite and Counsal, tymeouslie fearand, hes with ane voice and mynd consentit, and in the presence of God, and on thair honors, faithfullie prommittit to utheris, that, all particularitie, feid, favour, or affectioun, set asyd, thai sall declair thamselffis innemeis to the persoun or persounis quhatsumevir comittaris of the said disordour and unquyetnes, as gif the offence were done to ony of thamselffis in particular. And thairfoir ordanis ane officiar of armes to pas to the mercat-croce of the burgh of Jedburgh, and thair be opin proclamatioun command and charge all and sundrie hir Majestie's legeis and subdittis quhatsumevir, that thai and ilk ane of thame contain thamselffis in quyetnes and gude ordour, and on nawayis to tak upoun hand to put on armour, or to invaid, molest, persew, or inquiet utheris in bodyes or gudes, be word, deid, or countenance, undir the pain of tressoun: Certifyeing thame that sall presume to do in the contrair, besyde the puneishment ordinar of the law and consuetude of the Realme, thai sall be persewit and followit to the deid as traitouris to the hail Realme, and the hail force and power of the Nobilite sall be usit agains thame, as gif the offence were committit agains ony of thair awn personis in particular."

How soon the Queen was in any tolerable condition for travel, her Majesty set out to return towards Edinburgh; and being desirous of a long time to view the town of Berwick, she came through the shire of Merse¹ for that purpose. Of this progress there is nowhere so good and circumstantiate an account as that which here follows:—

"The² Quenis Majestie being convalesceit of hir infirmitie, departit of Jedburgh, and came first to Kelso, quhair eftir hir Grace had remanit twa nights, passed to Hume; and in

¹ [Now Berwickshire, which extends between Roxburghshire and the German Ocean on the north.—E.]

² Letter by Secretary Maitland, November 19th 1565, Colleg. Scot. Paris.

the way visit Werke.¹ From Hume to Langtoun and Wedderburn; and then took purpose to visit Barwick, and upon the 15th² day of this instant, hir Majestic past theither accompanied with 800 or 1000 horse. Sir John Forester, Deputie, undir my Lord of Bedford, for avoiding of all suspicioun quhilk she might take, came and met hir at the Bownroad, accompanied with the captanes and honest men of the town, quhose hail numbir exceedit not threscore horse; and swa conveyit hir Hienes to Halydon Hill,³ and from that west the town, quhair she might have the perfyte view thair of; and swa the hail ordonance being schot, he conveyit hir Majestic almost to Aymouth, doand all the humanitie and honour to hir Hienes that wes possible to him.⁴ From this, restand ane night at Coldingham, she

¹ This is a Castle on the English side of the River Tweed.—[Wark, or Werk Castle, is in the parochial curacy of Carham-upon-Tweed, county of Northumberland, and Diocese of Durham, opposite the Scottish parish of Coldstream. It is now an inconsiderable ruin on a rising ground close to the Tweed, and conveys no intimation that it was once a formidable stronghold. Wark Castle was repeatedly besieged by the Scots, who several times took it, and dismantled the fortifications. George Buchanan was present as a soldier at a siege of it in 1523, in the reign of Henry VIII. See Sir Walter Scott's "Border Antiquities," vol. ii. p. 121, 122, 123.—E.]

² Her Majesty then must have begun her journey about the 10th of November. Cecil's Diary is manifestly erroneous in this journey, and in some subsequent dates.

³ [Halidon Hill, at which a battle was fought between the Scots and English, most disastrous to the former, is in the vicinity of Berwick-upon-Tweed, within the Liberties, and close to the Scottish Border.—E.]

⁴ Sir James Melvil says—"Sir John Forster, Warden upon the English Borders, came and conferred with the Queen for keeping of good order; and in the mean time, while he was speaking with her Majesty on horseback, his courser did rise up with his foremost legs to take the Queen's horse by the neck with his teeth, but his feet hurt her Majesty's thigh very ill. Incontinent the Warden lighted off his horse, and sate down upon his knee, craving her Majesty's pardon, for then all England did much reverence her; her Majesty made him rise, and said that she was not hurt, yet it compelled her Majesty to tarry two days at the Castle of Home until she recovered again." And here this author adds—"The King followed her Majesty about whithersoever she rode, but got no good countenance." But as Sir James is in a manifest error in this part of his Memoirs, I shall not need to correct him in the last particular point. His other three contemporaries, Buchanan, Knox, and Crawford's Memoirs, contradict him plainly herein, and Lethington's silence is as strong against him.—The passage quoted from Sir James Melville in this note by our Historian, occurs in the former's "Memoirs," p. 77, and his assertion that "*the King followed her whithersoever she went, but could*

came to Dunbar, and frae that to Temptallon,¹ passand fordwads towards Craigmiller,² quhair she minds to stay unto hir passing west to Stirling to the baptism, which is yet deferrit to the 12th of December, because of the lang tarrie of the ambassador of Savoye, &c."

While the Queen lay at Dunbar, her Majesty, having received some agreeable dispatches from her ambassador Mr Robert Melvil, wrote the following letter to the Privy Council of England.

obtain no countenance," is utterly untrue, for all this time Darnley was with his father at Glasgow. Chalmers appropriately observes of Sir James Melville—"If he really wrote this, it would shew that he was capable of deliberate falsehood, or rather that his book was interpolated, as he attended the Queen throughout, and knew that her husband meantime resided with his father at Glasgow. There are many other paragraphs in Melville's Memoirs which are equally false, and equally shew that the book must have been greatly interpolated."—*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 193.—E.]

¹ [Tantallon Castle. See the note, p. 374, 375, of this volume.—E.]

² I make no doubt but the Earl of Bothwell might be in the Queen's retinue, but I hope this parade of a journey quite confounds Buchanan's intrigue at this time betwixt her and Bothwell all alone.—[After the Queen visited Bothwell at Hermitage Castle, he was removed by some mechanical conveyance to Jedburgh; and Buchanan, who completely perverts the whole facts, and in this part at least of his History is unworthy of the least credit, has the effrontery to state, that no sooner had Darnley returned from visiting the Queen at Jedburgh to *Stirling*—though we have seen that he went to *Glasgow*—than Bothwell was carried from the house he occupied after his arrival in that town to the "Queen's lodgings in the face of all the people," and he writes as if the Queen and Bothwell journeyed together to Kelso and Coldingham unaccompanied by any parties, reaching Craigmillar "quite indifferent and careless as to the reports that were spread of them by the way." Nothing can be more reprehensible than this wilful perversion of facts. Bothwell probably arrived at Jedburgh from Hermitage Castle on the 24th of October, for he was so far recovered as to be present at the Council held on the following day, which authorized the preceding "Proclamation to keip guid Reule at Jedburgh." His name—"*Jacobus Comes de Bothwell*"—is the third on the list, and Bishop Lesley of Ross wrote from Jedburgh on the 27th of October 1566 to Archbishop Beaton at Paris—"My Lord of Bothwell is here, who convalesces well of his wounds."—See the letter in No. XIV. of our Historian's Appendix to Book II. The existing Records, and Maitland's account of the Queen's progress through Berwickshire in the text, in which Bothwell's name is not once mentioned, completely refute Buchanan's calumny. He was merely one of the Noblemen who accompanied the Queen as Sheriff of the counties through which she passed, and he attended the Privy-Council meetings she held at Dunbar, when she addressed the above letter to the English Privy-Council.—E.]

*Letter from the Queen of Scotland to the Privy Council
of England.*¹

“RIGHT trusty and well beloved cousins, we greet you heartily well: Whereas we have understood by report of our familiar servant Robert Melvil, the good offers made to our behoof by the Queen our good sister your sovereign,² we think ourself obliged to do her whatsoever a good sister and tender-hearted cousin ought, where she finds so great thankfulness; and that we could not declare the affection we bear toward our said dearest sister better,³ nor by that which we did, when we lookt not to have bruiked this life twelve hours in our late sickness; at which time our meaning was, that the special care of the protection of our son should rest upon our said good sister. We believe you have been always good ministers, to move your sovereign to shew her own reasonable favour to our advancement in that which is right, and surely look you will so continue. We take ourself (as we doubt not but you know) to be the Queen your sovereign's next cousin, and, next herself, and lawful issue of her body, to have greatest interest of all others to that which has been, as is reported, lately motioned in the Parliament House. And albeit we had not of mind to press our said good sister, further than shall come of her own good pleasure, to put that matter in question, yet, because in that case we will be judged by the laws of the Realm of England, we do effectuously require you to have respect to justice with indifferency, whensoever it shall please the Queen your sovereign to put the same matter in deliberation. As to us, we will noways insist therein till such time as it shall please herself to give us warning. We desire you in the mean time to have that opinion of us, that as we mean to continue all our life in good intelligence with the Queen your sovereign and that Realm, so if any prince on earth would offend the same, we would withstand him at our utter power, and that you cannot advise our said dearest sister to extend her favours towards any that shall recognosce it

¹ Calig. B[ook] X. an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

² The substance of these offers will be known by the Queen of England's Instructions to the Earl of Bedford. See them, p. 477.

³ Than.

in a better sort. And so we commit you to the protection of God. At Dunbar the 18th day of November 1566.

“ Your gud counsignace,

“ MARIE R.”

Together with this letter, it was thought expedient that the Scottish ministers of State should likewise write to the ministers of England. Their letter is entirely of the same strain, and, that it might not be lost, I have put it into the Appendix.¹

The Queen it seems kept close at Craigmillar² after her

¹ Number XV.

² [Cragmillar Castle, now a massive and stately ruin in the parish of Libberton, is three miles south of Edinburgh, near the road to Dalkeith as stated in the short note, p. 92 of this volume. The date of the erection of this Castle is unknown, but the embattled wall, which has circular towers on the east side, was built in 1427, as appears from an inscription over the gate. The entrance into the court-yard is on the north, and this leads into the Castle, a huge edifice, of considerable height, and the walls of great thickness. The principal staircase conducts to all the apartments above the ground storey, one of which is a splendid hall still entire. The Castle contains a great number of apartments, and, as it respects architecture and accommodation, is much superior to the generality of old Scottish castles. It was for at least three centuries the property and residence of the Prestons of that Ilk, whose arms, with those of their family connections by marriage or otherwise, are seen on the battlemented wall which defends the court-yard. On the south the Castle is inaccessible, built on a perpendicular rock, and in the deep hollow beneath are the remains of an orchard and garden. On the north, beyond the wall of the court-yard, was an extensive wall, and in some parts are vestiges of a ditch or moat. The west portion of the Castle, which is an addition in the manor-house style, was built after the Restoration of Charles II. by Sir John Gilmour, Lord President of the Court of Session, who had acquired the property by purchase, and was his family residence. In Sir John's time, and many years afterwards, the old Castle was habitable, but it does not appear when it was allowed to become ruinous. John Earl of Mar, a younger brother of James III., was confined in Cragmillar in 1477, and it was a temporary residence of James V. during his minority, when an epidemic caused his removal from Edinburgh Castle for safety. It was severely damaged by the English in 1543, and again in 1547, but it was soon repaired, and was subsequently the scene of several important transactions. Cragmillar was a favourite retreat of Queen Mary, though the neighbouring peasantry ignorantly assert that she was imprisoned in the Castle. Her supposed bed-room is pointed out, seven feet long by five feet broad—a most uncomfortable looking chamber even in its best days. A sycamore on the south side of the Castle is alleged to have been planted by her. At the foot of Cragmillar Hill, some hundred yards to the south-west of the Castle, on the Dalkeith road, is the hamlet of *Little Prams*,

arrival thither, until the time that she went to Stirling for the baptizing of the Prince. Archbishop Spottiswood acquaints us that here the Secretary renewed to her Majesty the purpose of a divorce from the King her husband in the hearing of the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, and that Prelate sets down likewise the Queen's return to the Secretary. That this author has had some general account of this matter which passed at Craigmillar at this time,¹ is evident

which is traditionally said to have received that name from the circumstance of the Queen's French domestics residing there when she occasionally became the visitor and guest of Preston of Craigmillar. The Castle commands a magnificent view of the city of Edinburgh, Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags, the Frith of Forth and Aberlady Bay, and the coasts of Fife and Haddington, on the north and east; and the finely cultivated district extending south beyond Dalkeith and the Pentland Hills on the south and south-west.—E.]

¹ [This was a projected divorce from Darnley, which the Queen, however, refused to sanction, and the discussion was long known as the *Conference of Craigmillar*. A curious account of it is given in the Appendix to this Book II., No. XVI., in the document entitled the "Protestation of the Erles of Huntly and Argyll touching the murthour of the King of Scots" (Darnley). Our Historian quotes part of it in his text. The murder of Darnley had been concerted before December 1566, the time when Queen Mary was in Craigmillar Castle, after returning from her progress through Berwickshire and Haddingtonshire. Those concerned in the *Conference of Craigmillar* were the Earls of Moray, Huntly, Argyll, and Bothwell, and Secretary Maitland. They were all residing in the Castle, for Moray and Maitland are alleged to have first commenced the business in Argyll's room, waiting on him while he was in bed, and the preliminary discussion was how to procure the Earl of Morton's pardon and recall from exile. Maitland said the certain mode of obtaining Morton's pardon would be to obtain the Queen's divorce from Darnley. Argyll replied that he did not see how it could be done, and Moray was silent. Maitland argued that the means could be obtained, and they sent for Huntly, after which they went to Bothwell's room, and then proceeded to the Queen. As the conversation is given in the document in the Appendix, it is unnecessary to insert it here. The Queen was at this time very unwell; the retrospect of the past filled her with bitterness, the future excited her apprehensions; her fears suggested many calamities; and her despondency alarmed the attendant Earls, who well understood the cause. Le Croc wrote to Archbishop Beaton, 2d December 1566—"The Queen is for the present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city. She is in the hands of the physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well; and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist of a deep grief and sorrow. Nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words—'I could wish to be dead.'"¹ See Le Croc's letter in our Historian's "Advertisement to the Reader," vol. i. p. xvi. xvii. of the present edition. Though Mary enjoined the four Earls and Maitland, in the extraordinary conversation at Craigmillar, to abandon all thoughts of

from the more authentick account thereof contained in the publick protestation emitted by the two Earls of Argyll and Huntly in the year 1568, wherein they declare—That the Earl of Moray and the Secretary Lethington came to their apartments, and that afterwards they four, together with the Earl of Bothwell, went to the Queen, and in her and their presence the Secretary made a proposal, that if her Majesty would be pleased to pardon the Earl of Morton, the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, they should find the means, with the rest of the Nobility, to bring about a divorce between her and the King, without her having any hand therein. The four Earls supported the Secretary's proposal, and the Queen declared she would no otherwise agree to the divorce, except under these two conditions. One was, that the same should be made lawfully: the other, that it should nowise prejudge her son—"otherwise hir Hienes wald rather endure all tormentis, and abyde the perrelles that mycht chaunce hir in hir Grace's lyfytme." The Secretary after this having said some dark words, the Queen again answered—"I will that ye doe nathing quhairto any spot may be layit to my honour or conscience, and thairfor I pray you rather let the matter be in the estait as it is, abyding till God of His goodness put remeidt hairto:—that ye, believing to do me service, may possibill turne to my hurt and displeasor."¹

whatever design they were forming to separate her from Darnley, the conspiracy proceeded, and, after the usual custom of the age, a Bond, or agreement for his murder, was actually drawn up at Cragmillar, of which Bothwell kept possession. It was said to have been written by Sir James Balfour of Pittendrieck, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session (see the note, p. 372 of this volume), then an unscrupulous follower of Bothwell, and it was signed by him, Bothwell, Huntly, Argyll, and Maitland. It declared their resolution to cut off Darnley as a fool and a tyrant, as insolent to the Nobility, and as having conducted himself in an intolerable manner towards the Queen. The existence of this Bond to murder Darnley is proved by the confession of Ormiston, one of the perpetrators, who declared that he saw it in Bothwell's possession (Piteairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 512), and had been subscribed nearly three months before the murder was committed; and when the said Ormiston expressed his reluctance to have any concern in it, Bothwell replied—"Tush, Ormiston, ye need not take fear of this, for the whole Lords have concluded the same lang syne in Cragmillar, all that were there with the Queen, and nane daur find fault with it when it shall be done." Ibid. vol. i. Part II. p. 511.—E.]

¹ These answers of the Queen are surely very far different from Mr

In the beginning of December the Queen received a letter from the Earl of Bedford, the English ambassador, desiring to have a safe-conduct, and to be informed of the time when he should present himself before her Majesty, because, as would appear, he had not as yet got sure advice of the day appointed for the baptism of the Prince. To which her Majesty made the following answer :—

*Letter—Queen of Scots to the Earl of Bedford.*¹

“ RIGHT trusty and well-beloved Cousin, we greet you well : We have received your letter from the gentleman, bearer thereof. And whereas you require that by him you may have full and perfect understanding of our pleasure, for ascertaining the time when you shall repair towards us, we assure you, whenever you please to come, you shall be as welcome as we may make you, and thereunto all times shall be alike. But in consideration that the very day of our son's baptism shall be, God willing, the 15th instant, we think it best that you address you to enter on Scots ground upon the 8th day of this same month, against the which we have commanded our Warden to meet you, and to convoy you hither. And albeit your own person, employed in such a message, were surety enough both for yourself and your hail company, and that you needed no other passport at all, yet for satisfaction of your letter, you shall herewith receive our safe-conduct according to your desire. Further presently we need not write, seeing we

Buchanan's wicked suggestions on the head. But if any one will prefer that man's credit, who was neither eye nor ear witness, before that of these two noble Earls, we may safely say that *great is that person's faith !* See this Protestation at length in the Appendix, No. XVI.—[The “ Protestation” of the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, in which is the account of the *Conference of Crugmillar*. Buchanan's “ wicked suggestions” are contained in the following passage, in which he assails the Queen—“ She would ever and anon speak of a divorce, and would say it might be easily effected if the Pope's Bull was but recalled, by which pardon had been granted them for marrying contrary to the Papal laws ; but seeing this matter was not likely to go as she expected, for those things were acted in the presence of many of the Nobility, she left off all her other methods, and contrived nothing else in her mind but how to dispatch him out of the world at once.”—*Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, Edin. original edit. 1582, fol. 212 ; Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 316. See also his “ Detection of Mary Queen of Scots.”—E.]

¹ Calig. B[ook] X. f. 389, an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

look so shortly for your own presence, whereunto we refer the rest, committing you to the tuition of God Craigmillar, December 4th 1566.

“ Your right good friend,

“ MARIE R.”

“ We desire you to send forward this our letter to our servant Robert Melvil at Court.”

Sir James Melvil acquaints us,¹ that when the Queen was advertised of the Earl of Bedford's² arrival at Berwick she sent him to Coldingham, to be the Earl's first convoy, and to inform him rightly of all her proceedings, and to overthrow all evil bruits invented by the malice of her adversaries: and Sir James adds, that the good Earl gave him more credit than he did to any wrong report of her that was made. The Earl arrived at Court with a great retinue, to the number of fourscore horses; and besides the particular publick errand he was known to come about, namely, the witnessing the baptism of the Prince, he had likewise private instructions to negotiate at this time with our Queen, a copy whereof I here lay before my readers.

Instructions³ to the Earl of Bedford, of her Majesty's Privy-Council, Lord Warden of the west-marches towards Scotland, Governor of Berwick, sent by the Queen's Majesty into Scotland to be an assistant at the christening the Queen of Scots' son the Prince there, 7th November 1566.⁴

“ THE first cause of your sending is: Seeing the Queen of Scotland required us to be god-mother to the Prince of Scotland, her son, as also the French King and Duke of Savoy⁵ to be god-fathers; and the French King hath sent

¹ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 76.—E.]

² [Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, already mentioned in previous notes.—E.]

³ The reader will perceive by these Instructions that the Queen of England has been in good earnest desirous to cherish friendship with our Queen. The birth of a Prince in Scotland, and the ferment now in the Parliament of England for the want of a known successor, has perhaps driven her Majesty to this condescendence.—[This is clearly intimated by all the historians of Queen Elizabeth's reign. See Camden's Annals, 1625, p. 121, 129-134.—E.]

⁴ Calig. B[ook] X. f. 384.—[British Museum.—E.]

⁵ [Charles IX. of France, and Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy.—E.]

the son of Bryon to represent him, as the Marquis of Chambery¹ doth the Duke: we have sent you to her to tell her, That according to our former agreement, upon her first sending to us, we have dispatched you to assist and attend such a person in her Realm, as we have chosen to represent us, who is our dear and well-beloved cousin the Countess of Argile,² whom with allowance of our good sister we have appointed and required to supply our place, because now, being winter, we could not well send any of the ladies of our Realm. We have the rather made choice of her, hearing how dear she is to our good sister. You shall deliver our letter to that Countess, with our most hearty recommendations, and our earnest request to take the pains to supply our place, which surely with all our heart we would as gladly do ourself as she shall, if commodity and convenience could as well suffer it as our desire could further it. As for the behaviour at this christening, you shall govern yourself so as shall be most for our honour, and pleasure of our good sister; and to avoid such things as be against your conscience, and contrary to the religion we profess, it is best to imitate the example of Moray and the other Lords of the same religion, for which they have the permission of that Queen. At convenient time you are to present her the font of gold,³ which we send with you;

¹ Yet Sir James Melvil calls him Mons. de Moret; and he adds, that he came not until the baptism was past and over. Crawford's *Memoirs* and Spottiswood report that Mons. le Croc stood for the Duke of Savoy at the baptism.—[Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 76. Archbishop Spottiswoode's statement is confirmed by undoubted authority:—"There assisted to this baptisme, for the King of France, the Count of Bryen; for the Queyne of England, the Erle of Bedford; for the Duke of Savoy, Monsieur La Croco."—*Historie of King James the Sext*, 4to. Edin. 1825, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 5.—E.]

² [Queen Elizabeth probably selected the Countess of Argyll to be her proxy at the baptism of James VI., as much on account of her royal descent, though illegitimate, as from personal considerations, that lady having been the daughter of James V. by Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Carmichael, and consequently Queen Mary's sister and Queen Elizabeth's cousin. The Countess of Argyll was the same who was supping with Queen Mary on the eventful night of Riccio's murder.—E.]

³ This font weighed 333 ounces, which Mr Stow says came to £1043, 19s., which, if he is right, fixes the value of gold at that time within the Kingdom of England. Mr Knox is evidently wrong in his calculation. [The weight of this gold font is confirmed in the "*Historie of King James the Sext*," 4to. Edin. 1825, p. 5. Knox's "calculation," to which

you may say pleasantly, that it was made assoon as we heard of the Prince's birth, and then it was big enough for him, but now he, being grown, is too big for it : therefore it may be better used for the next child, provided it be christened before it outgrow the font. And seeing there are matters of greater consequence that you are to treat with her, and because you desired one to be with you who is acquainted with the affairs of that Queen, we have appointed John Tamworth, of our Privy Chamber, to attend and be present with you, when you shall treat of that affair with her.

" You shall at some convenient time say to the Queen, that as we would be loath, by repeating things past, to stir up unkindness, so we expect that she will conceive a great deal of our inward affection in our digesting her strange dealings with us in the beginning and prosecution of her marriage,¹ wherein we have been ready to show her kindness, though we conceaved cause of the contrary ; yet we are content that we did bestow our kindness upon her, and will be ready always to augment the same.

" After which you shall let her know, that by sundry messages sent to her to signify our misliking, that sundry subjects of ours, truly not worth the living at home, being of light behaviour, have repaired hither,² upon several pretences of great offers, more apt to breed suspicion of unkindness, rather than produce any effect or satisfaction to her. And though our sister owns that there hath been

Bishop Keith alludes, is that the font was " valued to be worth thrie thousand crowns." *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 400.—E.]

¹ The English Queen is very earnest here to lay open her own merits towards our sovereign. The birth of a Prince was a bitter pill and a piercing sword to her.

² Mr Cambden mentions Yaxley, Standon, and Welch, three English fugitives, to have got reception in Scotland. The last of these, viz. Welch, has been formerly named by Randolph. By inadvertency I then called him an *Intelligencer* to our Queen, as if he had been still in England, though by Cambden's information he has certainly been at that time within Scotland.—[Cambden alleges that one reason which induced Queen Elizabeth to protect the Earl of Morton and his associates in exile for the murder of Riccio was, " because the Queen of Scotland had received into her protection Yaxley, Standon, and Walsh, English fugitives." Mary was also accused of having encouraged the " Irish O'Neale, and that she had held counsels with the Pope against the English, and had not done justice upon thieves and pirates." *Annals*, 1625, p. 120, 121.—E.]

such offers and tenders, yet she gave no consent or allowance thereto that might in anywise impair the amity to which she is firmly resolved to stand, without any change or alteration of mind, which at an interview we would certainly understand; for want of which she wished to have some person of credit and confidence sent from us, to whom she might freely impart what concerned us in that behalf. Therefore we have appointed you to wait of her, for which special account we have sent you and our said servant Tamworth, whom, for his understanding, faithfulness, and secrecy, we can trust as well as any of our servants.¹

“And you may assure her of such secrecy herein as she can demand, and that we shall requit her friendship therein by all means possible.

“And as for what passed of late betwixt our said sister and us, as well by Melvil and otherwise, concerning the title to be here considered and declared, we think herein she did not design to molest us, considering she found the same disagreeable to us, and we think she should be satisfied with such answers as we formerly made, viz. That we never would (do) or suffer anything to be done prejudicial to her right, and would earnestly prohibite and suppress all attempts, directly or indirectly, against the same; and that she might well assure herself of our amity: And that if any motion shall be made that way, she may trust to our friendship, and will meet with as much favour and furtherance as justice and equity can anywise devise to her contentation.

“You shall also inform her how that last summer a certain case of law seemed to touch her interest, which did so much offend us, that we could not be quieted until we had the party sent for, and the circumstances thereof examined; but finding no such matter of moment to the prejudice of our said sister, we did forbear such punishment as we were otherwise resolved to inflict upon the parties, as we intimated to her servant Robert Melvil, by whom we hope she is informed of the sincerity of our dealing. And you are to use your discretion in the declaration thereof.²

¹ This is said with a view to upbraid our Queen for her late treatment of Tamworth.

² Queen Elizabeth no doubt points here at Mr Thornton, a reader of

“ There are certain particuler cases, as sundry of our subjects having their goods detained in that country ; for remedy whereof, you shall use means to that Queen.

“ You shall also secretly inquire what was the meaning of the journey which the Earl of Argyll should have made into Ireland, and how it was stayed ; and if the same be not stayed, then to use all means with such as have received benefit from us to stay any such ungrateful enterprize to aid our ungrateful rebels in that sort ; and take occasion to thank the Queen for staying of him, and that we could not take it in good part to do otherwise, to permit any of hers to treat with so manifest a rebel of ours,¹ without imparting the same to us.

“ It may be demanded, that according to a late request made to us by her servant Mr Melvil, to cause certain persons now living to be examined of their knowledge of the manner of the last testament of King Henry our father, you may tell, that for satisfaction of her and our own conscience we mean to examine the same, as soon as with convenience we may.²

law in Lincoln's-Inn, who had called our Queen's title in question, and whom the Queen of England, upon complaint made by our Queen, did incarcerate in the Tower. —[Cambden.—[Annals, 1625, p. 134.—E.]

¹ This was Shan O'Neal of the kingdom of Ireland.—[Shane O'Neil was murdered by a body of the Hebridean Islanders at a feast in 1567, and his head sent to Dublin.—E.]

² That my readers may be informed of what may be contained and intended here, they must know that the Parliament of England having granted power to King Henry VIII. to limit and dispose of the succession of that crown to such person or persons as he should appoint by his last will made in writing, and “ *signed with his most gracious hand,*” that King, in pursuance and by virtue of this Act, did on the 30th day of December, four weeks before he died, sign a testament wherein he excluded the royal family of Scotland descended from his eldest sister, and entailed his imperial crown to the House of Suffolk, descended from his second sister. This will of King Henry lay as a strong bar against our Queen ; and, on the other hand, the partisans of the House of Suffolk built all their expectation upon it. To get clear of this obstacle, the supporters of our Queen's claim alledged two great invalidities in King Henry's will — one, that the said will was not signed with the King's own hand, but with a *stamp* or *sign-manual*, which that King was known to have used for some large space back ; the other, that the witnesses and the stamp were all feigned, i. e. affixed when the King was either dead, or past all sense of life. Queen Elizabeth had never regarded much her father's will in her advancement to the throne, and by that means the will had fallen by, or was so mislaid as not easily to be recovered ; or

“ And as yourself knows how we sent you to France to that Queen, to require the confirmation of the Treaty of Edinburgh, and the same being since deferred, upon account of some words therein prejudicial to the Queen’s right and title, before all others after us, our meaning is to require nothing to be confirmed in that Treaty but that which directly appertains to us and our children, omitting any thing in that Treaty that may be prejudicial to her title, as next heir after us and our children; all which may be secured to her by a new treaty betwixt us. And for her security, she may have from us an engagement that we will never do or suffer any thing that may be to the prejudice of her title, and shall declare against any who shall invade the same.¹ You may perswade her that this manner of

perhaps Queen Elizabeth being not very fond of her father’s entail, was not willing to let it appear. All this made our Scottish writers, such as John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and William Maitland the Secretary, strenuously maintain the two former invalidities in that testament; and so far had they come to be perswaded of the truth of these, that Mr Melvil we here see had an instruction to sollicite Queen Elizabeth to cause her father’s will be searched into and examined, and which that Queen promises to do with conveniency. The misfortunes which befell our Queen shortly after this did put an end to any further business of this kind, otherwise both she and her best friends would have found their requests to the Queen of England very much misplaced, and that Princess consulted better the Scottish interest in suffering her father’s will to remain in obscure corners, than to propale it to the light: For *now* that testamentary deed is made publick by the reverend author of the “ Hereditary Right to the Crown of England,” and the sufficiency thereof cleared by him beyond all possibility of reply. And therefore I, for my particular, must freely own, that Queen Elizabeth has never had an intention to set aside the right of our Queen, and introduce her father’s *nominees*. *Note*, What the Bishop of Ross maintains against the will of King Henry may be seen in his “ Defence of Mary Queen of Scots,” and Secretary Maitland’s objections to it in his letter written from Stirling the 14th of January 1566-7, directed to the English Secretary Cecil, and published by Bishop Burnet in the Appendix to the 1st vol. Hist. Reform.— [Second edition, London, 1681, folio, vol. i. p. 267-270. Maitland’s letter to Cecil is dated Stirling, 14th January 1566, nearly a month after the baptism of James VI. Our Historian justly observes that Queen Elizabeth never intended to “ set aside” the right of Queen Mary to the Crown of England as her successor. This is completely proved by her conduct before her death, when she explicitly announced that none other should succeed her except James VI.—E.]

¹ Had Queen Elizabeth yielded this point at first, the secret grudge betwixt her and her cousin had been in a great measure removed. Mr Buchanan was too hasty when he narrates this to have been the issue of

proceeding is the way to avoid all jealousies and difficulties betwixt us, and the only way to secure the amity.

“ And before parting you may tell her in our name, that we saw nothing so fit to prevent the designs of those who are for stirring up troubles, than to have a mutual confirmation of a treaty of perpetual amity, and an assurance of her part to us, according to a clause in the Treaty of Edinburgh; and the same assurance for us to her, that we would neither do nor attempt, nor suffer to be attempted, any thing derogatory to her title to be next heir after us and our children; whereof the one part to be made by her to us is just, and you may say to be demanded, and by the denying of it, we may conceive some want of good meaning to us, which we are unwilling to do. And as for the other part, though we are not bound thereto, yet we are content, from the favour we bear to her, to engage ourselves in as good sort as she shall do for the other, and so quit her with a benefit of mere good will, for that which justly we claim to be done by her.¹

“ You may deal with such of her Council whom you find best addicted to the amity, that they may be satisfied that this is the most certain and only way to preserve the amity; and that without such provisions, though we are inclined to preserve it, yet occasions will happen to incline either of us to be jealous one of another, which cannot be remedied but by the proceeding foresaid.”

As the Queen of England, for the reasons here alleged, appears to have been desirous to maintain a good correspondence and friendship with our Queen, so could she not but be sensible that the sending Tamworth along with the Earl of Bedford would be construed, and justly too, a plain insulting of her cousin of Scotland. However much, therefore, she might have had an inclination to take a kind of

Lethington's conference with the Queen of England, the first time he was sent into England after our Queen's arrival home in the year 1561. I have already observed that this proposal made a part of the Instructions intended to have been sent last year by Sir Walter Mildmay.

¹ Though Queen Elizabeth appears here to have been fond of outward amity with our Queen, yet she seems unwilling to abate any thing of her former height. Our sovereign was now in the meridian of her glory, but very quickly tumbled into obscurity.

revenge of our Queen for her late treatment of this man Tamworth; yet upon second thoughts, she very wisely recalled her intention of sending him into Scotland at this time, and so we find the following letter:—

*Queen Elizabeth's Letter to the Earl of Bedford,
November 9th 1566.*¹

“WHEREAS by our Instructions in your embassy to the Queen of Scots, we mentioned John Tamworth whom we designed to join with you; now we have changed our resolution, and acquaint you with it. And if our sister shall enquire about him, you may tell her that we have changed our purpose of sending him.”

The time of the baptism being now at hand, the Queen for that purpose removed from the place of Craigmillar to the Castle of Stirling.² Our historians do take notice of the great preparations that were made for rendering the solemnity of the baptism splendid; and as it had been customary in events of this nature to grant our Princes a taxation from the subjects, so now a taxation of L.12,000 was given by the States for defraying this extraordinary expence.³

¹ Calig. B[ook] X. F. 387.—[British Museum.—E.]

² Though Sir James Melvil, by his way of expressing, would seem to say that the Queen took the Prince along with her to Stirling, yet by the preceding letter of Mons. Le Croc we are assured the Prince was already in Stirling.—[King James VI. had been removed to Stirling Castle in the autumn of 1566. Le Croc informs Archbishop Beaton that his (the Archbishop's) brother had seen the infant Prince at Stirling on the 22d of September, and describes him as “a very fine child.” He was committed to the care of the Countess of Mar. The Queen removed from Craigmillar Castle to Holyroodhouse on the 5th of December, and went to Stirling on the 10th or 11th, to prepare for her son's baptism. Darnley had visited the Queen at Craigmillar, and remained with her a few days in Edinburgh. Le Croc found from a conversation with him that matters between him and the Queen were “worse and worse.”—(See letter to Archbishop Beaton, dated 2d of December 1566, in our Historian's “Advertisement to the Reader,” p. xvi. xvii. of the present edition). Darnley set out to Stirling two days before the Queen, and “his undecided mind,” says Chalmers, “had not determined whether to be present at the baptism of his child, or to remove to Glasgow, where he might enjoy the feeble communication of his father.”—Memoirs of Lord Darnley, in Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. ii. p. 174.—E.]

³ Because perhaps some readers may be at a loss to comprehend how a taxation could be imposed without a Parliament, for their information and satisfaction I have thought fit here to insert the narrative of the Act of Privy-Council transcribed from the original Record, viz.—“*Edinburgh, 6th*

On the 14th of December I see a proclamation was emitted at Stirling, commanding all the lieges to abstain from all manner of disturbance during their abode there at the present convention of Nobility, ambassadors of foreign Princes, &c., or at their departing from thence; neither to wear any fire-arms about their persons, under the pain of death. And on the 15th¹ day of the month, being Sunday,

October 1566—SEDERUNT Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Ergadiæ Comes, Jacobus Moraviæ Comes, Jacobus Comes de Bothuill, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Georgius Comes de Caithnes, Andreas Comes de Rothcs, Joannes Archiepiscopus Sti Andree, Alexander Episcopus Cantide Cade, Joannes Episcopus Rossen. Adam Episcopus Orchaclen. Robertus Episcopus Dunkeldien.; Commissarii Burgorum, Edinburgh, Dundie, Aberdeen, Striviling, Perth, St Andreis, Lithgow, Haddington; Thesaurarius, Computorum Regulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciarie, Advocatus. Taxatioun grantit of twelve thousand pounds. Forsamekill as sum of the greitest Princes in Cristendom hes earnestlie requirit of our soverans that be thair ambassatouris thai may be witnesses and gossepis at the baptisme of thair Majesties' deirest son, the native Prince of this Realme, quhais requisitioun being baith ressonabill and honourabill, thair Majesties hes gladlie condescendit thairunto, and daylie lukis for the arryving of the saids ambassatouris; for the quhilk purpois honourabill expenses wil be requisite, quhilk movit thair Majesties to expone the mater to a gude numer of the Prelatis, Nobilitie, and Commissionaris of Burrowis convenit this day to that effect. And thai understanding the occasioun to be sa necessarie, tending to the honour and estimation of our soverans thair Realme, and commoun weill thair of, hes all with ane consent and voyse, liberallie and voluntarie grantit to thair Majesties, for supplying and releif of the saids expenses, ane taxatioun of twelve thousand pounds, to be payit be the saidis Estaitis at the last day of November nixt to come, in maner following; that is to say, six thousand pounds be the Spirituall Estait, four thousand pounds be the Baronis and Frehaldaris, and twa thousand pounds be the Burrowis, in compleit payment of the soume of twelve thousand pounds. And for inbringing, &c." R. M.—[Robert Myln.—E.]

¹Spottiswoode alone, of all the other historians, either Scottish or English, is right as to the day of the baptism, and from him only likewise we have an account of the ceremony.—[Knox states that the baptism of James VI. took place on the *seventeenth* of December. *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 400. Chalmers, in his *Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (vol. i. p. 196), gives the same date, as also Mr Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 66. Our Historian, however, admits that the date in Archbishop Spottiswoode's work is inaccurate, in his first note to the letter of Le Croc to Archbishop Beaton (see the "Advertisement to the Reader," vol. i. p. xevii. xeviii. of this edition). Sir James Balfour (*Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 325) says that the King "was *christened* in the Chapel-Royal of Stirling the 22d of August this same year by the name of Charles James." Calderwood merely states—"About the beginning of December the Prince was baptized" (*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 327, and adds the following gossip—"It is reported by persons worthie of credite, that that day the Prince was

at five in the evening, the Prince was carried by the French ambassador from his chamber unto the chapel, betwixt two rows of barons and gentlemen, each holding a pricket of wax in his hand. Next after the French ambassador came the Earl of Athole bearing the *great serge of wax*, the Earl of Eglinton carried the *salt*, the Lord Sempil the *cude*, the Lord Ross the *bason* and *ewer*; these Noblemen were all of the Roman profession. In the entry of the chapel the Prince was received by the Archbishop of St Andrews, whose collaterals were the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Ross; and there followed them the Prior of Whitehorn, sundry Deans and Archdeacons, with the singers of the chapel in their several habits and copes. The Prince was held up at the font by the Countess of Argyll,¹ in name of and commission from the Queen of England, and the Archbishop of St Andrews did administer the sacrament of baptism with all the ceremonies used in the Roman Church,² the spittle only excepted by express order from the Queen. Neither the Earl of Bedford, nor any of the Scottish Nobility of the new form, entered into the chapel, but stood without the door.³ After the rites were all performed, the

baptized, there was sitting in the centre of the Castell a poore man asking alms, having a young child upon his knee, whose head was so great that the bodie of the childe could skarse beare it up. A certane gentleman perceaving, could not refraine himself from teares, for fear of the evils he judged to be portended." A contemporary authority asserts that the baptism was on the *tenth* of December (see Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 479). The infant Prince was named *Charles* at the request of the King of France, and *James* by the command of Queen Elizabeth.—E.]

¹ [The Countess of Argyll was compelled by Knox and the preachers to do "*penance*" for the part she sustained at the baptism of the infant Prince. In the "General Assembly" which met at Edinburgh on the 25th of December 1567, the Countess was ordered to "make public repentance in the Chapel-Royal of Stirling upon ane Sunday in time of preaching" for her presence at this baptism performed in a "papistical manner." Book of the Universal Kirk of Scotland, 4to. Edin. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Part I. p. 117.—E.]

² [It is singular that the arrangement of the ceremony of the Prince's baptism was committed to Bothwell, though he was an avowed Protestant. (MS. Letter State-Paper Office, Sir John Foster to Cecil, dated Berwick, 11th December 1566, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 66).—E.]

³ [Knox says—"The Quene laboured much with the Nobilmen to bear the salt, greace, and candle, and other things, but all refused; she found at last the Earles of Eglintoun, Athole, and the Lord Seaton, who assisted

child's name and titles were thrice proclaimed by the heraulds under sound of trumpet—CHARLES JAMES, JAMES CHARLES,¹ *Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay,*² *Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew.* Then did the musick begin, and after it had continued a good space the Prince was again conveyed to his apartment.³

The feasting, triumph and mirth upon this occasion was

at the baptism, and brought in the said trash." After the ceremony he alleges that the Earl of Bedford thus addressed the Queen—"Madam, rejoyce very greatly at this time, seeing your Majesty hath here to serve you so many Nobilmen, especially twelve Earls, whereof only two assist at this baptism to the superstitious of Popery." The Queen, he farther observes, "kept good countenance" at this rude, insolent, and uncourteous observation, which it is not likely the Earl of Bedford ever uttered.—Knox's History, Edin. edit. 1732.—E.]

¹ See Crawford's Mem. and Spottiswood's Hist. both MSS. This last, which is now in my hands, appears to be the same Bishop Burnet mentions in the History of his own Times.—[Both the MSS. mentioned by our Historian are in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. This reference to Bishop Burnet is apparently a mere conjecture. The "great defect," in Bishop Burnet's opinion, "that runs through Archbishop Spottiswoode's History" is prominently stated in the former's "History of his Own Times," folio, London, 1724, vol. i. p. 8.—E.]

² This is a new proof that the Prince's father had not received this title, as I have formerly observed.

³ [The infant Prince had a regular Household in 1567 at Stirling Castle, where he spent his youthful years under the guardianship of the Earl of Mar, afterwards Regent, before and after the death of that Nobleman in 1572. The Countess of Mar was his governess, and Helen Little was his "maistress nutrix," assisted by one man-servant and two female domestics. Five ladies, one of whom was the daughter of Lord John Stuart, Prior of Coldingham, were his "Rockaris," and Alison Sinclair was "Keeper of the King's claythis." It is unnecessary to particularize the servants in the several departments of the "*Pantrie, Kitchen, Wyne Sellar, Aell Sellar,*" and "*Laundrie.*" We find among them a "maister cuick," a "foreman," a "keeper of the veschell," a "porter in the kitchen," a "browster and cellar-man" for the ale, a "furnishar of coalls," and "ane pastisar." John Cunningham was "maister houshold," John Duncanson was "minister," and Andrew Hagie was "steward." The infant Prince was allowed four "violaris" to play for his amusement, who, with their servant, were all boarded in Stirling Castle. The three following entries are curious—"Item, To the King's awne mounthe daylie, ij½ gret bred. Item, Of aell, to the King's mowth, 1 qt. 1 pt. Item, To his mowth daylie, ij caponis." The "*King*" here mentioned is the infant Prince, who, it will soon be seen, was crowned at the deposition of his mother Queen Mary when he was only thirteen months and ten days old. See the detail of the Household of the Prince at Stirling Castle in March 1567, from an original document in the archives of the Earl of Mar, in Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 176-179.—E.]

exceeding splendid, and continued so all the time¹ the ambassadors remained here. Howbeit the King was neither present at the office of baptism, nor at the publick entertainments. For this Mr Buchanan, after his ordinary manner, makes the Queen to assign a ridiculous pretence, viz. that his embroiderers, goldsmiths, and other tradesmen, had neglected to provide him with furniture suitable for the occasion.² But it is not to be imagined her Majesty would

¹ See a merry story related by Sir James Melvil, p. 76.—[The “merry story” recorded by Sir James Melville in his “Memoirs” describes a pageant or shew on the occasion evidently devised by a Frenchman named *Bastien*, probably the same as *Sebastian*, on the night of whose marriage at Holyroodhouse the murder of Darnley was perpetrated. This pageant was most indecorous, and displays in a very unfavourable manner the frivolities of Queen Mary’s French domestics. “At the principal banquet,” says Sir James Melville, “there fell out a great grudge among the Englishmen, for a Frenchman called *Bastien* devised a number of men formed like satyrs with long tails and whips in their hands, running before the meat, which was brought through the great hall upon a machine or engine, marching, as appeared, alone, with musicians clothed like maids, singing and playing upon all sorts of instruments. But the satyrs were not content only to make way or room, but put their hands behind them to their tails, which they wagged with their hands in such sort as the Englishmen supposed it had been devised and done in derision of them, weakly apprehending that which they should not have appeared to understand.” Sir James proceeds to narrate that most of the gentlemen in the suite of the Earl of Bedford “desired to sup before the Queen and great banquet, that they might see the better order and ceremonies of the triumph, but so soon as they perceived the satyrs wagging their tails, they all sat down upon the bare floor behind the back of the table, that they might not see themselves derided, as they thought. Mr Hatton—one of the English gentlemen—“said unto me, if it were not in the Queen’s presence he would put a dagger to the heart of that French knave *Bastien*, who, he alleged, had done it out of despite that the Queen made more of them than of the Frenchmen. I excused the matter the best I could, but the noise was so great behind the Queen’s back, where her Majesty and my Lord of Bedford did sit, that they heard and turned about their faces to inquire what the matter meant. I informed them it was occasioned by the *satyrs*, so that the Queen and my Lord of Bedford had both enough to do to get them appeased.” This exhibition was the more reprehensible, according to our notions of propriety, as it occurred on a Sunday evening.—E.]

² The same writer uses likewise more impertinence here, in which, however, he is left unsupported by Knox and Melvil, the last of which had much better opportunity of knowing, and the former would have been as loath to conceal a bad thing.—[The additional “impertinence” of Buchanan is, that “for fear Bothwell should not have ornaments enough, the Queen wrought many of them with her own hand.”—*Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 213; Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 317.—E.]

urge so shameful an excuse, since no less than six months had passed between the birth of the Prince and his baptism. But if it be true what Mr Cambden tells, that the Queen of England gave a strict charge that neither the Earl of Bedford, nor any Englishman in his retinue, should give the title of *King* to the Lord Darnley, the King's absence has most probably flowed from this prohibition; because, as a late writer well observes—"it would have been inconsistent with his Majesty's honour to have been refused the regal title in a Scottish Court; and it was necessary at that juncture not to quarrel with the Queen of England."¹

As the Earl of Bedford had brought a letter and instructions with him from the Queen of England to our sovereign, so her Majesty charged the said Earl with a part of her mind to be communicated back again to her cousin, a copy whereof I am here to insert. And because, in the same *Shattered MS.* from which I take it, there is immediately in the front of this paper, a letter likewise to the Queen of England, respecting the Earl of Bedford and the message

¹ History of Mary Queen of Scots, Lond. 1725, Svo.—[The passage in the text quoted by our Historian occurs in a volume which must be a reprint of this work, entitled the "History of the Life and Reign of Mary Queen of Scots and Dowager of France," by Bevil Higgins, Esq. of the Middle Temple, 12mo. Dublin, 1753, p. 62. It is evident that this excuse for Darnley's absence from his son's baptism is frivolous and unsatisfactory. He was then residing in Stirling Castle, and Le Croc (letter to Archbishop Beaton, vol. i. p. xevii. xeviii. of this edition) states that though the "King," as Darnley was designated, "had still given out that he would depart two days before the baptism," nevertheless "when the time came on he made no sign of removing at all, only he still kept close within his own apartment. The very day of the baptism," continues Le Croc in his letter, "he (Darnley) sent three several times, desiring me either to come and see him, or to appoint him an hour that he might come to me at my lodgings; so that I found myself obliged at last to signify to him that, seeing he was in no good correspondence with the Queen, I had it in charge from the most Christian King to have no conference with him." Le Croc adds—"His bad deportment is incurable, nor can there be any good expected from him for several reasons which I might tell you, was I present with you." Mr Tytler observes—"The causes of this strange conduct were no doubt to be found in his sullen and jealous temper, the coldness between him and the Queen, and the ill-disguised hostility with which he was regarded by Bothwell, Moray, and the ruling party at Court, who were now busy labouring for the recall of Morton, so recently Darnley's associate in the murder of Riccio, but now his most bitter enemy."—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 67.—E.]

sent by him, I have therefore put them together here, according as the subject-matter of them seems to require.

*Mary Queen of Scots, to Elizabeth Queen of England.*¹

“ RYCHT excellent, rycht heich and myehtie Princesse, our derrest sister and cousin, in our maist hartlie maner we commend ws unto zow : We have ressavit zowr lettre sent be the Erle of Bedforde, zowr lait ambassatour towart ws, and hes hard of him sic materis as he had in charge to move to ws on zowr behalf, tending to the ineress and continewance of our amytie and gude intelligence betwix our cuntreis, esteming with oure self the honour and gude will, sa greit and large, quhilk at this tyme ze have schawin ws, that we cannot rander zow condigne thankis according to the worthines of it, quhilk we have ressavit at zowr handes ; and zit may ze be weill assurit, that on oure part nathing sall be omittit quhairin we may mak demonstratioun of oure gude hart to gratifie zow in semblabill maner, or ony uther wayis to schaw zow plessour, giff that any thing stand in ws quhilk may be acceptabill and to zowr contentatioun. And for the materis proponit to ws be zowr said ambassatour, we have anserit him thairin as we trust to his satisfactioun ; the particular report quhairof we remit to his awin suffieciencie. Bot in speciall, quhairas ze requier that by a reciprocus contract to pas betwix zow and ws, it may be manifested to the warld that we mene not to pretend ony thing may be derogatorie owther in honour, or utherwayis to zowr self during zowr lyff, or zit eftir the same, to the lauchful issue of zowr bodie ; and on the uther part, that ze will nevir do nor suffer ony thing to be done to the prejudice of oure titill and——quhilk we have as zowr nixt cousing : Bot at zowr——will repres and subdue all maner of attemptis that sall directlie or indirectlie tend to the overthrow or hinderance thairof. The proceeding in this mater is of all utheris to zowr self, derrest sister, best knawin ; for alwayis have we commendit ws and the equitie of oure caus to zow, and hes certanelie lukit for——freindschip thairin : Quhairon we have continewalie——oure self, and now think ws fullie assurit of the same, having thairof

¹ Shatter'd MS.

sa large pruiſ, be knowlege of zowr gude mynd and entiere affectioun declarit be zowr ſaid ambassatour, as alſwa be oure ſervitour Robert Malvile ; not doubting bot in tyme convenient ze will proceid to the perfyting and consummation of that ze have begun to uttir, alſweill to zowr awin people as utheris nationis, the opinioun ze have of the equitie of oure caus, and zowr affectioun towart ws, and namelie in the examining of the will supposed maid be the King zowr fader, quhilk sum wald lay as a bar in oure way, according to zowr awin promeis to ws, alſweill contenit in zowr lettre sent be oure ſervitour Robert Malvile, as maid to him in direct termis ; quhairof he hes maid ws report that ze wald proceid thairin, befor zowr Nobilitie (being at this present assemblit) depart towartis thair awin houses, the particularis quhairof we have remittit to the declaratioun of zowr ſaid ambassatour : And thairfor that sic a contract may pass ordourlie to bayth oure contentmentis, we will accord to send sum of oure Counsale, in tyme convenient, authorizat to treate, confer and accord with zow and zowr Counsale in all thingis may tend to zowr satisfacioun and the weill of ws bayth, and perfyte establishing of an inviolabill amytie betwix ws and oure countreis, sa far as of justice and equitie be ather of ws may be cravit ; for we lyke weill of the motioun maid be zow in that behalf. And in the mene tyme we will with oure hail hart, and be all gude meanis possibill to us, study to interteny and increis the gude amytie and intelligence betwix ws, and sall neglect na maner of thing on oure syde that may further and advance the samyn ; lukiſg alwayis for the lyke of zow, derrest sister and cousyn, quhome in gude helth we pray God lang to continew in prosperous regime. Gevin undir oure signet at Striviliſg the third day of Januare, the xxv zeir of our regime, 1566."

" More of sic Heidis as we have desyrit oure Cousyn the Erle of Bedforde to declair to oure derrest Sister the Quene his Soverane.

" In the First, Quhairas the Quene oure gude sister, alſweill to oure ſervant Robert Malvile resident with her the tyme, as be hir awin lettres to ws, hes promittit in direct termis that scho wald caus examinat the will allegit

maid be the King Henry the Aucht hir fader, quhilk sum wald lay as a bar in oure way, and that scho wald proceed thairin befor the dissolutioun of this Parliament, at leist befor the Nobillmen convenit sould depart towartis thair awin houses; we pray zow that ze will move this mater anew unto oure said gude sister, and earnestlie requir hir for sum perfectioun in it, that upoun the examinatioun a record of the trewth may be maid *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. And quhensoevir scho thinkis gude to perfyte the same, we will at hir advertisement, gif scho sall think it meit, send sum of ours to attend thairupoun; quhairupoun we desyir be zow to know hir answer.

“ And forsamekill as at this Parliament, and in the verie Parliament-hous, an Daltoun¹ hes spokin sum thingis rycht prejudiciall and disadvantageous to ws, quhairunto na answer was maid at that tyme, and thairthrow it is occasioun aneuch for everie commoun man at his hame-passing to communicate to his nychtbouris that thing quhilk to thame wes befor obscure, and zit to ws sa hurtfull that we cannot bot ernistlie requir the reparing of it, considering the thing spokin will be as ane impressioun in thair hartis, without thai persave the same disallowit be utheris. And althoeh oure servand wes than attending thair, zit had he oure commandment neyther to speik nor to do ony thing bot according to hir appoyntment and plesour; quhilk we traist he observit. And sen we have usit ws in this cais na utherwayis, we think then scho wald have wischit ws, and in that respect thinkis ws the mair suirlic persuadit of hir steidfast friendship and gude will; and that scho, according to hir promeis maid, will nowther do nor suffer ony thing to be done to oure prejudice: We will pray zow to desyre of hir sic ordour to be put heirin, that hir mislyking and discontentatioun of this sa rasehe ane interpryse may be manifest alsweill to her awin subjectis as utheris, that thai all may weill know the——by his face to——hir in deid, and the

¹ In D'Ewes's Journal, Mr Dalton is named as one of the members of the House of Commons who repaired to a Committee of Lords on the last day of October, in order to a conference about a successor to the Crown. The speech of this Dalton is not recorded in the Journal, but it is probably the same person and speech that Secretary Lethington aims at in his letter already mentioned, to the English Secretary Cecil.

matir to be reparit——discretioun, as alswa all bukis set furth——dischargeit and suppresscit.

“ Mairowir, albeit we mynd nawyis to gif avyse——to the Quene oure gude sister in the mater of hir——nor we sall find agreabill to hir, knawing hir——abill to tak a gude counsale to hirself, and to——awin affaris bettir than we can devyss; zit quhen scho sall be movit to zeale unto marriage, quhilk being for the honour and commoditie, we wische to be schortlie. We——for oure part the personage quhome with scho sould joyne, nixt hir awin contentment, sould be inclynit to the utilitie of bayth the countreis, and intertening of oure amytie and intelligence: And gif the Archdue Charles the Emperouris bruther sould be that persoun, thair is nane quhome we wald lyke bettir of, nor rather wysche in that place, knawing the gude affectioun quhilk alswell he as the Princes his freindis beris to us, and the freindschip and intelligence alswa betwix thame and oure freindis; of the quhilk oure meaning we make the Quene oure gude sister demonstratioun.

“ And quhairas oure loving subject the Lord Keith hes now be the space of aucht or nine zeiris bene continewalie detenit prisonar be the Erle of Northumberland and Sr Harie Percy, and for his ransom hes oftymes offerit all reasoun that of sic a Nobillman could justlie be requerit: Nevirtheless not onelie is all reassonabill ransom refusit, bot the tribble thair of urgentlie cravit, to the pernicious expmill of the subjectis of bayth the Realmes, quhair of the rigour is sic, that the lyke hes nevir bene sene nor usit in tyme of grittest weir and hostilitie betwix the Realmes; alswa a thing verie repugnant to oure mutuall intelligence and amity. With this we are crediblie informit be ane ancient law of mereche establissit betwix the Erllis of Dowglas and Northumberland, inviolable observit to this aige; it is provydit——‘ That quhair unressonabill ransom sould be pertinatlie requirit on ather syde, and difference standing thairon, the ransom sould be estimat and maid be a convenient nowmer of indifferent men of ather ——chosin and sworne to that effect: And the presonar to pay sic a ransom as thai sould find his state and habilitie might beir;’ and the same was his taker constrainit to accept. Quhilk laudabill custom we crave in the Lord Keith’s caus

to be observit ; at leist that it wald pleis the Quene oure gude sister, that the said Sr Harie may be chargeit to appeir befor hir and hir honourabill Counsale, and sum ressonabill ordour put to his indiscretioun, sa far passing the boundis of ressoun ; leist in tyme cuming this evill exempill and preparative dryve the subjectis of ather Realme falling in lyke caises to ane of twa inconvenientis ; that is, owthir perpetuall servitude of impresonment, or uther rewyne or destruction of houses and states on ather syde. And fordir, it is of trewth, that besydis the unressonabill ransom and befor commoning of it, thair is requirit for the Lord Keith's chargeis, being a singill man and presonar, that quhilk of resoun mycht stand for his full ransom, that is twa hunder lib. sterling. —¹

We are acquainted by Sir James Melvil,² that the English ambassador at his departure³ was rewarded by a rich chain

¹ Here follow some lesser matters concerning captures of ships.

² [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 77.—E.]

³ At what time the Earl of Bedford left this kingdom I cannot precisely see. But the short Diary in Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 271, makes his Lordship depart from Stirling on the 23d of December towards St Andrews. And Sir William Cecil, in a letter dated 10th February, says—" Mons. Moret (the ambassador of Savoy) is, I think, on the way coming hither out of Scotland. My Lord of Bedford, who came long ago out of Scotland, arrived here but of late." In the same letter it appears Le Croc was then arrived at London.—[Mary signed the Earl of Morton's pardon, and that of *seventy-six* of his associates, on the 24th of December, at the earnest entreaty of Moray, Bothwell, and their adherents, and with the entire concurrence of the Earl of Bedford. MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Bedford to Cecil, 30th December ; Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 68, 69. The Queen excepted only two of the murderers of Riccio from the pardon—George Douglas (see the note, p. 369 of this volume, who had stabbed Riccio over her shoulder, and Andrew Ker of Fawdonside, who had presented a pistol to her breast when the deed was perpetrated in the Palace of Holyrood. When Darnley was informed that the Queen had signed these pardons, he expressed his feelings in the most indignant manner, and departed from Stirling abruptly to his father's residence at Glasgow, without taking leave of the Queen, on the very day she ratified the recall of Morton and his associates from exile. The ambassadors soon afterwards left Stirling. The Earl of Bedford accompanied the Earl of Moray through Fife to St Andrews, "where," he says, "he had much honour, great cheer, and courteous entertainment." Meanwhile Morton returned to Scotland about the beginning of January 1566-7, while Darnley was lying sick at Glasgow. On his way from England to his own residence at Dalkeith Castle, he halted at Whittingham in Haddingtonshire, the seat of his near relative Archibald Douglas,

of diamonds worth 2000 crowns; Mr Cary, eldest son to the Lord Hunsdon,¹ the first person of his retinue, with a chain of pearl, and a ring with a fair diamond;² Mr Hatton, another of the retinue, a person greatest in favour for the time with the Queen of England, got a chain with our Queen's picture, and a ring; Mr Lignish, a man much in favour with the Duke of Norfolk,³ together with five other gentlemen, had each of them gold chains.⁴ Several persons were ordered to convoy the Earl of Bedford to the English Border; and Sir James Melvil, who was one of the number, takes notice, that they parted all very well contented and satisfied with our Queen, but that they lamented to perceive the King so much slighted, and that the Earl of Bedford desired him in particular to request her Majesty to entertain the King as she had done at the beginning, for her own

where he was joined by the Earl of Bothwell and Maitland of Lethington. Bothwell, in the presence of Archibald Douglas, informed Morton that they had resolved to murder Darnley, and, as an inducement for him to join the plot, Bothwell declared that the Queen's consent was obtained. Morton declined solely on the ground that he was "unwilling to meddle with new troubles, when he had scarcely got rid of an old offence." Douglas earnestly entreated him to be a party, and in a second interview Bothwell, in Maitland's presence, reiterated his statements and insisted that the whole was arranged according to the Queen's desire. "Bring me, then," said Morton, "the Queen's hand-writ for a warrant, and then you shall have my answer." Douglas immediately accompanied Bothwell and Maitland to Edinburgh, and he soon afterwards received an order from the latter to return to Whittingham, and inform Morton that the Queen would "receive no speech of the matter appointed unto him." Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 70, 74, 76, and the Earl of Morton's confession before his execution in Bannatyne's *Memorials*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. p. 317, 318.—E.]

¹ [George Carey, who succeeded his father in 1596 as second Lord Hunsdon. See the fourth note, p. 240 of this volume.—E.]

² [Apparently Sir Christopher Hatton, first one of Queen Elizabeth's gentlemen-pensioners, afterwards successively gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, Captain of the Guard, Vice-Chamberlain, a Privy Councillor, Lord Chancellor of England, and Knight of the Garter. He died in November 1591.—E.]

³ [Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who succeeded his grandfather the third Duke in 1554. His father, the Earl of Surrey, was most unjustly condemned and executed by order of Henry VIII. and he shared the same fate in 1572 for his correspondence with Queen Mary when a prisoner in England.—E.]

⁴ As the ambassador of France brought no present, so we hear of none that he got from our Queen.

honour and the advancement of her affairs; which, he says, he forgot not to do at all occasions.¹

The Christmas holidays being now close at hand, the Queen went to pass that time in the houses of the Lord Drummond and Laird of Tillibardin;² and in the beginning of January she returned again to Stirling, where we find she signs the foregoing letter to the Queen of England.³ By the diary just now mentioned, it would appear the King had taken the time of the Queen's absence to remove himself to his father at Glasgow; and Mr Knox acknowledges he went away from Stirling toward Glasgow without "*good-night*." In⁴

¹ It had been surely a piece of great prudence in the Queen to have overcome the indignities done her by the King, but these things are sooner said than done. By this discourse of the Earl of Bedford, it may be inferred that the King's absence from the baptism has flowed from the Queen herself: though still the consequence is not altogether indubitable.—[The contemplated pardon of Morton widened the breach between Darnley and the Queen. Sir James Melville was well aware that the Earls of Moray and Bothwell, assisted by the Earl of Bedford, were the principal agents in procuring the pardon of Morton and his exiled friends. "Even the slanderous Melville," observes Chalmers, "says nothing of the *incorableness of the Queen*. She had already pardoned Moray and his associates, and her whole reign consisted of *plots and pardons*." The cause of Darnley's unceremonious departure to Glasgow, besides his own wayward humour, was evidently the pardon of Morton. Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 198, 199.—E.]

² The Castle of Drummond is twelve miles from Stirling, and the House of Tillibardin near the same distance.—[Drummond Castle is at least eighteen English miles from Stirling, and if by the "house of Tullibardine," Dunkeld is meant, the distance is upwards of fifteen English miles. The then Lord Drummond was David second Lord, the grandfather of the first Earl of Perth, and father of the first Lord Madderty, ancestor of the Viscounts of Strathallan. The Laird of Tullibardine was Sir William Murray, who was knighted by Darnley, brother-in-law of the Earl of Mar, and father of the first Earl of Tullibardine, from whom descend the Dukes of Atholl. Sir William Murray was then Comptroller of the Queen's Household.—E.]

³ [Mary returned to Stirling from her visit to Lord Drummond on the 29th of December, and on the 31st she went to Tullibardine, where she remained only one night, as she was again at Stirling on the following day, when she was joined by the Earl of Moray, accompanied by the Earl of Bedford, from Fife. On the 3d of January 1566-7 the Queen prepared the preceding answer to Elizabeth, which was carried by the Earl of Bedford, who took his leave at Stirling on the 5th, and left Edinburgh for Berwick on the 6th. Queen Mary continued at Stirling till the 13th of January.—E.]

⁴ Not only this Diary of Cecil's, but Crawford's Memoirs also and Holinshed say expressly, that the King was in Glasgow before he sickened;

this last mentioned city the King fell deadly ill,¹ and continued to be sick, at least never recovered perfect health until the day of his untimely death. By the same Diary the Queen, it seems, continued still in Stirling until the 14th² of January, on which day her Majesty returned to Edinburgh,³

so it seems the story of the poison having been given him at Stirling, and his sickening about a mile from that place, had not been *then* trumped up, and the unexpected and secret departure of the King may in a great measure serve to discredit the story.—[We have seen that Darnley so indignantly resented the pardon of Morton and the other exiles, and dreaded their return, that he abruptly left Stirling on the 24th of December, and went to his father Lennox at Glasgow. The house in which Lennox resided was on the east side of Linlithgow, a short distance south of the present Barony church and the venerable Cathedral of Glasgow, and a part of the south wall of the tenement was preserved in 1835. The story that Darnley was poisoned, or that his illness was caused by some deleterious drug, is a fiction unworthy of the least notice. Soon after his arrival at Glasgow he was seized with a disease which threw out pustules over his body, and this originated the false report, maintained by Buchanan, that he had been poisoned. Robertson also narrates most erroneously, that before Darnley reached Glasgow he was taken dangerously ill on the road. But though this had been the fact, the rumour that he had been poisoned was not extraordinary, when we recollect the Bond for his murder concocted at Cragmillar, and which its authors only waited a safe opportunity to execute. Darnley's disease shewed itself to be the small pox, which then prevailed in Glasgow, and he was seized with it as soon as he arrived.—E.]

¹ Bishop Leslie says his disease was the *French pox*, and it is certain he dealt enough in the way to obtain them.—[Whatever truth may be in this, which would be a complete proof of Darnley's licentious and profligate life, no doubt exists of the small pox having seized him. The Earl of Bedford, on the 9th of January, three days after he left Edinburgh, stated in a letter to Cecil that Darnley had the small pox, and that the Queen sent her own physician to him. Drury also wrote to Cecil that "the small pox spreadeth from Glasgow." Birrel in his Diary (p. 6) mentions that Darnley "was lying sick in Glasgow of the small pox," adding the common and idle rumour of the time—"but some said he had gotten poison."—E.]

² We may give the more credit to this, that on the 16th of January an Act of Council at Stirling is copied by Mr Miln relating to Church matters, at which the Queen is expressly marked to be present.

³ Mr Knox mentions the Queen's return to Edinburgh in the month of January.—[Queen Mary set out from Stirling, taking with her the infant Prince, on the 13th of January. She remained one night at Callender-House near Falkirk, and arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th. Birrel in his Diary states that the Queen came to Edinburgh on the 13th, but the fact of her halting at Callender House, the seat of Lord Livingstone, is proved by a grant from her at that Nobleman's mansion on the 14th, which is mentioned in the Privy Seal Register.—E.]

and brought the young Prince¹ along with her; and after she had staid at Edinburgh the space of a week, she took

¹ Buchanan cannot suffer the Queen to have the privilege to take her own child along with her, but he must represent her as contriving and falling on shifts how to get him into her hands. This *good* man should have told us what person was to controul her Majesty from conveying her child whither she thought proper. She sent him at first from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling* of her own proper motion, and she had power to take him out of *Stirling* to *Edinburgh* again by the same authority; and for this no man could say unto her, *What dost thou?* Only Mr Buchanan must ever be snarling.—[Buchanan pretends that the Queen, “expecting to hear every day of the King’s death, to prevent the worst, resolved to have her son in her own power.” History, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 317. He was either not aware, or he concealed the fact for party purposes, that the Queen was harassed by two rumours which she had heard at Stirling—the one that Darnley intended to depose her, crown the infant Prince, and assume the government; and the other was a design to imprison Darnley himself, or at least place him under restraint. When those reports were examined by the Privy-Council they were traced from a man named Walker to the town-clerk of Glasgow named Hiegate, who, however, denied that he was the originator. See the letter, Queen Mary to Archbishop Beaton, dated 20th January 1566-7, in our Historian’s “Advertisement to the Reader,” vol. i. p. xcix. c. ci. of the present edition. Another rumour had reached France, and the Spanish ambassador in a friendly manner hinted that some design was meditating against the Queen to her ambassador, which induced the latter to write to her *to double her guards*. Darnley, in reality, before this illness appears to have constantly occupied himself in projects, intrigues, and plots; and, influenced by his father Lennox, he evinced a determination to frustrate all the Queen’s intentions, and to continually excite her vexation and alarm. “In all these enterprizes,” says Mr Tytler, “there was so much inconsistency and jealousy, so evident an inability to carry any plot into successful execution, and yet such a perverse desire to create mischief, that the Queen, in addressing her ambassador (Archbishop Beaton) in France at this moment, expressed herself towards him with much severity.” In the letter above mentioned to Archbishop Beaton, dated 20th January 1566-7, written while Darnley lay sick at Glasgow, the Queen says—“As for the King our husband, God knows always our part towards him, and his behaviour and thankfulness to us is equally well known to God and the world, especially our own indifferent (*impartial*) subjects see it, and in their hearts, we doubt not, condemn the same. Always we perceive him occupied and busy enough to have inquisition of our doings, which, God willing, shall always be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any ways but honourably, however he, his father, and their fautors speak, which we know want no good will to make us have ado, if their power were equivalent to their minds. But God moderates their forces well enough, and takes the means of the execution of their pretences from them; for, as we believe, they shall find none or very few approvers of their councils and decrees imagined to our displeasure and mislikings.” Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii.

journey to visit the King at Glasgow,¹ and there remained some days cherishing and comforting him in a singular manner, insomuch that all good men were glad to behold and hear of the happy reconciliation between them two.²

p. 70, 71 ; Queen Mary to Archbishop Beaton, in vol. i. p. xcix. c. ci. of the present edition.—E.]

¹ [According to the Earl of Moray's journal, which Chalmers pronounces "not famous for its veracity," Mary proceeded from Edinburgh to Glasgow on the 21st of January attended by the Earls of Bothwell and Huntly, but the same writer observes, on the evidence of records, that "the Queen at the soonest did not set out from Edinburgh till the evening of the 24th, and perhaps without the two Earls." Chalmers adds in a note—"There are documents in the Privy-Seal Register, xxxvi. 44, and also in the Register of Signatures, Book II., which were executed by the Queen on the 22d and 24th of January 1566-7, so that it is obvious the Queen could not have arrived in Glasgow till the 25th of January."—Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 203. Mr Tytler asserts that the Queen went to Glasgow on the 22d ; History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 76.—E.]

² Even Buchanan and Knox are forced to acknowledge the Queen's kindness at this time to the King ; and *therefore*, perhaps, it has been found necessary to forge the pretended intercepted letters. However, in this I determine nothing.—[The statements of Knox and Buchanan are of no importance, and are so grossly partial, that they are unworthy of the least credit. Mr Tytler's account of the meeting of the Queen and Darnley at Glasgow is interesting and authentic—"Darnley was now partially recovered from his late sickness, but he had received some private intelligence of the plots against him. He was aware of the return of Morton, who regarded him as the cause of all his late sufferings ; he knew that amongst his mortal enemies, who had never forgiven him his desertion of them in the conspiracy against Riccio, were some of the highest Nobility, who now enjoyed the confidence of the Queen. He had recently heard from one of his servants that Mary had spoken of him with much severity, and her visit, therefore, took him by surprize. Under this feeling the King sent Crawford, one of his gentlemen, to meet the Queen, with a message, excusing himself for not waiting upon her in person. He was still infirm, he said, and did not presume to come to her until he knew her wishes, and was assured of the removal of her displeasure. To this Mary replied that there was no medicine against fear, and passing forward to Glasgow came into Darnley's bed-chamber, when after greeting, and some indifferent talk, the subjects which had estranged them from each other were introduced. Darnley professed a deep repentance for his errors, pleaded his youth, and the few friends he now had, and declared to her his unalterable affection. Mary reminded him of his complaints and suspicions, spoke against his foolish plan of leaving the kingdom, and recalled to his mind the '*purpose of Higate*'—a name given to a plot which Darnley affirmed he had discovered, and of which he was himself to be the victim. The Queen demanded who was his informer. He replied, the Laird of Minto, who had told him that a letter was presented to her in Cragmillar, made by her own device, and subscribed by certain others, who desired her to sign it, which she refused. Darnley

And when the King was in a condition to travel, her Majesty caused him to be conveyed in a litter to Edinburgh,¹ where

then added that he would never think that she, who was his own proper flesh, would do him any hurt, and if any others should do it, they should buy it dear, unless they took him sleeping. He observed, however, that he suspected none, and only entreated her to bear him company, and not, as she was wont, to withdraw herself from him. Mary then told him that as he was still little able to travel, she had brought a litter with her to carry him to Cragmillar; and he declared his readiness to accompany her, if she would consent that they should again live together at bed and board. She promised it should be as he had spoken, and gave him her hand, but added, that before this he must be thoroughly cleansed of his sickness, which she trusted he would shortly be, as she intended to give him the bath at Cragmillar. The Queen also requested him to conceal the promises which had now passed between them, as the suddenness of their agreement might give umbrage to some of the Lords; to which he replied, that he could see no reason why they should dislike it. When Mary left him, Darnley called Crawford to him, and informing him fully of all that had passed at the interview, bade him communicate it to his father the Earl of Lennox. He then asked him what he thought of the Queen taking him to Cragmillar. ‘She treats your Majesty,’ said Crawford, ‘too like a prisoner. Why should you not be taken to one of your own houses in Edinburgh?’ ‘It struck me much the same way,’ answered Darnley, ‘and I have fears enough, but may God judge between us, I have her promise only to trust to; but I have put myself in her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me.’ It is from Crawford’s evidence taken on oath, which was afterwards produced, and still exists endorsed by Cecil, that we learn these minute particulars, nor have I been able to discover any sufficient ground to doubt its truth.”—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 76-79. Soon after this interview Mary carried Darnley by slow journeys to Edinburgh, and they arrived there on the last day of January.—E.]

¹ Cecil’s Diary marks the Queen to have taken journey from Edinburgh on the 21st of January, and to have entered Glasgow on the 23d—that her Majesty set out again from Glasgow with the King on the 27th January to the house of Kalendar—that on the 28th they came to Linlithgow, where they remained all the next day—and that on the 30th they arrived at Edinburgh. Concerning this Diary I have already observed that it has very probably been communicated to Secretary Cecil by Mr Buchanan or his amanuensis. The perversity of it will appear by the continued repetition of “*the Queen and Bothwell went*,” &c. whereas in her Majesty’s late journey from Jedburgh to Cragmillar we know that several persons of distinction, and, amongst the rest, her own brother the Earl of Moray, were present, yet even *then* the Diary acknowledges no other person present but Bothwell; from which we may see what little credit men ought to give to some writings. And here it may not be improper to observe likewise, that though Mr Anderson, in his Collections, thinks to recommend his papers, by acquainting us that this and the other paper is marked by Cecil’s hand; yet this is so far from being a recommendation of such papers as make *against* our Queen’s honour and

he might have better conveniency of physicians,¹ &c. And because the air of Holyroodhouse was reckoned to be too damp, he was lodged in a house which had formerly pertained to the Provost, or superior of the church, commonly called the Kirk of Field,² a suburbs standing on a higher

for her enemies, that to me nothing is a mark of greater suspicion. Most of Cecil's own papers are drawn against our Queen, and such in his possession as are for her are interlined, and perverted by him. And hereof the readers of Cecil's Papers would do well to take heed. Any curious person may observe this in the Cotton Library, for Sir Robert Cotton, the Collector of these Manuscripts, purchased most of Sir William Cecil's Papers.

¹ [According to Birrel's Diary, the Queen and Darnley arrived in Edinburgh on the 31st of January.—E.]

² This was the suburbs on the south side of the city, whereabout now stands the University. The place got its name from a collegiate church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Such a church would now be called *St Mary's-in-the-Fields*. And though Buchanan should muster up double the quantity of rhetorick he had already employed in his "Detection" and "History" to disparage the place, yet every person that has been in Edinburgh knows for certain that this suburbs is the place of best air about the city. He says the house where the King lodged was *in vasta solitudine*, where no noise nor outcry could be heard, but does not reflect that himself owns the Duke of Chastelherault had a lodging very near at hand, and at the same time takes notice of the Archbishop of St Andrews being lodged there at the very time of the King's death.—[We have seen in the preceding note, containing the account from Mr Tytler's History of Queen Mary's interview with Darnley at his father Lennox's house on the east side of Limmerfield near the Barony parish church and cathedral of Glasgow, that it was the intention of the Queen to remove Darnley to Cragmillar Castle, but this purpose was changed, and he was brought to the Kirk-of-Field. Its proper designation was the *Collegiate Church of St Mary-in-the-Field*, and Arnot (History of Edinburgh, 4to, 1779) describes it as a "large and handsome building in which a Provost and ten Prebendaries officiated." He conjectures that it was founded about the same time as the adjoining Monastery of the Black Friars or Dominicans, which was a short distance eastward of the present Royal Infirmary, on the ground occupied by the building formerly erected for the High School of Edinburgh, and by the tenements forming Surgeons' Square, while the church stood on a part of the site of the University. As the Monastery of the Black Friars was founded by Alexander II. about A.D. 1230, the church of St Mary-in-the-Field was of considerable antiquity, and was in the gift of the Archbishop of St Andrews. According to Maitland (History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 356), the ancient title of this church was *Templum de Prefectura Sancte Mariæ in Campis*, but he professes his ignorance of its foundation, merely observing—"It must have been erected before the year 1516, for by the town's Records it appears that Matthew Kerr was then Provost of it." Though Bishop Keith states that "such a church would *now* be called St Mary's-in-the-Fields," it might have been the case in his time, but it would soon have lost that

ground, though some say he was brought thither with a

designation as applied literally, for the streets and squares of that portion of the modern city of Edinburgh known as the Southern Districts extend nearly a mile farther south. The precinct of the Kirk-of-Field, or St Mary's-in-the-Fields, consisted of two divisions, separated by an ancient alley which has long disappeared, known as Raplaw's Wynd, which led from the Cowgate through the site of the quadrangle of the University to the street called the Potterrow, where was formerly one of the city ports or gates. On the south and west of Raplaw's Wynd were the church, houses, and gardens of the Provost and the Prebendaries. The locality will be best understood by stating that the south side of the University and South College Street, extending from Nicolson Street to the Potterrow and Lothian Street, occupy the ground of the Kirk-of-Field, and it is traditionally said that the house of the Provost of the church stood as near as possible without the then city walls on the site on which a Dissenting Presbyterian meeting-house is built in South College Street, but the south-east angle of the University towards Drummond Street is more correctly the exact spot. Though Buchanan absurdly terms the locality a "*lonesome solitary place*"—" *locus ædis per aliquot annos deserta, murisque urbis conjunctæ in vasta solitudine inter duorum templorum ruinas*"—meaning the ruinous churches of the Black Friars and of St Mary, which had been dilapidated at the Reformation—" *unde neque clamor aut strepitus creandiri posset*," nevertheless the locality was retired, and literally in the country, the east, south, and west, with the exception of a few old houses in the Potterrow containing fields and gardens. The Duke of Chatelherault's town residence was, however, in the vicinity, and we shall soon ascertain that Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews had good reason to be in it at the time. In later times the Duke of Douglas had a town residence either near it, or a short distance west of the Potterrow, on the site of the present Lothian Street. The exact scene of the murder of Darnley is ascertained from Gordon's map of the city in 1647, where the ruins are prominently indicated, for they were not then removed. The house, or *Prebendaries' Chamber*, as it is also termed, was then possessed by Robert Balfour, the Provost, brother of Sir James Balfour of Pittendrieck, the contriver of the murder. It was very mean in external appearance, and consisted of two storeys with a turnpike, or spiral staircase behind. The gable adjoined the city wall, which extended in a line east and west, and the house contained a cellar, its postern opening through that wall. In the upper flat were a chamber and closet, with a little gallery having a window also through the town wall. In this room Darnley was deposited in an old travelling bed. Beneath his room was an apartment in which the Queen slept a few nights before the murder. According to the view of the scene of Darnley's murder given by Chalmers in his *Life of Mary* (vol. i.), the buildings connected with the Kirk-of-Field formed three sides of a square, those on the east and south having been chiefly of one storey, and a well was in the centre. This square was entered in the south-east corner by an arched doorway called the *Priests' Entrance*, and east of this were some low roofed houses termed the *Milk Row*, leading to *Our Lady's Steps* in the city wall, on a line with the Provost's house, by which access was obtained to the Kirk-of-Field burying-ground immediately to the north, on which the University of Edinburgh is now built.

worse intention.¹ Here her Majesty continued to look pretty close after her husband, and lay some nights in a room beneath the King's. But he had not been in this place two

A little to the north-west of the house in which Darnley was murdered, almost opposite the *Provost's Place*—a promenade so designated, was the church of St Mary-in-the-Fields in ruins, which, if the view is correct, must have been in the form of a cross, and a tower rising at the west end. Close to this is the *Kirk-of-Fidd Port* or *Gate*, the same as the *Potterrow Port*, on which two human heads are spiked; and outside of this gate, close to the Potterrow, is a building which is designated the *Chapel of Ease*. An alley running nearly south, and then turning westward, is called the *Thief Row*. This alley, which is enclosed by walls, separated that portion of the grounds in which the dead bodies of Darnley and his servant were found from the buildings of the Kirk-of-Field.—E.]

¹ [It is almost impossible to account for Mary placing Darnley in such a locality as the Kirk-of-Field instead of Cragmillar Castle, unless we are to assume that she knew of the conspiracy; but she may have wished him to be nearer the Palace of Holyrood than Cragmillar, which is three miles distant, and she may have also acted by the advice of her physicians. It cannot be doubted that, making allowance for the rudeness of the domestic accommodation of the age, the house was insecure and confined. The proprietor, moreover, was Robert Balfour, a dependant of the Earl of Bothwell, and the brother of Sir James Balfour, the deviser of the Bond for the murder drawn up at Cragmillar. According to the deposition of Thomas Nelson, "cubicular" to Darnley, who narrowly escaped the fate of his master, when the resolution to convey him to Cragmillar was altered, "because he (Darnley) had na will thair of," and it was determined to take him to the Kirk-of-Field, the said Nelson believed that he was to be placed in the Duke of Chatelherault's house. Bothwell had recently returned from Liddesdale, and when he was informed that Mary and Darnley were on the road from Glasgow, he met them with his attendants a short distance from Edinburgh, and escorted them to the Kirk-of-Field. When the cavalcade arrived there, Taylor, Darnley's page, went directly to the Duke of Chatelherault's house, thinking that it was the lodging provided for his master, but the Queen intimated to him that it was the "other house"—meaning the Kirk-of-Field, and conveyed Darnley thither. The keys were partly in the doors, and were delivered to Taylor by Robert Balfour, except the key of the door entered by the town wall into the cellar, which could not be found, but one named Bonkle told him that he "suld clois it weill aneuch within." All the keys were kept by Taylor and Darnley's other attendants until the Queen came to the house; but this was a vain precaution if the deposition of Hepburn of Bolton, one of the murderers, is to be believed, that fourteen false keys were made for opening all the doors in the Kirk-of-Field house, which, he says, he threw into the Quarry-Holes near the Palace after the murder was committed. Another important circumstance must not be omitted. After their recent meeting at Whittingham, the murder was fully determined by Bothwell, Morton, Sir James Balfour, and Maitland of Lethington; but the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, and Caithness, Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, and others of the leading

weeks, when the house was blown up with gun powder, on Monday the 10th of February, about one or two in the morning, a few hours only after the Queen had left him!¹

Nobility and Officers of State had joined the conspiracy, while a neutral party, the most prominent of whom was the Earl of Moray, were duly informed of the whole plot, yet cautiously avoided any direct implication in it, considering it dangerous and impolitic to make it known. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 80, 81.—E.]

¹ [At this time the reconciliation between the Queen and Darnley seemed to be complete. Mary had assiduously attended personally to every thing which could add to his comfort, treated him with affectionate tenderness, passed much of her time in his society, and the chamber under his was prepared for her accommodation, in which she slept. His confidence was partially restored by such marks of attachment. On the night of Sunday the 9th of February, the greater part of which day she had passed with Darnley apparently on the most affectionate terms, Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, and the conspirators hired by Bothwell to commit the murder, contrived to enter the apartment used by the Queen, which was immediately under Darnley's, and deposited on the floor a large quantity of gunpowder in bags, while the Queen was engaged in conversation with her unfortunate husband. They then laid a train, which was connected with a slow match, and made the necessary preparations for the ignition. Some of them immediately left the place, but two of them remained on the watch to ascertain the movements of the Queen, who was still sitting with Darnley in the upper storey, and never again entered the apartment under it fitted up for herself. Mary had at first declared her intention of remaining all night in the house, but she recollected an engagement to be present at an entertainment in the Palace of Holyrood, which was the more extraordinary as it was actually given on the *Sunday night*. This most profane and unhallowed amusement on the evening of such a day was a masque which the Queen had promised to honour the marriage on that day of a foreigner named Sebastian, or Sebastiani, who belonged to her household, and Margaret Carwood, one of her favourite women. This Sebastian was probably the "Bestian" already mentioned (p. 488 of the present volume), who offended the English gentlemen in the suite of the Earl of Bedford by a foolish exhibition at the baptism of the infant Prince at Stirling. The Queen embraced Darnley, kissed him, took a ring from off her finger placed it on his as a mark of her fondest affection, bade him farewell for the night, and left the house with her attendants. It is interesting to know the way by which the Queen returned to the Palace on this fatal night on which was perpetrated another of the horrible crimes of that age, and we learn her route by the confessions of the villains executed for the foul deed. After Mary left Darnley, she walked with her attendants down an alley within the city wall on the site of the present street opposite the University and Royal Infirmary, a part of which alley still exists near the east end of Infirmary Street, leading from it into the Cowgate, and is known as the High School Wynd, from the former High School having been in the immediate vicinity. The Queen then crossed the Cowgate and walked up the Blackfriars' Wynd—a very ancient alley almost opposite the High School Wynd,

and his body, together with that of a servant sleeping by him in the room, was found lying naked on the adjacent ground, without any mark of violence, any hurt or wound upon it; so that he was reckoned to have been suffocated, and carried out by the hands of men before the powder had taken fire. But though this seems indeed to have been the prevailing sentiment at that time concerning the King's death, yet by all the depositions of the murderers that remain now on record,¹ it never appears that he was either

communicating with the High Street; and she proceeded down the High Street, through the former Nether-Bow Port or Gate at the head of St Mary's and Leith Wynds, and thence direct along the present street of the Canongate to the Palace. When the villains returned from depositing the gunpowder in the Kirk-of-Field house on their way to Bothwell's residence near the Palace, one of them named William Powrie deponed that they saw the Queen on her way to Holyrood "ganging before them with licht torches as they came up the Black Freir Wind."—(Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 493). This curious fact that the Queen *walked on foot*, with lighted torches, without guards, and a very few attendants, through these now dismal alleys, and along a portion of the then principal street of the city on a Sunday evening, yet exciting no particular attention, is a singular contrast to what would take place at such a pedestrian display of royalty in our times. Bothwell also left the Kirk-of-Field house at the same time with the Queen, and joined in the most unseemly festivities held at the Palace occasioned by the marriage of Sebastian, from which, however, as we are informed by Powrie in his confession, he stole away about midnight, and prepared himself for the deed by changing his rich dress, which was "a pair of blak velvet hoise truissit with silver, and ane doublet of satin of the same maner," and arrayed himself in "ane uther pair of blak velvet hoise, and ane doublet of canves, and tuke his (long) side-riding cloak about him, and incontent past furth." George Dalglish, another of the villains, gives similar evidence respecting Bothwell's dress, only adding that his "canves dowlbet" was white, and that his long side-riding cloak was of "sad (dark) Inglish claith callit the new colour." Meanwhile Darnley, the victim, had retired to his bed-room. "Since his last illness," says Mr Tytler, "there appeared to have been a great change in him. He had become more thoughtful, and thought had brought with it repentance of his former courses. He lamented there were few near him whom he could trust, and at times he would say that he knew he should be slain, complaining that he was hardly dealt with; but from these sorrows he had sought refuge in religion, and it was remarked that on this night, his last in this world, he had repeated the 55th Psalm, which he would often read and sing."—(MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, April 1567, cited by Mr Tytler).—"After his devotion," continues Mr Tytler, "he went to bed and fell asleep, Taylor, his page, being beside him in the same apartment."—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 82, 83.—[L.]

¹ Besides the depositions of the criminals that suffered death, and which

slain or taken out of the house before the powder was fired.¹ Thus died in a barbarous and most wicked manner King Henry, formerly Lord Darnly, in the twenty-first year of

are published by Mr Anderson, the readers will see the examination of one of the King's servants who lay in the house at the time of the murder, in Appendix, Number XVII.

¹ [Darnley was murdered along with his page before Bothwell made his appearance at the Kirk-of-Field house. The moment he went to bed and fell asleep, the murderers, who lurked in the lower room, prepared to complete their purpose, "but their miserable victim," says Mr Tytler, "was awakened by the noise of their false keys in the lock of his apartment, and rushing down in his shirt and pelisse, endeavoured to make his escape, but he was intercepted and strangled, after a desperate resistance, his cries for mercy being heard by some women in the nearest house. The page was also strangled, and their bodies carried into a small orchard without the garden wall, where they were found—the King in his shirt only, and the pelisse by his side. Amid the conflicting stories of the ruffians who were executed it is difficult to arrive at the whole truth, but no doubt rests on the part acted by Bothwell, the arch-conspirator." When he left his residence near the Palace of Holyrood in the dress already described, to consummate the murder, he was accompanied by a Frenchman named Nicolas Hubert, who figures in the narrative by the soubriquet of *French Paris*, William Powrie, George Dalglish, and Patrick Wilson. As all the localities in the vicinity of Holyrood Palace are now considerably altered, and many buildings are removed which existed long after Queen Mary's time, it is consequently difficult to understand the peculiar places mentioned. It is stated that Bothwell and his hirelings, when he left his own residence, proceeded "down the turnpike" and along the back wall of the Queen's garden, till they came to the back of the "cunzie-house" or Mint, which was then within the precincts of the Palace, and they next entered the Canongate. As the Queen's "*South Garden*" is prominently specified, all the above localities must have been on the south-west side of the Palace towards the base of Salisbury Crags, and not on the north-west side, where an enclosed garden is still called *Queen Mary's Garden*. When they passed the Queen's South Garden, two sentinels at the gate leading into the "outer close" asked them—"Who is that?" They answered—"Friends." "What friends?" was the next question. "My Lord Bothwell's friends," was the reply, which was considered satisfactory, and they were allowed to pass. They proceeded up the Canongate, and at the Nether-Bow Gate, which they found closed, Patrick Wilson summoned John Galloway to "open the port to friends of my Lord Bothwell." The gate was opened by the porter, who, angry at this peremptory disturbance, asked them why they were out of their beds at that time of night. They proceeded a short distance up the High Street, above the house occupied by the celebrated early Scottish printer Bassintine; and as the south side of the High Street is mentioned, that house must have been nearly opposite the public well called the Fountain Well. Here they entered a stair, and called for two of their associates named Ormiston, but they received no answer. They then went down the alley under the Blackfriars Wynd, which must have been the present

his age, and just two years from his coming into Scotland, within which such short space he had experience both of the smiles and frowns of fortune in a very eminent degree. He is said to have been one of the tallest and handsomest young men of the age, that he had a comely face and pleasant countenance, that he was a most dextrous horseman, and exceedingly well skilled in all genteel exercises, prompt and ready for all games and sports, much given to the diversions

Todrig's Wynd, and crossed the Cowgate to a gate connected with the former Monastery of the Black Friars. Here Bothwell ordered Patrick Wilson and George Dalglish to remain till he returned, and he proceeded to the Kirk-of-Field house. Darnley had by this time been strangled, and his dead body, with that of his page, carried into the adjoining garden. Bothwell's arrival was the signal for the murderers to complete their purpose. The match was laid to the train of gunpowder, but it burnt too slow for their impatience. While they cautiously crept forward to examine it, the match took effect, and about two o'clock in the morning a fearful noise was heard throughout the city; the Kirk-of-Field house was blown in pieces, and utterly demolished, at the very time, after the absence of half an hour, Bothwell, accompanied by Hay of Tallo, and Hepburn of Bolton, came back to Wilson and Dalglish at the Blackfriars' gate. They all re-entered the Cowgate, where they separated, running up the Blackfriars' Wynd and another alley, and meeting in the High Street at the Nether-Bow. They proceeded down an alley on the north side of the High Street, with the intention of getting over a broken part of the city wall in Leith Wynd, but Bothwell thought it was too high, and they were compelled again to rouse the gate-keeper at the Nether-Bow, who opened to them as "friends of my Lord Bothwell." They then went down St Mary's Wynd, and reached Bothwell's residence near the Palace by the street called the South Back of the Canongate. There they were again challenged by the sentinels, and their reply was—"Friends of my Lord Bothwell." The sentinels asked—"What crack was that?" They answered that they knew not, and they were told that if they were Bothwell's servants they might "gang their way." When Bothwell entered his house he called for a drink, undressed, and went to bed, in which he was scarcely half an hour when a person named George Halket rushed into his chamber "in ane greit effray, as black as any pik, and not ane word to speik." "What is the matter?" asked Bothwell. "The King's house is blown up," was the reply, "and I trow the King be slain." "Fie, treason!" exclaimed Bothwell in feigned astonishment, and starting up, he dressed himself. He was immediately joined by the Earl of Huntly, a brother conspirator, and they both entered the Queen's apartments, accompanied by other persons connected with the Court. When Mary was informed of her husband's fate she evinced the utmost horror, and secluded herself in her chamber overwhelmed with sorrow. See her letter to Archbishop Beaton at Paris, detailing the particulars of the murder of her unfortunate husband, dated 11th February 1566-7, in our Historian's "Advertisement to the Reader," vol. i. p. ci. cii. of the present edition.—E.]

of hawking and hunting, to horse-racing and musick, especially playing on the lute. He could speak and write well, and was bountiful and liberal enough.¹ But then to balance these good natural qualifications, he was much addicted to

¹ [Our Historian's description of Darnley's accomplishments may be authentic, but in tracing his brief career from his marriage to Queen Mary to his murder it is obvious that he was utterly unfitted for the elevation he obtained, and which was eventually his ruin. Little is known of his juvenile years, or of the developement of his character and habits, as he appears to have been educated in his father's house under a private preceptor, and his acquirements were in consequence pettish and childish. The earliest notice of him is a letter he wrote in March 1554 to his cousin Mary Tudor, who, by a strange mistake, is supposed in the "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors," to have been the Scottish Queen, then in France in the twelfth year of her age. He was the second son of the Earl of Lennox, his elder brother, also named Henry, having died before his birth in November 1545 when nine months old. He is noticed as a "*tall lad*" of nineteen at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, when we first see him in public life, and he soon afterwards arrived in Scotland with all his puerile prejudices and weaknesses. When he first came to Scotland his personal appearance rendered him popular, but after he married Queen Mary he proved himself to be a complete imbecile. The Queen was sensible of his defects, and laboured to improve his mind, smooth his temper, and inspire him with the manners of a Nobleman and of a courtier. Sir James Melville informs us that soon after the marriage the Queen requested him to wait upon Darnley, give him judicious advice, and help him to avoid many difficulties; but, as Chalmers justly observes, he was "too self-sufficient for instruction, and too irascible for social intercourse, so that he seemed to verify Randolph's prediction *that the Queen would have but a sorry life with him.*" Among Darnley's other mad projects, it is said that he at one time intended to take possession of Scarborough Castle in Yorkshire, and of seizing one of the Scilly Islands. Secretary Cecil, who allowed nothing to pass unnoticed, caused a person to be examined who had been in Scotland, and said he had conversed with Darnley about his future projects. It is curious to trace, in the person of the fickle, foolish, and unaccountable husband of Queen Mary, the arrangements of Divine Providence. He was destined to be the progenitor by that marriage of the future British Sovereigns of the House of Stuart, of those of the House of Hanover, of the Orleans branch of the Bourbon Family called to the throne of France at the Revolution of 1830, of the reigning Family of Sardinia, and of the numerous descendants of his grandson Charles I. in the Continental States of Europe. From Darnley also descend the Kings of the Netherlands and of Denmark by intermarriage with the House of Hanover, to say nothing of other sovereign Princes, or even of the many descendants of the illegitimate sons of Charles II. among the British Nobility, or of those of James II. in France. Darnley's fate was a most extraordinary one, and we cannot follow his career from his marriage to Queen Mary until his barbarous murder without the most intense and painful interest.—E.]

intemperance, to base and unmanly pleasures;¹ he was haughty and proud, and so very weak in mind, as to be a prey to all that came about him; he was inconstant, credulous, and facile, unable to abide by any resolutions, capable to be imposed upon by designing men, and could conceal no secret, let it tend ever so much either to his own welfare or detriment.

¹ Mr Knox very honestly puts this as a part of the King's character, that "*he was much given to Venus's chamber.*" But Mr Buchanan, who never wants a good tale for his friend, says in his *Detection*—"Ferit scho (the Queen) leist he (the King) a zounge man, bewtiful, and ane King, suld cast wantoun eyis upon sum uther woman in hir absence? Na, God wait; for that was it scho maist desyrit. For scho herself had practizit to allure him thairto befoir; scho herself had offerit him the occasiounis, and of herself schawit him the meanis."—(O vile and shameless traducer!)"—"This was it that maist grevit hir, quile scho was seiking causis of divorce, that scho culd not find in him sa mekle as ony sclender suspicioun of adulterie." The readers may chuse which branch of these contradictions to give the best credit unto. The former appeared to me best supported by collateral evidence. The best of friends may chance to differ, as the case now is with Knox and Buchanan.—[Knox's character of Darnley, which is much the same, though shorter, as that given by our Historian, with the exception of the indelicate statement about "*Venus's chamber,*" occurs in his "*Historie,*" Edin. edit. folio, 1732, p. 404. The passage from Buchanan, whom Bishop Keith indignantly denounces as a "*vile and shameless traducer,*" is part of an "*Oration,*" in his "*Detection of Mary Queen of Scots*" entitled "*An Appendix to the History of Scotland,*" 8vo. London, 1721, p. 72.—E.]

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION OF STATE AFFAIRS FROM THE KING'S MURDER ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY 1566-7, UNTIL THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL ON THE 15TH OF MAY IN THE SAME YEAR 1567.

THE rumour of the King's murder having spread itself through the city of Edinburgh the more quickly, by reason of the great crack occasioned by the blowing up of the powder; the general report came as quickly to run about, that the Earl of Bothwell had performed or contrived that inhumane wickedness; others laid it at the doors of the Earls of Morton and Moray,¹ and some had the assurance

¹ The Earl of Morton at his execution for this murder many years after owned his knowledge of it, but as to the Earl of Moray, I have never seen any thing authentick to fix the knowledge of the murder upon him, except what here follows,—“Is it unknown, think ye, the Erle of Moray (says Bp. Leslie in his Defence, &c.), what the Lord Harris said to your face openly, even at your owne table, a few daies after the murther was committed? Did he not charge you with the foreknowledge of the same murther? Did not he, *nulla circumtione usus*, flatly and plainly burthen you, that you riding in Fife, and coming with one of your most assured trusty servants the said day wherein you departed from Edinburgh, said to him among other talke, ‘*This night ere morning the Lord Darnley shall lose his life.*’ But as the Lord Herries was a great manager for the Queen his sovereign, it may be justly thought strange that this Lord should never have emitted any declaration of this matter by himself; and on the other hand, that he should never have contradicted this affirmation by the Bishop, his colleague in the Queen's affairs. The declaration already mentioned, and signed by the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, does indeed contain the sentiments of these two Peers, that the Earl of Moray might have had a hand in the murder of the King, but their conclusion is by no means probative against him. To that declaration his Lordship made an answer, which I have likewise put into the Appendix. The readers will form their own sentiments concerning it, and I shall acknowledge that for my part I judge it to be a very general and evasive paper. He ought, in my opinion, to have narrated in that paper of his all and every thing he says he declared to the Queen of England, otherwise we are now just as wise as we would have been had he declared nothing at all, and made no answer at all. He falls next upon the story of signing of *Bands*, and descants largely thereof; and yet in all the declaration by the other two Peers there is not a word concerning any *Band* at all. Finally, he takes no notice of the challenge made by the two Earls, but only says he will avow and maintain (&c. as in his paper), not at all *directly* to the things

to blast the Queen's reputation with it.¹ It were too laborious as well as unnecessary a task for me to represent here the various and contradictory accounts of writers, their accusations and recriminations on this head. I chuse rather to remit my readers to the authors themselves, and shall only take notice, that by the concurrent testimonies of the criminals that suffered a publick death upon the account of this murder, the Earl of Bothwell was really the principal person concerned in it, and that the Queen seems not, so

charged by the Earls of Huntly and Argyll. *Note*, The day before the King's murder the Earl of Moray pressed the Queen hard to allow him to pass into Fife to visit his Lady, who he said was fallen ill, and was like to miscarry of a child. Some people have observed that this Nobleman went still out of the way when any fatal accident was to fall out, though they aver that he had as deep a share therein as those that were present. —[The Earl of Moray was the leader of that neutral party who cautiously avoided sharing directly in the conspiracy against Darnley, and yet who considered any public announcement to frustrate it dangerous or impolitic. His "superior sagacity," observes Mr Tytler, "enabled him to avoid any direct connection with the atrocious design which they (Bothwell, Morton, Sir James Balfour, Maitland of Lethington, and their associates) now hurried on to its accomplishment." Both Morton and Moray were absent from Edinburgh at the time of the murder. The latter went on a visit to his Countess in Fife on the day before the crime was perpetrated.—E.]

¹ [Darnley was murdered about two o'clock in the morning, and at day-break multitudes of the citizens crowded to the Kirk-of-Field. Bothwell soon appeared with a guard to prevent any minute examination, and Darnley's body was removed to an adjacent house, where it lay till it was inspected by the Privy-Council; but in the short interval it was noticed that the bodies of Darnley and his page were untouched by fire or powder, and no blood wound was apparent on either. This originated many contradictory reports and conjectures, in some of which the "Queen's reputation" was seriously involved. Her conduct and the proceedings of her advisers were narrowly scrutinized, and it was remarked that two days were allowed to elapse before measures were adopted to discover the perpetrators of the murder. It was not till Wednesday that a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of £2000 to any who would give information; but on that very night, as subsequently stated by our Historian, a paper was affixed on the door of the Tolbooth, charging the Earl of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, and David Chambers, as the guilty parties. "Voices, too, were heard in the streets at the dead of night, arraiguing the same persons, and as the fate of the King had excited the deepest indignation in the people, Mary's friends looked with the utmost anxiety to the conduct she should pursue. To their mortification it was any thing but satisfactory. Instead of acting with that spirit, promptitude, and vigour, which she had so recently exhibited under the most trying emergencies, she betrayed a deplorable apathy and remissness."—*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 85.—E.]

far as they knew, to have had any hand therein.¹ True

¹ [This is one of those historical *questiones vocatæ* which will probably ever remain undecided. Much has been written in defence of and against the Queen, and the present Editor only ventures his opinion on a subject so much disputed, that Mary had no authentic knowledge of the conspiracy against her husband. The origin of the plot has been traced in preceding notes to our Historian's text, and the subsequent developement of the horrible tragedy confirms this statement. Nevertheless the Queen acted with great imprudence in not only associating with Bothwell, who continued in high favour and enjoyed the most familiar intercourse with her, but in neglecting the earnest remonstrances of Darnley's father Lennox and of her ambassador Archbishop Beaton at Paris, immediately to apprehend the murderers denounced by public rumour. The reply of the latter to the Queen's account of the murder, which she transmitted to him on the day after it was perpetrated, is in our Historian's "Advertisement to the Reader," vol. i. p. civ. cv. of the present edition, dated Paris, 9th of March. The Archbishop told Mary that it was a crime which had astonished all Europe, and that it was absolutely necessary for her own honour to have it thoroughly investigated. "Of this deed," he candidly says, "if I should write all that is spoken here, and also in England, of the miserable state of that Realm (Scotland) by the dishonour (corrupt conduct) of the Nobility, mistrust and treason of your whole subjects, yea, that *yourself is greatly and wrongously calumniated to be the motive principal of the whole, and all done by your command*, I can conclude nothing, by what your Majesty writes to me yourself, that since it hath pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that, rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to me better in this world that you had lost life and all.—Here it is needful that you show forth now, rather than ever before, the great virtue, magnanimity, and constancy which God has granted you, by whose grace I hope you shall overcome this most heavy envy (reproach) and displeasure of the committing thereof, and preserve that reputation in all godliness which you have acquired long since, which can appear no way more clearly than that you do such justice as the whole world may declare your innocence, and give testimony for ever of their treason that have committed, without fear of God or man, so cruel and ungodly a murder." Archbishop Beaton solemnly admonishes the Queen that her conduct and the state of her kingdom were the common talk of all Europe, and he firmly adds—"Yet is not the hand of God and His mighty power short, but by His comfort and help, imploring truly the same, and serving Him with all your heart, you may have such consolation by Him, that ye shall be able to remove that which is to your Majesty's harm or disadvantage, and establish that reputation that hitherto the whole world has conceived of your virtue." The affecting admonitions of this excellent Prelate were either disregarded, or Mary found herself utterly powerless to carry them into effect. Mr Tytler appropriately observes—"Happy had it been for this unfortunate Princess if she had listened for a moment to the calm and earnest advice of her ambassador at the Court of France, when he implored her to punish her husband's murderers, and warned her in such solemn terms that the eyes of Europe were fixed upon her conduct, but his letter appears to have made little impression. The collusive trial of

indeed it is that Nicholas Hubert the Frenchman, commonly called *Paris*,¹ in his declaration at St Andrews of the date the 10th August 1569, says several things not very favourable for the Queen. But then it is to be remembered that this man had been now full two years and a half kept in prison, by which time he that was a stranger, and destitute of all means of subsistence, might have easily been prevailed with to emit any declaration his examiners should think proper upon a promise of releasment: or the very irksomness of a long and tedious prison, and a sort of desperation arising from thence, might have had the same effect upon him. Nay, a person in his circumstances might be ready enough to beg his life to be taken away at any rate. And how unreasonable it is to give faith to poor, hungry, indigent, starving persons, though no other suspicious circumstances were in the case, common law and common reason do sufficiently discover; and, in fact, such sort of witnesses are justly rejected both by the *Roman* and our own *Scottish* laws. Nor can there be any other tolerable ground thought on why this poor man should be detained so long time a prisoner after the execution of the other criminals, had there not been some sinistrous view therein. And no doubt our suspicion against his testimony may justly receive an additional weight by supposing the person to be a poor, empty, silly, facile fellow—which character may as rationally be ascribed to him as any other at this time of day. Besides, his very declaration, hammered out as it now stands, carries along some sort of inconsistencies, at least some things that have not the best aspect in the world. It seems to ascribe to him too hasty an acquaintance and confidence with the Queen, no sooner than on the road to Glasgow. What was the use of delivering to him 300 crowns in a purse to be given to the Earl of Bothwell, when that Earl was present

Bothwell gave a shock to her best friends, and the extraordinary events, which now rapidly succeeded, confirmed the worst suspicions of his enemies.”—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 103.—E.]

¹ [This man is mentioned by the sobriquet of *French Paris*, which seems to have originated from the place of his birth, and he styles himself “*Parisien*” in his confession. He was executed on the 16th of August 1569, and in the Lord High Treasurer’s Accounts are charges for sending two of the quarters of his body to Perth and Dundee, and his head and one of his legs to St Andrews.—E.]

himself with the Queen? How mean was it in the Queen to tell him by word of mouth, and to charge him to tell Bothwell that the King had desired to give her a kiss, and that she had rejected him, and that the Lady Riris¹ would bear her witness of the truth thereof? He represents the Queen as utterly diffident of Alexander Durham, servant to the King, whereas Buchanan makes this same Durham her only confident about the King to the very last minute of his life. He pretends the Earl of Bothwell told him of his criminal correspondence with the Queen, and the manner he was taken into her chamber in the night time! Such secrets are not communicated, far less to servants of so inferior rank. Is it credible that he had the charge of making the Queen's bed? And at the first time he says he made it, he introduces Bothwell as declaring in plain undisguised words, that in that very spot he (Bothwell) intended to lay powder to blow up the house; and yet John Hepburn,² in his deposition, declares that the project of murdering the King by powder was not thought of until two days before the murder, the former design having been to kill him in the open fields. He represents himself as using freedoms with the Queen, and her Majesty with him, more and greater than can easily be credited, and a farther trust reposed in him in such an arduous and momentous affair than can ordinarily be accounted for. And besides, though this declaration of his be attested by Alexander Hay, Clerk to the Privy-Council, yet it is somewhat observable that Mr Hay does not at all attest before what persons the same was emitted; he only says—“*This is a trew copy of the Declaration of the said Nicholas Hubert, alias Paris, quhair of the principall is markit every lēf with his awn hand.*” Neither does Mr Hay inform us at what time he himself made this notorial copy, nor what certainty he had that

¹ [Probably the wife of a gentleman named Forbes of Riris or Reres.—E.]

² By this person's declaration likewise Bothwell seems by chance to speak as if the Queen knew nothing of the powder, and yet Buchanan makes Paris's coming into the presence of the King and Queen to have been the sign for the Queen to be gone, that now the powder and all things were ready for the execution.—[The examination and confession of Nicolas Hubert, alias *French Paris*, are inserted in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 502-510. They are in the French language, dated at St Andrews, 9th and 10th of August, and the originals are still in the British Museum, Calig. B. IX. fol. 370, and Cal. C. I. fol. 318.—E.]

Hubert had actually formed that subscription. But *above* and *beyond* all critical observations and remarks as to this Declaration, it is of the utmost avail here to consider that Bishop Leslie, in his fore-mentioned "Defence of Queen Mary's Honour," has these express words,—“For as for him that ye surmise was the bearer of them (letters),¹ and whom you have executed of late for the said murther (viz. this same Frenchman), he at the time of his said execution took it upon his death, as he should answer before God, that he never carried any such letters, nor that the Queen was participant nor of counsayle in the cause.” And again—“We can tell you, that John Haye of Galoway (Talo) that Powry, that Dowglis, and last of all, that Paris, all being put to death for this crime, toke God to record at the time of their death that this murther was by your counsayle, invention, and drift committed; who also declared, that they never knew the Queen to be participant, or ware thereof.” Now, as this book was published by that Prelate about a dozen of years before Mr George Buchanan's death, and probably before that ever he began to write his “History of Scotland,” at least before he had compiled the latter part thereof relating to this period, might it not have been expected that that accurate writer should have taken some notice of this bold and plain affirmation, and have obtained proper credentials from persons then alive and present at the execution for silencing the Bishop of Ross, and for preventing

¹ These were the letters which the Queen's enemies affirmed she had written to Bothwell, and were intercepted on the road from the Castle of Edinburgh, concerning which so much has already been said *for* and *against*, that I willingly abstain from entering into the controversy. I shall only put the Acts of Council, relative to this point, in the Appendix, and there add any remark that may be proper. Besides these pretended intercepted letters, there are eleven other letters lately published for the first time at Westminster in the year 1726, under the title of “The Genuine Letters of Mary Queen of Scots to James Earl of Bothwell, found in his Secretary's Closet after his Decease,” &c. But if those letters can be esteemed to contain the *genuine* language of 170 years ago, either as to the phraseology or the syllabication, the present generation may easily judge.—[This spurious collection of letters is pretended to be translated from the “French originals” by Edward Simmonds, Westminster, 8vo. 1726. They were republished under the title of “The Love Letters of Mary Queen of Scots to James Earl of Bothwell,” edited by Hugh Campbell, LL.D. London, 8vo. 1825. A more outrageous mass of rubbish and falsehood never was printed.—E.]

the world to lay any stress on what he so publicly avers? But of this no one word drops from him at all; nay, which is not a little observable, he does not in the least fortify his own narration by the testimony of this Frenchman, though he had been at pains in his wicked "Detection" to rake together all such reports as he thought could any way contribute to stain the Queen; he thinks it sufficient in that book and in his "History" to affirm boldly, and he supposes the world must take for truth all that flows from his eloquent mouth. And truly to hear him talking of this murder, we should be ready to imagine the Queen, or some confidant of hers, had revealed the whole villany to this author, so exact and pointed is he in every exterior circumstance, and even in the very secret motions and intentions of the Queen; and yet, by all the other accounts that have hitherto come to light, he could know nothing at all of the one, and next to nothing of the other. The Earl of Moray and the other enemies of the Queen (among whom this author was likewise present) found themselves utterly at a loss in the conferences next year with the Commissioners of Queen Elizabeth in England, how to fix upon their sovereign any foreknowledge of the King's murder; and yet this writer now is enabled to transmit to posterity a precise narration of all that hellish tragedy as acted by the Queen, without any other helps or memorials than was known the first moment after the fact. When Mr Buchanan's readers have compared his whole narration of this wicked murder, &c. with such authentick credentials¹ of any part as are yet upon record, they will then be able to form a judgment whether he has narrated the truth therein or no. The place also whither the men in power were pleased to convey French

¹ The authentick papers relating to this matter are to be seen in Mr Anderson's Collections, and I believe I may assure my readers that there is not one Act of Privy-Council relating to this matter more than that gentleman has set down, viz. those of the 12th February, 14th and 28th March, and these will serve to condemn what Buchanan talks so largely of proclamations. The letters that passed between the Queen and Earl of Lenox will serve to rectify him in that part of his narrative, and Bishop Leslie's "Defence" of the Queen, together with Crawford's Memoirs, will justify her Majesty in her behaviour after the murder, and in the burial of the King. And perhaps there is scarcely any one minute circumstance in Mr Buchanan, but what may be disproved by authors of equally good credit with himself.

Hubert, and at last to execute him, namely, St Andrews, affords its own suspicion of some secret and unfair management, as being out of the road of careful observers; and upon that account they had carried this foreigner thither, to render him the more subvervient to their own purposes. It may be said that had there been no flaw in this matter, the men in power might have thought it worth while to have re-conducted the prisoner to Edinburgh, and there have made his declaration and execution as notorious and publick as their affairs seemed to require it, especially seeing we all know very well that in the year preceeding his execution their great difficulty lay in making obvious to the Queen of England that their sovereign was guilty of aiding or contriving the death of her husband, as I just now observed. And we know likewise that though these men might be *knaves*, yet they were no *fools*. Finally, do not the *questions* put to this criminal, and to none of the rest, smell strong of some prepared contrivance?

To return now from this digression. After that the King's dead body had been embalmed,¹ it was decently, though privately deposited in the vault² beside the Queen's

¹ [Darnley was embowelled and embalmed on the 12th of February 1566-7, by the Queen's special command, as appears from the following charge in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts—"To Marten Piteanit, ypothegar, to mak furnishing of druggis, spicis, and other necessaris, for appinyng and perfuming of the King's Grace Majestic's unquhill bodie, L.40; *Item*, for colis, tubbis, hardis, barrellis, and utheris necessaris preparit for bowaling of the King's Grace, L.2. 6s."—E.]

² The Diary mentions the King's body to have been laid in the Chapel on the 12th of February, two days only after the murder. Crawford's MS. says, that "upon the fifth day his body was buried in the tomb of the Kings at Holyroodhouse, quietly in the night, without any kind of solemnity or mourning heard among all the persons at Court." Thus this author. But Buchanan acquaints us besides this, that the "Nobles at Court had decreed that a royal and magnificent funeral should be made for him, but that the Queen took care to have him buried in the night time by porters, without any funeral honour; and which highly increased the indignity, she ordered him to be deposited beside David Riccio, thereby designing, as it were, to propitiate the ghost of that most vile fellow by the sacrifice of her husband's death." This truly is a heavy charge against the Queen, but the misfortune is that Bishop Leslie in his "Defence" of the Queen has these words—"Was not his body embalmed, incased, and terred beside the Queen's father the late King James, accompanied with the Justice-Clerk, the Lord of Traquair, and divers other gentlemen? The ceremonies indeed were the fewer, because that the greater part of the Council were Protestants, and had before interred their own parents without accustomed solemnities of ceremonies. Neither yet was there

father King James V. at Holyroodhouse : against which

any such order taken or appointed by the Council (and this Prelate was one of the Council) for the interring of the said Lord Darnley's body in such sort as ye notice, but even directly to the contrary." Moreover, as to what Buchanan says of depositing the King's body beside that of Riccio, some notice of this has been taken already ; and as it is certain that the body of Riccio lies not now in the vault with the Kings, it might have been expected we should have heard something of its transportation, since the vault was certainly filled with the few corpses that are presently therein several years before Mr Buchanan's death. These corpses are King James V.'s, his first Queen Magdalen's, Lord Darnly's, Lady Jean Stewart's, the Queen's natural sister and Countess of Argyll, and two young infants, sons to King James V., whose coffins, because there is no more space in the vault, are laid across the other corpses.—[Darnley was interred by torchlight in the Chapel-Royal of Holyroodhouse on the 15th of February, *five days after the murder*, in presence of the Lord Justice-Clerk Belleuden, and Sir John Stuart of Traquair, who had been recently appointed Captain of the Guard by Queen Mary. Bishop Leslie designates him the "Lord of Traquair," meaning that he was proprietor thereof, and not "*Lord Traquair*," for that Peerage was not created till 1628, when Sir John Stuart of Traquair, the grandson of James the youngest brother of the above mentioned "Lord of Traquair," was created Lord Stuart of Traquair in 1628, and Earl of Traquair in 1633. He was the celebrated Earl of Traquair who occupies a prominent position in Scottish affairs during the reign of Charles I. and the tyranny of the Covenanters. The passage quoted from Buchanan by our Historian in his note occurs in his "*Historia Rerum Scoticarum*," original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 214, 215. Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 323. Buchanan's assertion that the Nobility intended a "stately and honourable funeral" for Darnley is a gratuitous fiction. The passage of Bishop Lesley occurs in his "*Defence of the Honour of Mary Queen of Scotland*," 1569, p. 13, 14. Two thigh bones were long in the royal vault, which were traditionally said to be those of Darnley, and if genuine, proved that he was of tall stature. Bishop Keith writes of the appearance of the royal vault as in his time, but it is now, and has long been, in a very different state. In 1683, when the vault was examined by Lord Strathnaver, the Earl of Forfar, Bishop Ramsay of Dunblane, and Robert Scott, minister of the Canongate, it contained the coffins of James V., Magdalen of France his first Queen, with Latin inscriptions, his infant son Prince Arthur, and Prince Arthur infant son of James IV. without inscriptions. Darnley's leaden coffin was also in the vault without any inscription, and it was ascertained on measurement that he was not so tall as James V. The only other coffin was that of Queen Mary's illegitimate sister the Countess of Argyll. The skull of this lady was found to be sawn in two pieces, and the inscription, containing simply her name and title, was in gilt letters within a small square of the lead coffin. The present Editor was in the royal vault at Holyrood in 1845, and found every trace of the above interesting memorials of departed greatness obliterated. The vault itself had the appearance of a most repulsive cell half under ground, lighted by an iron-grated floor, and the only relics of mortality were a collection of human bones huddled together at the south end, fronting the entrance.—E.]

time the Queen thought it becoming her to remove from that Palace to the Castle of Edinburgh.¹

On the 12th of February a proclamation was emitted by the Privy-Council, promising, besides other things, a reward of L.2,000 to any person that should first reveal the devisers, counsellors, or actual committers of the King's murder; as likewise a pardon of the crime, although he were *participant and culpable thereof*. And in the night of the 16th day a ticket, bill, or placart, was set on the door of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in which was affirmed that the Earl of Bothwell, Mr James Balfour, Mr David Chalmers, and black Mr John Spence, were the persons concerned in the murder.²

¹ [Mary immediately removed to the Castle of Edinburgh for security after the murder of Darnley, while his body lay in state in the Palace of Holyrood. Her conduct on that memorable occasion will of course be viewed differently by her partizans and accusers. She shut herself up in a close apartment in the fortress, and was apparently at least absorbed in grief at the awful crime which had made her a widow a second time.—E.]

² Buchanan sets down the form of the placart in his "Detection," and in a letter by Sir William Cecil the English Secretary, in the "Cabala," it runs thus—"I, according to the proclamation, have made inquisition for the slaughter of the King, and do find the Earl Bothwell, Mr James Balfour, parson of Flisk, Mr David Chambers, and black Mr John Spence, the principal devisers thereof: And if this be not true, spier at Gilbert Balfour." And Sir William says—"There were also words added, which he is loath to report, that touched the Queen of Scots; which he holds best to be suppress, because such persons anointed are not to be thought ill of, without manifest proof."—[The "placart" affixed to the door of the Tolbooth or prison of Edinburgh on the night of the 16th of February, and seen by the citizens on the 17th, was, as inserted by Buchanan, in his "Detection of Mary Queen of Scots" (London, edit. 1721, p. 151), to the following effect—"Because proclamation is made that whosoever will reveal the murthers of the King shall have L.2,000, I, who have made inquisition by them that were the doers thereof, affirm that the committers of it were the Earl Bothwell, Master (Sir) James Balfour, Parson of Flisk, Mr David Chambers, black Mr John Spence, who was principal deviser of the murther, and the Queen assenting thereto, through the persuasion of the Earl Bothwell and the witchcraft of the Lady Bucklough." Mr Tytler says (History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 86) that this and the "placart" mentioned by our Historian in the next note, accusing Bothwell, were "openly exposed" while the Queen was at Seton House: but it is undoubted that Mary was then in the Castle of Edinburgh, to which she had retired from the Palace of Holyrood after Darnley's murder, for security. The connection or "witchcraft" of the "Lady Bucklough" or Buccleuch, with the crime, is not apparent, except that she is accused of having been a paramour of Bothwell. She was Lady Margaret Douglas, eldest daughter of David seventh Earl of Angus, and

Hereupon it is said that a new proclamation was emitted, desiring the setter up of the former bill to subscribe his name, and he should receive the sum promised in the first proclamation ; and that in answer to this, a second bill was set up in the former place, offering to come on Sunday next and avow the matter, provided the money were consigned and put into indifferent hands.¹

niece of the Earl of Morton, and she married Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch. Her only son by this alliance was Sir Walter Scott, who was Lord Scott of Buccleuch in 1608—the father of Walter second Lord, and first Earl of Buccleuch.—E.]

¹ I have mentioned this *second* proclamation and *second* placart, because I see them both mentioned by the Earl of Lenox in his letters to the Queen, though I reckon it to be certain that there was never a *second* proclamation emitted by the Privy-Council, both because Mr Anderson, who had in his hands the original record of Privy-Council, does not publish or take notice of a *second* proclamation, nor is any such thing to be seen in Mr Mili's excerpts : Mr Anderson and he in great harmony placing immediately after the diet of Council on the 12th of February *that* which was held on the 14th of March ensuing, so that in the utmost probability there has been no intervening diet of Council.—[Buchanan in his "Detection," alleges that when the "placart" of the 16th was exhibited, another proclamation was issued, desiring the author to appear and avow the same before the Queen and Privy-Council, and he would receive the promised sum of L.2,000, which elicited the second "placart" affixed to the door of the Tolbooth on the 19th as follows :—"Forsomuch as proclamation hath been made since the setting up of my first letter, desiring me to subscribe and avow the same ; for answer, I desire the money to be consigned into an evenly (honest) man's hand, and I shall appear on Sunday next, with some four with me, and subscribe my first letter, and abide thereat. And further, I desire that Signior Francis Bastian, and Joseph, the Queen's goldsmith, be stayed, and I shall declare what every man did in particular, with their complices." Buchanan says the Queen and Privy-Council returned no answer to this "placart," which is not surprizing, as the preliminary condition that the L.2,000 should be deposited in the hands of an "evenly man" was very like an attempt to extort the money. The "Signior Francis Bastian" mentioned is evidently the foreigner Sebastian, at whose marriage festivities Queen Mary was present in the Palace of Holyrood on the night of Darnley's murder. The other person, described as "Joseph the Queen's goldsmith," was Joseph Riccio, the brother of the unfortunate David Riccio. He was in the service of Queen Mary, as was another Italian, named Joseph Lutyni, who held a situation in the Royal Household, and was the intimate friend of Joseph Riccio. Mary had sent Lutyni on a mission to France on the 6th of January preceeding Darnley's murder, but he had only reached Berwick when the Queen sent urgent letters to Sir William Drury, the Governor or Marshal, earnestly requesting that the said Lutyni should be apprehended and sent back as a thief, who had absconded with money. Sir William Drury examined him and found means to obtain a letter written to him by Joseph Riccio, and its contents convinced the English

The Queen having withdrawn from the Palace of Holyroodhouse against the time of the King's burial, as decency seemed to require, her Majesty remained about ten days in the Castle of Edinburgh, in which mean time Mr Robert Melvil, who had probably come from the Court of England after the rising of the Parliament of that nation on the 2d of January, was dispatched back again to that Court, whither we are certain he was arrived before the 20th of February; for by him Secretary Cecil says they expected to have heard many of the circumstances of the murder, but observes that Mr Melvil either could not, or might not, tell any more than they had heard before.¹ And during the same space of time likewise, that is, while the Queen was in the Castle of Edinburgh, arrived hither Henry Killigrew, whose business was to condole and comfort our Queen in her present distress,² in the name of his mistress the Queen of England.

Knight that Mary dreaded the disclosure of some important secret of which Lutyni had possessed him. Joseph Riccio's letter informed Lutyni that they were both severely censured, and he (Lutyni) particularly, for prying into or abstracting some of Queen Mary's private papers, and he entreated him when examined on his return to Scotland, if he valued his own and his friend's life, to adhere to a certain story which he (Riccio) had told the Queen. Sir William Drury found Lutyni in the greatest alarm lest he should be sent back to Scotland, declaring that it would be to "a prepared death," and he consulted Cecil, who ordered him to be detained at Berwick. As to Joseph Riccio, the Queen treated him with great favour, yet his conduct was such that Lennox publicly named him as one of Darnley's murderers in his letter of the 16th of March to the Queen inserted by our Historian in this chapter. About a week after Darnley's murder Sir William Drury sent Lutyni back to Mary, who ordered him to be examined by Bothwell. That personage was satisfied with the reasons he assigned for his flight, and permitted him to return to Berwick, the Queen at the same time sending him thirty crowns. He soon afterwards left the country rejoicing at his escape. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 71-74, 87, 88.—E.]

¹ Cabala, Letter, 20th February 1566-7.

² Buchanan in his "Detection" says this gentleman's message was to comfort the Queen. Though this "Detection" sufficiently *detects* itself to be but one continued piece of satirical romance, yet I cannot abstain from desiring the reader to observe the poor and pitiful fetch that author thinks fit to make use of, in order to discover to the world the Queen's secret behaviour in the first days of her mourning. His words are—"Though he (Killigrew) being ane auld courtour, and ane gude discreit gentilman, did nathing haistely; zit he came in sa unseasonabillly or the stage was preparit and furnischit, that he fand the windows oppin, the candillis not zit lichtit, and all the provision for the play out of ordour."

On the 21st of February, the Queen, by advice of her Privy-Council and physicians, retired, for the enjoyment of

Now, supposing even that the windows of the Queen's chamber had been open, and the candles not lighted, what mighty crime or indecency was there in all that? Though ceremony may require a room to be cloathed in black, the light of the sun to be shut out, and the light of candles to be used in place thereof, is it therefore required that at no time, even when no stranger is present, a mourning person shall never enjoy a peep or ray of the sun light? By no means. Howsoever, let the thing be so; yet this incident, as narrated by Buchanan, happening at Mr Killigrew's first audience and presence, could ever any person but the great Mr Buchanan himself, imagine that a foreign ambassador, or other inferior minister, was to pop (not into a King's) but into a Queen's private bed-chamber, without the least notice given of his arrival, especially when we shall add in the present case, that our Queen was now lodged within the strong fortress of the Castle of Edinburgh, the gates whereof we cannot suppose to be standing open for every passenger to enter in? Truly if any one has stomach to swallow down this farce, such a person is prepared for any inconsistency whatsoever. It seems, indeed, every great *genius* must have its flaws. Mr Buchanan could both *think* and *write* well, but sure he could not always *adjust* well; or else he has reckoned all mankind to be fools, himself excepted. But let us hear Bishop Leslie likewise on the same point—"And yet did this good gentle lady bemone, even such a one [the King] a notable time, enjoying and using none other than candle light, as was known to all the Nobility of Scotland, and also to one Mr Henry Killigrew, who was sent thither from England to her comfort, according to the use and manner of Princes." Now at least this man's *gaa* is as good as Mr Buchanan's *nay*.—[The passage quoted by our Historian from Buchanan at the commencement of this note occurs in the "Detection of Mary Queen of Scots," London, 1721, p. 28. Buchanan's narrative is altogether a mass of misrepresentation and calumny, vague assertions, and positively false assumptions. Our Historian, however, has not minutely stated the Queen's movements. When Mary retired to Edinburgh Castle after Darnley's murder she shut herself up in a close apartment. Her physicians, alarmed at the apparent state of her health, represented her condition to the Privy-Council, who advised her to a change of air for a short period, and on the 16th of February she proceeded to Seton House, eleven miles east of Edinburgh. The Queen remained at Seton House till the 7th of March, when she returned to Edinburgh, and received in the Castle the letter of condolence from Elizabeth delivered by Killigrew. Mary again rode to Seton House on the 9th, but she seems to have retired to Edinburgh on the following day. On the 19th of March the infant Prince was conveyed from the Castle to Stirling, in which fortress he was delivered in trust to the Earl of Mar till he should attain the age of seventeen years. On that day the Earl of Mar surrendered the command of Edinburgh Castle to the Queen and Privy-Council, and received a "discharge" for himself, and as successor of his father, and for his deputies and servants, of his "intromissions" with the Castle, which was ratified by the Parliament on the 16th of April—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 647.—E.]

better air, to Seton, the dwelling place of the Lord Seton.¹

¹ "Who (the Queen) had a longer time in this lamentable wise continued, had she not been most earnestly dehorted by the vehement exhortations and perswasions of her Counsaile, who were moved thereto by her physician's informations, declaring to them the great and imminent dangers of her health and life, if she did not in all spede break up and leave that kind of close and solitary life, and repair to some good, open and wholesome air: which she did, being thus advised and earnestly thereto solicited by her said Counsaile. All which notwithstanding, this her fact is with these most severe and grave censors taken for and reputed as the very next sin of all to the most grievous sin against the Holy Ghost."—Bp. Leslie's Defence. The readers will see how bitterly the Queen is taxed by Knox and Buchanan for her retiring to Seton.—[In the edition of Knox's "Historie," published at Edinburgh in 1732, Queen Mary's visits to Seton House and her motives for retiring thither are not even mentioned. Buchanan, however, writes in his usual distorted style. He pretends that about twelve days after the murder of Darnley, "being hardened against all the people could say, the Queen went to Seton, and never let Bothwell be one moment from her side. There her carriage was such, that though she changed her habit a little, yet she did not seem at all to mourn within. The place was full of the Nobility, and she went constantly every day abroad to the usual sports, though some of them were not so proper for the female sex. But the arrival of Mr Le Croc, a Frenchman, who had often before been ambassador in Scotland, in some little degree disturbed their measures, for he telling them how famous the matter sounded amongst foreigners, they returned to Edinburgh; but Seton (House) had so many conveniences, that though the farther hazard of her credit lay at stake upon it, yet she must needs return thither again. There the main head of the consultation was, how Bothwell might be acquitted of the King's murder." In his "Detection" the philosophical Buchanan is even more vehement. "What meant," he asks, "that removing to Seton? Why shunned she the town's resort and people's eyes? Was it because she was ashamed to mourn openly, or because she could not well cloak her joy, or secretly to give herself all to sorrow? No, for at Seton she threw away all her disguised personage of mourning; she went daily into the fields among ruffians; and not only resorted to her former custom, but also affected to exercise manly pastimes, and that among men, and openly. So lightly she despised the opinion and speech of her country."—History, Translation, edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 325; Detection of Mary Queen of Scots, edit. 1721, p. 80, 81. Buchanan's statement that while Queen Mary was at Seton House she "went daily into the fields among *ruffians*" is in accordance with his falsehood that after her accouchement she sailed from Newhaven near Leith to Alloa in the company of "pirates."—(See the note, p. 445, 446, of the present volume.) The "ruffians" who accompanied the Queen to Seton House were the Earl of Bothwell, Sheriff of the county of Haddington, in which that mansion was situated, the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, Maitland of Lethington, and about one hundred attendants. So far Buchanan is correct that Seton House was then "full of Nobility"—

And thither came Mons. Le Croc,¹ who had only gone from this country after the baptism of the Prince, and was still at London about the time of the King's murder.

A little before this had began the intercourse of some letters between the Queen and the Earl of Lenox, relating to the finding out and trying of the criminals concerned in the late murder. And if any misrepresentation of that correspondence hath been conveyed to the minds of men by some former writers, a clear and distinct account of the same is now to be had by the publication of these letters, and the whole form of the process against the Earl of Bothwell on the 12th of April following; for though it does, indeed, appear that one or two of these letters may be lost, yet the ingenious readers will easily perceive that what was material in that correspondence is still preserved in those that remain. I thought it useful for this History to insert here these letters, together with the more material part of the trial.

"celebratur locus magna nobilitatis frequentia."—Historia, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 215. Most of those personages were in one sense "ruffians," for they were all in the plot against Darnley, though Bothwell was the actual murderer, and Maitland was one of the devisers of the dreadful crime; but it may be asked, in what manner could the Queen rid herself of those personages, when it is recollected that they were some of the leading Nobility of the kingdom? At the same time it cannot be denied that Mary evinced the most imprudent conduct immediately after such an awful catastrophe had befallen her husband, and with which public rumour too deeply implicated her. "It did not escape attention," says Mr Tytler, "that scarce two weeks after her husband's death, whilst in the country and in the city (of Edinburgh) all were shocked at the late occurrences, and felt them as a stain on their national character, the Court at Seton was occupied in gay amusements. Mary and Bothwell would shoot at the butts against Huntly and Seton, and on one occasion, after winning the match, they forced the Lords to pay the forfeit in the shape of a dinner at Tranent." MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Sir William Drury to Cecil, dated Berwick, 28th February 1566-7, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 91.—E.]

¹ Buchanan talks much of the indecencies committed likewise by the Queen in the sight of Mr Killigrew and Le Croc, but had one or both these ministers said ought thereof any where, that would merit more credit.—[This occurs in Buchanan's "Detection," London edit. 1721, p. 51:—"But I beshrew that same Killigrew and Monsieur Le Croc, that came upon her so unseasonably and shewed to others her counterfeited person unvizored. For had they not been, many things that were done might have been denied; many things might have been handsomely perjured; and much of the matter might have been helped by foreign rumours."—E.]

*A Letter from the Earl of Lennox to Queen Mary, 20th
February 1566-7.¹*

“PLEISIT zour Majestie, I haif ressavit be this berare, my servand, zour maist gracious and comfortabill lettre, for the quhilk I raunder unto zour Hienes maist humbill thanks, and trusts nevir to deserve uther at zour Majestie’s hands, then as zour Hienes offeris in zour said lettre. And seing it pleisis zour Majestie to accept and tak in gud pairt my sympill advys and counsall, it boldens me the mair to continew thairin, and speciallie in this following.

“That quhairas, notwithstanding the travel and laubour quhilk I perceave zour Majestie takis for the just tryall of this lait cruall aet, and zet the offendars not being knawn; to my greit grief I am thairfoir foreit, be nature and dewtie, to be sa bald as to geve zour Majestie my poore and simpill advyse for bringand the mater to licht, quhilk is to beseik zour Majestie maist humelie, for Goddis cause, and the honour of zour Majestie and this zour Realme, that zour Hienes wald, with convenient diligence, asembill the hail Nobilitie and Estatis of zour Majestie’s Realme; and thai, be zour advyss, to tak sic gude ordour for the perfit triall of the mater, as I dout not bot, with the grace of Almiechtie God, his Halie Sprit sall sa wirk upon the hartis of zour Majestie, and all zour faythfull subjectis, as the bluddie and cruall actoris of this deid sall be manifestlie knawn. And althoch I knaw I neid not to put zour Majestie in remembrance thairof, the mater tuiching zour Majestie sa neir as it dois, zet I sall humelie desyre zour Majestie to bere with me in trubilling zour Hienes thairin, being the fader to him that is gone.

“Sa committis zour Majestie to the proteetioun of Almiechtie God, quha preserve zou with lang lyf and maist happie regne. From — the xx day of Februar.”

A Letter from Queen Mary to the Earl of Lennox.²

“RICHT trast cousing and counsalour, we greit zou weill. We haue ressavit zour lettre of Houstoun,³ the xx day of

¹ Anderson’s Collections from Cotton Library.

² An Original.

³ [At the time of this correspondence, the Earl of Lennox was

this instant, gevand ws thankes for the accepting of zour gude will and counsall in sa gude part. In that we did onlie it quhilk wes richt, and in sehewing zou all the plessur and gude will that we can, we do bot our dewtie, and it quhilk naturall affectioun mon compell ws unto, alwayes of that ze may assuir zour self als certainly at this present, and hereafter, sa lang as God gevis ws lyff, as cuir ze mycht haue done sen our first acquentance with zou. And for the essemble of the Nobilitie and Estaits, quhilk ze advise ws to caus be convenient, for a perfite triall to be had of the King our husbandis cruell slauchter, it is indeid convenient that sua suld be; and evin, schortlie before the recept of zour lettre, we had causit proclame a Parlement, at the quhilk we doubt not bot thay all, for the maist part, sall be present, quhair, first of all, this mater (being maist deir to ws) sall be handillit, and nothing left vndone quhilk may further the clere triall of the same. And we, for our awin part, as we aucht, and all Noblemen likwiss (we doubt not) sall maist willinglie direct all our witts and ingynis to this end, as experience, in fyne, with Goddis grace, sall gif witnessing to the warld. And sua we commit zou to God. At Seytoun the xxi day of Februar 1566.

“ Zour gud Dohter,

“ MARIE R.”

A Letter from the Earl of Lennox to Queen Mary.¹

“ I RANDER maist humyll thanks onto zour Majestie for

apparently residing at the old baronial castle of Houston (a corruption of *Hugh's town*) in the parish of its name, county of Renfrew, upwards of ten miles in a direct line from his patrimonial and territorial property of Darnley, in the parish of Eastwood, in the same county. Houston Castle was a large and ancient edifice, forming a square, with a spacious courtyard, on an eminence overlooking an extensive plain to the eastward, near the village of Houston. On the north-west corner was a high tower—the original portion of the building, and on the front were two turrets, between which was the main entrance into the court-yard, arched above, and secured by a porteullis. The edifice, which was surrounded with woods and gardens, was demolished, with the exception of the east side, in 1780, by the then proprietor, James Macrae, ex-governor of Madras, who built the village of Houston of part of the materials.—E.]

¹ [This letter is printed by Buchanan in his “Detection,” London edit. 1721, p. 107, 108, 109. About the time it was written by Lennox, a smith was mentioned, in a placard affixed to the Tron beam in the High Street where goods were weighed, who had furnished false keys to the Kirk-of-

zour gracious and comfortable lettre quhilk I haif ressaut the xxiiii of yis instant ; and quhairas I persais be the same that it is zour Majestie's plessur to remit the triall of yis lait odious act to the tyme of a Parlement, plesit zour Majestie, althocht I am assurit zour Hienes thinks the tyme als lang as I do, till ye mater be tryit, and ye actors of that deid condinglie punisit (zit I sall humelic craif zour Majestie's pardonis in trubilling zour Hienes sa oft thairin as I do, for yat the mater tweechis me sa near), beseiking zour Majestie maist humelic to accept yis my symple advyse in gude part, as followis, quhilk is, that quhair ye tyme is lang to ye Parliament, yis mater not beinge ane Parliament mater, bot of sic wecht and importance, quhilk aucht rather to be with all expediecioun and diligence socht out, and punisit to the exemple of ye hail world. as I knaw zour Majestie's wisdome consideris ye same, far mair nor my witts can comprehend ; zit, forsamekill as I heir of certane tikatts that hes bene put on ye Tolbuith dure of Edinburgh,¹ ansuering zour Majestie's fyrst and second proclamations, quhilks names in speciall certane personis devysars of ye

Field house, and who promised on due security to come forward and make known his employers. A person was also said to have been discovered in Edinburgh from whom Sir James Balfour had purchased a large quantity of gunpowder, and other documents appeared in which the Queen and Bothwell were directly implicated. MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, dated Berwick, 28th February 1566-7, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 89, 90.—E.]

¹ [There were the "placarts" already mentioned accusing Bothwell and certain others of Darnley's murder, affixed to the door of the Tolbooth on the 16th and 19th of February. On the 20th the Earl of Lennox commenced this correspondence with the Queen, who had gone to Seton House on the 21st, the day she answered the Earl's letter. "Had the Queen," observes Mr Tytler, "entertained any serious idea of discovering the perpetrators of the murder, the steps to be pursued were neither dubious nor intricate. If she was afraid to seize the higher delinquents, it was at least no difficult matter to have apprehended the persons who had provided the lodging in which the King was slain. The owner of the house, Robert Balfour, was well known; her own servants, who had been entrusted with the keys, and the King's domestics who had absented themselves before the explosion, or were preserved from its effects, were still on the spot, and might have been arrested and brought before the Privy-Council. But nothing of this kind took place, and in this interval of delay and apparent indecision, many persons, from whom information might have been elicited, and some who were actually accused, took the opportunity of leaving the country." History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 88.—E.]

eruall murthour, I sall thairfor maist humelie beseik zour Majestie, for the luif of God, ye honors of zour Majestie and zour Realme, and weill and quyetnes of ye same, that it will pleis zour Majestie furthwyth, not onlie to apprehend, and put in suir keiping, the personis namit in the said tikatts, bot als with diligence to assemble zour Majestie's Nobilitie, and than, be oppin proclamatioun, to admoneis and requyir ye writtars of ye said tikattis to compeir, according to ye effect thairrof. At quhilk tyme, gif yai do not, zour Majestie may, be ye advyse of zour Nobilitie and Counsall, releif and put to libertie ye personis in tikatts foirsaid; sa sall zour Majestie do ane honorable and godlie act in bringing ye mater to sic ane narrow point, as ather ye mater sall appeir plainlie befor zour Majestie, to the pvnishment of yame quha hes bene ye actors of yis eruall deid, or alls ye said tikatts to be found vane of yame self, and ye personis quhilks ar sklanderit to be exonerit and put to libertie at zour Majestie's plessur. Sa committis zour Majestie to the protectioun of Almightie God, qua preserve zou in helth and maist happie reigne. Of Houstoun the xxvi day of Februar."

*A Letter from Queen Mary to the Earl of Lennox.*¹

"RICHT trast cousing and counsalour, we greit zou weill. We haue ressauit zour lettre, and be the same persauis that ze haue thair lie mistaken our lait lettre sent zou with zour servand, upoun the xxiiii of Februar, in that point, that we suld remit the triall of the odious act committit to the tyme of a Parlement; we menit not that, bot rather walde wyshe to God that it mycht be suddanlie and without delay tryit, for ay the sounair the bettir, and the gretair confort for ws; zit becaus zour advyse was, that we suld convent our hail Nobilitie for that purpos, we anserit zou, that we had alreddie proclamit a Parlement, at the quhilk thai wald convene, and befor the quhilk we jugeit it suld not be able to get thame togidder, sen thai wald think dowble convenyng hevy to thame; and sua, in mention making of a Parliament, we menit not that this triall wes a Parliament mater, nor that it wes requisit quhill then to differ it, bot that then the Nobilitie wald be best convenit. And quhair

¹ An Original.

ze desyr, that we suld causs the namis contenit in sum tikatts affixit on the Tolbuith dure of Edinburgh to be put in suir keiping. Thair is sa mony of the saidis tikatts, and thairwithal sa differit and contrarious to vtheris in compting of the namis, that we wot not vpoun quhat tikkat to proceed; bot gif thair be ony namis mentionat in thame that ze think worthie to suffer a triall, vpoun zour advertisement we sall sua proceed to the cognitioun taking, as may stand with the lawis of this Realme; and being fund culpable, sall see the punishment als rigoruslie execute as the wecht of the cryme deservis. Quhar other thing ze think meit to be done to that purpose we pray zou latt ws understand, and we sall not omit ony occasioun quhilk may cleir the mater; and sua fair ze weill. At Seytoun, the i. day of Marche, 1566.

“ Zour gud Dohter,

“ MARIE R.”

A Letter from the Earl of Lennox to Queen Mary.

“ I THANK zour Majestie maist humelie for zour gentill answer as twechin ye ward of the Lennox,¹ albeit ye samyn dois not signifie unto me quhidder it be zour Majestie’s will to bestow the same vpon me or not, or utherwyse to dispens with ye Prynsis aige,² conforme to my wrytting and humill suit, quhairin I wald be glad to knaw zour Majesties plessur. Forther, quhair zour Majestie, in your formar lettre, wryttis unto me, that gif yair be ony namis mentionat in ye tikatts that were affixit vpoun the Tolbuith dure of Edinburgh, that I think worthie to suffer a triall for ye murthour of the Kyng zour Majestie’s husband, vpoun my advertisement zour Majestie suld proceed to ye cognitioun takin, as may stand with ye lawis of yis Realme, and being fund culpable, sall see ye punishment als rigorouslie execute as ye wecht of the cryme deservis: plesit zour Majestie, my humill petition was vnto zour Hienes, and zit is, that it may pleiss zou not onelie to apprehend and put in suir keiping the personis namit in the tikatts, quhilk answerit to zour Majestie’s fyrst and second proclamationis, bot als with diligence to assemble

¹ [The “ward of the Lennox” indicates probably a “ratification” of his Earldom of Lennox.—E.]

² [By the “Prynsis aige” is meant the then infant Prince, afterwards James VI.—E.]

zour Majestie's hail Nobilitie, and yan, be oppin proclamatioun, to admonysh and requyre ye wryttars of ye said tikatts to compeir, accordyng to the effect yairof; at quhilk tyme, gif thay do not, zour Majestie may, be ye advyse of zour said Nobilitie and Counsall, releif and put to libertie ye personis in ye tikatts foirsaid; and for ye namis of ye personis foirsaid, I merwell that ye samyn hes bene keipit fra zour Majestie's cairis, considering ye effect of ye said tikatts, and ye namis of ye personis is swa oppinlie taulkit of; that is to say, in the fyrst tikatt ye Erle Bothwell, Maister James Balfowr, Maister David Chalmirs, and blak Johne Spenss: And in the second tikatt, Synzour Francis, Bastiane,¹ Johne de Burdeouss,² and Joseph, Dauryis brother,³ quhilk personis, I assuyre zour Majesty, I, for my part, greitlie suspect; and now zour Majestie knawing yair namis, and being ye partie als weill, and mair nor I am, althocht I was ye fader, I doubt not bot zour Majestie will take ordour in the mater accordyng to the wecht of the cause, quhilk I maist inteirlic and humillie beseik. Sa committis zour Majestie to the protectioun of Almightie God. xvii of Marche, 1566."

Besides the above letter, we find one of the same date

¹ [Apparently the Sebastian married on the day preceding Darnley's murder (see the notes, p. 488, 504, of this volume. He was one of the Queen's foreign domestics, and soon decamped, for "on the 12th of February, only ten days after the explosion," says Mr Tytler, "Sir W. Drury addressed an interesting letter to Cecil from Berwick, in which he mentioned that Dolu, the Queen's treasurer, had arrived in that town with eight others, among whom was Bastian, one of those denounced in the placards. Francis, the Italian steward, the same person whose name had been also publicly posted up as engaged in the murder, was expected, he added, to pass that way within a few days, and other Frenchmen had left Scotland by sea."—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 88, 89. This proves that "Synzour Francis" and "Bastiane" were different persons. The latter, however, appears to have been subsequently apprehended. It is stated that on the 16th of June 1567, one "Sebastiane, Frenchman, suspected for the art and pairt of slaughter of unquhile the King foirsaid, was taken and put in captivitie within the Tolbuth of Edinburgh."—Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland since the Death of James IV. to 1575, 4to. Edin. 1833, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 115.—E.]

² [John de Bourdeaux, another of Queen Mary's French domestics.—E.]

³ David Riccio's.—[Joseph Riccio, who must have hated Darnley as the principal assassin of his brother David, a name perverted into "Daury"—a misprint of *Darrey*—in the above letter. He had joined the plot, but the extent of his connection with it is unknown.—E.]

published by Buchanan in his "Detection,"¹ which I here likewise subjoin, leaving it to my readers to form what judgment they shall think fit, why there should be two letters left on record of the same date, but of a different form.

"PLEISIT zour Majestie, quhair zour Hienes in zour last lettre to me wrytis, that, gif thair be ony namis in the tikatts that was affixit vpoun the Tolbuith dure of Edinburgh, that I think worthie to suffer ane triall for the mourthour of the Kyng zour Majestie's husband, vpoun my aduertisement, zour Majestie suld proceed to the cognitioun taking, as may stand with the lawis of this Realme; and being fund culpabill, sall se the punischement as rigoruslie executit as ye wecht of ye cryme deseruis. Pleisit zour Majestie, sen the ressait of zour Hienes' lettre, I haue still luikit that sum of the bluddie murthourirs suld haue bene oppinlie knawin or now. And seing thay ar not zit, I cannot find in my hart to conceil the mater ony langer, bot let zour Majestie understand the namis of thame quhome I greitlie suspect; that is to say, the Erle Bothwell, Maister James Balfour, and Gilbert Balfour his brother; Maister David Chalmers, blak Maister Johne Spens, Seinzecour Francis, Bastiane, Charles de Burdeaux, and Joseph, David's brother. Quhilk personis I sall maist inteirly and humbillie beseik zour Majestie, that, according to my former petitioun unto zour Hienes, it will pleis not onlie to apprehend and put in suir keiping, bot als with diligence to assemblill zour Majestie's hail Nobilitie and Counsell, and then to tak sic perfite ordour of the foirnamit persounis, that thay may be justlie tryit, as I dout not, bot in sa doing, the Spirite of God sall wirk in the said mater as the treuth sall be knawn. Sa sall zour Majestie do ane maist godlie and honourabill act for zoursel. being the partie as ze ar; and an greit satisfactioun it sall be to all that belangis unto him that is gane, quha was sa deir unto zour Hienes. And now not doutit but zour Majestie will tak ordour in the mater, according to the wecht of the caus, quhilk I maist humblie beseik, I commit zour Majestie to the protectioun of the Almichtie God, quha preserue zou in helth, lang lyfe, and maist happie reigne. Of Houstoun this xvii of Marche."

¹ [Detection of Mary Queen of Scots, London, 1721, p. 109, 110.—E.]

*A Letter from Queen Mary to the Earl of Lennox.*¹

“ RICHt traist cousing and counsalour, we greit zou weill. We haue ressavit zour lettre of Houstoun, the xvii of this instant, relative to our last wryting sent zou, and speciallie namand the persounis contenit in the tikatts, quhom ze greitlie suspect. For the conuention of our Nobilitie and Counsell, we haue preuentit the thing desyrit be zou in zour lettre, and hes sent for thame to be at vs in Edinburgh this oulk² approcheand, quhair the persounis nominate in zour lettre sall abyde and underlye sic triall as be the lawis of this Realme is accustomat; and being fund culpable, in ony wise, of that cryme and odious fact nominat in the tikatts, and quhair of ze suspect yame, we sall evin, according to our former lettre, see the condigne punischment als rigoruslie and extremie executit as the wecht of that fact deseruis, for indeid (as ze wrait) we esteme ourself partie gif we war resolut of the auctours; and thairfore we pray zou, gif zour lassour and commoditie may sut, addres zow to be at vs heir in Edinburgh this oulk approcheand, quhair ze may see the said triall, and declair thay things quhilk ze knaw may further the same; and thair ze sall haue experience of our earnest will and effectuus mynd to haue an end in this mater, and the auctors of sa unworthie a deid realie punist, als far furth, in effect, as befoir this, and now presentile we haue wrytten and promist. And sua for the present commitis zou to God. At Edinburgh, the xxiii day of Marehe 1566.

“ Zour gud Dohter,

“ MARIE. R.”

In consequence of the preceding letters, we find in the publick Records an Act of Council 28th March 1567, directing the trial of the Earl of Bothwell, and all other persons suspected or delated as principals or accessories to the murder of the King,³ to undergo an assize for the said murder on the 12th of April following; and warning to be given

¹ An Original.

² Week.

³ [It is remarkable that, notwithstanding all this affected zeal to bring the murderers of Darnley to justice, little was done in the matter, and some of those who were subsequently executed for it expiated their crime a considerable time afterwards.—E.]

the Earl of Lenox, and all others that will accuse the said Earl of Bothwell, and remanent persons suspected, at several market-crosses, to appear the said 12th day of April in the Court of Justiciary, and there do what shall be necessary for trial of the said matter.¹ But before we proceed in the sequel of this affair, it will be proper to bring up the other matters that were then doing.

On the 10th of March the Queen returned from Seton to Edinburgh, where she remained until the 24th, during which space, it is reported, much inquisition was made after the upsetters of the placarts, &c. But all I can perceive of authentick at that time, is the Act of Council on the 14th March for the apprehending of James Murray, “who,” as the Act bears, “had devysit, inventit, and causit to be set up certane payntit paperis upon the Tolbuith-dure of Edinburgh, tending to her Majestie’s sclander and defamatioun, and swa commitand oppin and manifest tressoun aganis her Hienes,” &c.²

¹ See Anderson’s Collect. vol. i., and I observe that this gentleman, after marking this Act, adjects, p. 60, *Contents*, the following *N. B.* viz.—“The residence of the Earl of Lenox at that time was near Dunbarton, above forty miles distant from Edinburgh.” But what great matter he would infer from thence, I cannot discern.—[Dunbarton is fifty-eight English miles from Edinburgh by Mid-Calder and Kirk of Shotts to Glasgow, the same distance by Bathgate and Airdrie, and sixty-one miles by Linlithgow and Falkirk. As the Earl of Lennox dates his letters to Queen Mary from Houston in Renfrewshire, the county opposite Dunbartonshire, from which it is separated by the Clyde, he was residing several miles from Dunbarton, in a different county, but that town is probably mentioned as the then principal place near Houston.—E.]

² See Anderson’s Collect. vol. i. p. 38. Buchanan complains much that the Queen should have kept such a pother now about finding out the authors of the placarts, painted papers, &c., but was at no pains at all to find out the murderers of her husband. But as we have seen by authentick records that this is not precisely true, so whatever defect might be therein, the readers will perceive by perusal of this Act in the place here referred to, that his own *good* and *religious* patron, the Earl of Moray, sat in council, and had a hand in this day’s act.—[See Buchanan’s History, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 326. Although the anxiety to discover the authors of the placards was commendable to further the purposes of justice against those concerned in Darnley’s murder, other circumstances occurred which were greatly to the disadvantage of the Queen, and were caused by her imprudent intimacy with Bothwell. The placards and drawings publicly posted in the street directly accused Mary and the Earl. “But the only effect produced by such intimations,” says Mr Tytler, “was to rouse this daring man to a passionate declaration of

By the Diary so often mentioned we are informed that the Queen went again to Seton House on the 24th of March, and continued there until the 10th of April, but seeing her Majesty signs a letter to the Earl of Lenox on the 24th of March at Edinburgh, and the Act of Privy-Council 28th of March at Edinburgh likewise, directing the trial of the Earl of Bothwell, mentions the Queen to have that day called for the advice of her Nobles and Privy Council, these two considerations laid together may perhaps render the authority of the Diary somewhat suspicious here, though not unquestionably false.¹

vengeance. Accompanied by fifty guards, he rode to the capital from Seton, and with furious oaths and gestures declared publicly that if he knew who were the authors of the bills or drawings he would *wash his hands in their blood*. It was noticed that, as he passed through the streets, his followers kept a jealous watch, and crowded round him as if they apprehended an attack, whilst he himself spoke to no one of whom he was not assured without his hand on the hilt of his dagger. His deportment and fierce looks were much observed by the people, who began at the same time to express themselves openly against the Queen. It was remarked that Captain Cullen and his company, well known to be sworn followers of Bothwell, were the guards nearest her person; and that whilst all inquiry into the murder appeared to be forgotten, an active investigation took place as to the authors of the placards. More minute circumstances were also noted, which seemed to argue a light and indifferent behaviour, at a time when her manner should have been especially circumspect and guarded.—On the evening of the day in which the Earl had exhibited so much fury in the streets of the capital, two more placards were hung up. On the one were written the initials M. R., with a hand holding a sword. On the other, Bothwell's initials, with a mallet painted above—an obscure allusion to the only wound found upon the unhappy Prince, which appeared to have been given by a blunt instrument.”—Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 90, 91.—E.]

¹ [Chalmers (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 213) gives a different account of Mary's movements. He agrees with our Historian that the Queen returned from Seton to Edinburgh on the 10th of March, and he says that she remained in her capital, “daily engaged in the public business, “till the 18th of April. Yet he affirms that Mary rode to Dunbar on that day, where she was on the *second* and *third* of that month—that she spent the three following days at Seton, and repaired to Edinburgh on the 7th of April, “where she probably remained till the meeting of Parliament.” This gross blundering in dates is most provoking, but probably the *eighteenth of April* is a misprint for some day in the preceding month of *March*. On the 23d of that month the Queen attended a solemn dirge, or “saule-mass,” in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood for Darnley, which was celebrated by her express command, (Birrel's Diary, p. 7); and it was observed by those who were near her on that affecting occasion, that her health and beauty had undergone a melancholy change,

In the abstracts of Privy-Council¹ there are these two following, viz — “Apud Seyton, 5th April 1567, Act ordaining proclamatioun to be maid to discharge the Comptroller to mell or uptake anie of hir Majestie’s rents, becaus she was informit that the samen was to be applied to uthir uses. Apud Dunbar, penult. April 1567, Act contramanding the Act and Proclamatioun afoirsaid 5th April.”

On the 9th of April the Earl of Moray, having lately sought and obtained leave to go into France, departed forth of the kingdom, taking his journey through England; and it is affirmed by some, that during his absence he should have recommended the care of all his affairs to the Queen and Earl of Bothwell.²

and that she was suffering from acute mental agony. The letters she received from France, instead of soothing her feelings, made her more wretched. The Queen-Mother and her uncle the Cardinal reproached her in the most severe manner, and distinctly intimated that if she failed to avenge the death of their cousin her husband, and to clear herself of the imputations publicly and universally alleged against her, they would consider her as utterly disgraced, and would become her determined enemies.—Drury to Cecil, 29th March 1567, MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, in Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 95. It is alleged that on the 5th of April, while the Queen was on one of her migratory or casual visits to Seton House, she entered into a regular marriage-contract with Bothwell. Chalmers (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 213) ridicules this statement, because Bothwell was “then a married man,” and “this same contract, as the plotters also affirm, was written by the Chancellor, Earl of Huntly, the brother of Bothwell’s wife. Without being a lawyer, Huntly knew that such a contract of marriage was unlawful, and also injurious to his sister.” But subsequent events prove that the “plotters” may have been right in this important matter, which, if true, is most disgraceful to the Queen; and as to Huntly’s conduct, more unscrupulous things were done in that age than writing such a contract, even though his sister was the principal party to whom it would have been “injurious.”—E.]

¹ Lord Pitmedden’s Abstracts.—[Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, Bart., a Judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Pitmedden from the 13th of November 1677 to the Revolution, when he refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, and retiring into private life, he died at an advanced life in 1719. Wodrow states that Lord Pitmedden possessed a most extensive and curious Library.—E.]

² These authors take likewise the freedom to observe here, that this cunning Lord went always out of the way when he had any mischievous thing to do at Court by his friends.—[The Earl of Moray, though he prudentially kept on friendly terms with the Earl of Bothwell, was so disgusted at the power and interest of the latter with Mary that he requested permission from the Queen to leave the kingdom, and travel in England and France, which he easily procured. It was certainly remarkable that, when

The Earl of Lenox, having received advertisement of the trial of the Earl of Bothwell, his Lordship took journey to come to Edinburgh, in order to be present thereat. But having received likewise, as would appear, some advice from his friends not to come forward nor be present at the trial; after he was advanced the length of Stirling he wrote from thence this letter that followeth to the Queen, in which he now alters the strain of his writing, and wants by all means to have the trial delayed, which he had been at pains formerly to hasten forward. A longer time, he pretends, would enable

any crime was to be perpetrated, or events to occur in which Moray could not participate without loss of character, he always contrived to be absent from the scene of action, while his conduct proves that he was in close communication with the prominent parties. We have seen that on the day after Riccio's murder Moray and his exiled associates returned to Edinburgh, and were soon afterwards pardoned. On the day before the murder of Darnley we find Moray proceeding to Fife on a visit to his Countess, who was alleged to be unwell. He gave an entertainment to Bothwell, after that Nobleman had been publicly denounced as the murderer of Darnley, a few days before he left Edinburgh; and now, on the 9th of April, only *three days* before Bothwell's trial, when sundry other events were to occur connected with the sad tragedy of Mary's life, he followed his usual policy. Chalmers observes—"Calumny indeed remarked that this artful man always went out of the way when any signal mischief was in contemplation." Moray left the management of his affairs to Morton and Maitland, with whom he maintained a regular correspondence, and he apparently had conciliated Huntly. In London he was too prudent not to pay court to Elizabeth, and in his conferences with Cecil he communicated the whole detail of what was designed in Scotland. Moray, in short, seems to have been completely aware of Bothwell's ambitious intention to marry the Queen after divorcing his Countess, and of Mary's acquiescence to that infatuated union. Indeed, before the murder of Darnley he and others had observed Bothwell's aspiring advances to the Queen, and had artfully encouraged him in his projects to further their own purposes. It farther appears that Cecil, in consequence of Moray's information, received orders from Elizabeth to promote the success of the intended measures, and the Earl of Bedford was again sent to Berwick to "countenance the Lords," when they took arms against the Scottish Queen and Bothwell. From London the Earl of Moray proceeded to Paris, and was hospitably received by the French Court until he was suspected of sharing in the recent atrocities. Archbishop Beaton considered it his duty, as Mary's ambassador, to procure Moray's arrest, and applied for an order, but the Earl anticipated this disagreeable position by a speedy departure, and the arrest arrived at Dieppe only a few hours after he sailed. Moray returned through England, where he was again favourably entertained by Elizabeth, and returned to Edinburgh on the 11th of August, after an absence of four months, during which the most important events had occurred.—E.]

him to search after the murderers, though we may be assured this was all a mere shift, since the tickets had already mentioned their names, and he had formerly pointed them out to the Queen.¹

¹ [Lennox had named them twice, in his letter of the 17th of March to the Queen, inserted by our Historian. On the 28th of March the Privy-Council ordered Bothwell's trial to take place on the 12th of April; but it was only by the repeated appeals of Mary's relatives in France, and the force of public opinion, that she consented to this trial. Nothing can exceed the extraordinary infatuation of the Queen in all her proceedings at that period of her life, and the circumstances connected with that mock exhibition of justice were most mischievous to her interest. Chalmers strangely asserts that Lennox, when he received notice of the day of Bothwell's trial, "discovered that it was more easy to write letters of accusation than to adduce proofs of guilt"—that he wrote to Mary and to Elizabeth to obtain a postponement of the trial—and that the English Queen answered him by a letter to Mary, which was only delivered to her at Holyrood Palace, on the morning of the day appointed for the trial, though it was sent by express. These palliations are plausible, but they fail to convince. The observations of Mr Tytler on this unhappy procedure are candid and judicious, especially when it is recollected that Bothwell had become so powerful by Mary's favour, was in possession of so many offices, and was paramount at the Court—and that while he remained at large no person had the courage to accuse such a dangerous and unprincipled man. After the resignation of the Earl of Mar as Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh on the 19th of March 1566-7, Bothwell was appointed to the command of that fortress by the Queen, and also of the Castle of Blackness and of Inchkeith; and the superiority of Leith was conferred on him. Instead of Lennox's letter being a "*mere shift*," as our Historian chooses to designate it, the document is prudently and calmly written. "The Earl of Lennox, who at an earlier period had in vain implored the Queen to investigate the murder, and to collect, whilst it was attainable, such evidence as might bring the guilt home to its authors, now as earnestly and justly pleaded the necessity of delay. He had been summoned to appear and make good his accusation against Bothwell, but he declared that it was in vain to expect him to come singly, opposed to a powerful adversary, who enjoyed the royal favour, and commanded the town and the Castle. He conjured the Queen to grant him some time that he might assemble his friends. He observed that when the suspected persons were still at liberty—powerful at Court and about her Majesty's person, no fair trial could take place; and when all was in vain he applied to Elizabeth, who wrote to Mary in the strongest terms, and besought her, as she hoped to save herself from the worst suspicions, to listen to so just a request. It was forcibly urged by the English Queen that Lennox was well assured of a combination to acquit Bothwell, and to accomplish by force what could never be attained by law; and she advised her, in the management of a cause which touched her so nearly, to use that sincerity and prudence which might convince the whole world that she was guiltless."—MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, 4th April 1567, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 96.—E.]

“PLEIS zour Majestie. I am laitlie informit that thair hes bene proclamatiounis maid at Glasgu and Dumbartane, charging me and others havand or pretendand to have entress to concur with zour Majestie, and to persew the Erle Bothwell and utheris for the tresonable murthour of the King zour Majestie’s husband, to compeir befoir zour Hienes Justice or his Deputeis in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh the xii day of Apryll instant. The quhilk I assuir zour Majestie I am not abill to keip; for being presentlie on my jorney upon sett purpoiss and deliberit mynd to keip the saim, am fallin in sic disease that I may noway gudelic travell; zea, althoet I war abill, I dout not bot in consideratioun of the schortnes of tyme and importance of this greit and weichtie mater, and als in respect of sundre uthers resonable motivis and causis belonging to the same, zour Majestie will beir with me in besciking zour Majestie maist humelic for justice and rychtious causis, and for zour awin honour, being maist principall parte, that it will pleis zour Majestie, conforme to my formar seuerall lettres, zour Hienes wald caus apprehend and put in suir keiping the suspect persounis namit in the saim (avoyding zour Majestie’s cumpanie of thame). For it was nevir hard of, bot in the triall of sic ane odious fact, all suspectit persounnis was alwayis apprehendit, quhat degre soevir thai war of, suppois thai war not giltie of the fact, till the mater was trewlie tryit. And alswa, that it wald pleis zour Majestie to differ this day of law onto sic ane resonable tyme, as I may not onlie convene my frends for keiping of the saim, conforme to the lawis of this Realme, as zour Majestie sall appoint, bot alswa, that I may haif sufficient tyme to serfs and seik trew triall at all hands, and in all partes, for manifestatioun of this maist odious cryme, swa I sall not faill (God willing) to keip that tyme appoyntit, and hoippis in God to bring with me sic pruiif as the trewth salbe knawn: utherwayis the suspect persounis continewing still at libertie, being gret in Court, and about zour Majesties persoun, comfortis and incoragis thame and thairs, and discoragis all utheris that wald gyf in evidence agains thame. Sa that gif zour Majestie suffer this schort day of law to go forwart, eftir the maner as is appoyntit, I assuir zour Majestie ze sall haif na just triall as ze sall haif heireftir; and this geying zour

Majestie my symple advyss in the wayis I can for the just triall of this unnatural and cruall fact, sa neir as God gives me the grace according to my dewtie ; besciking alswa zour Majestie maist humelie to grant me zour hie commissioun to apprehend and tak sic persounis as I sall get knowledge that wes at the cruall murthour, I committ zour Majestie to the protexioun of Almightie God. I humelie bescik zour Majestie to pas this licence, to the effect of zour Hienes last lettre sent vnto me. From Streveling, the xj day of Apryll."¹

The readers will easily observe that though the Queen had been willing, it would now have been very improper to have adjourned the Court ; and therefore next day, which was the 12th of April, the day appointed for the trial of the Earl of Bothwell, the Court of Justiciary was kept in the Tolbooth²

¹ Anderson's Collections.—[Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scots, 4 vols. 4to. Edin. 1725-1728. Lennox had advanced from Glasgow to Stirling where he wrote the above letter, but he had his misgivings as to the result, as he was probably aware that both the Earl of Morton and Maitland of Lethington, two of the conspirators against his son, were supporting Bothwell. He was nevertheless actually on the road to Edinburgh to appear as the prosecutor at the trial, accompanied by a large party of his friends, when he received an order not to enter Edinburgh with more than six persons in his company, and as this was an undoubted intimation of what was intended, he prudently declined to come forward, but sent the above letter, which he wrote on the 11th of April.—MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, Foster to Cecil, and Drury to Cecil, 15th April 1567, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 99.—E.]

² [The bitter reproaches and threats which Mary received from her relatives in France, and other reasons, induced her to consent that Bothwell should be brought to a public trial, but as it was altogether a mockery, this tardy exhibition of justice only rendered matters worse. It is uncertain whether Mary received Elizabeth's letter, urging her to delay the trial, because Lennox was well assured of a combination to acquit Bothwell, in sufficient time to stay the proceedings, as it was written only four days before the Court of Justiciary was held. Nevertheless Sir William Drury arrived with Elizabeth's letter at Edinburgh on the morning of the 12th, the very day of the trial, and found the city completely in possession of Bothwell's friends and their followers, who amounted to no fewer than 4000 men, exclusive of a guard of 200 hackbutters. Bothwell's retainers surrounded the Palace of Holyrood, and perambulated the streets of the city, while the Castle, of which he had been appointed Governor, was at his command. When Drury presented himself at Holyrood, and announced that he was the bearer of a letter from Elizabeth, the purport of it was suspected, and he was rudely designated an "English villain," who had come to stop the "assize," or trial by

of Edinburgh by the Earl of Argyll, then hereditary Lord High Justice,¹ with whom sat four Assessors, namely, Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline,² the Lord Lindsay,³

a jury, and he was told that the Queen was too busy with other matters of the day. At that moment Bothwell and Secretary Maitland of Lethington came out of the Palace, and Drury gave Queen Elizabeth's letter to the Secretary, who, accompanied by his friend Bothwell, returned and delivered it to Mary. As no answer was intimated, when the Earl and Maitland soon afterwards appeared and mounted their horses, Drury eagerly demanded a reply to Elizabeth's letter. The Secretary told him that Mary was asleep, and they would not disturb her, but this was immediately discovered to be a falsehood, for a servant of the French ambassador Le Croc, who was standing near Drury, looking up towards the Palace, saw and pointed out Queen Mary and Mary Fleming, Maitland's wife, standing at a window. It was also observed that the Queen gave Bothwell a friendly salute as he rode out of the court-yard of Holyrood. The cavalcade then proceeded up the Canongate and High Street to the Tolbooth, where the trial took place—Bothwell's hackbutters permitting none to enter who were considered hostile to their master.—Drury to Cecil, Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 97, 98.—E.]

¹ [Repeatedly mentioned as Archibald fifth Earl of Argyll, whose Countess was at supper with Queen Mary in the Palace of Holyrood on the night of Riccio's murder, and who was ordered to do "penance" by the preachers for her presence as godmother at the baptism of James VI. The office of "Lord High Justice," or properly Lord Justice-General, now held by the Lord Presidents of the Court of Session, was long hereditary in the Argyll Family. It is curious that this Earl, who was one of the conspirators against Darnley, or at least was deeply implicated in the plot, scrupled not to preside in a court of justice where he knew the trial was altogether a mockery.—E.]

² [Robert Pitcairn, son of David Pitcairn of that Ilk, born about 1520, was the successor of George Durie as "Commendator," or lay Abbot, of Dunfermline. He was appointed a Lord of the Articles in 1567, and went to Stirling that year to attend the coronation of the infant King James VI. Pitcairn signed the Bond of Association with many others after the deposition of the Queen in July 1567 at Edinburgh, was appointed an Ordinary Lord of Session on the 2d of June 1568, accompanied the Regent Moray to York as one of the commissioners against Queen Mary, and was made Secretary of State in the end of 1570, succeeding Maitland of Lethington in that office, which he held during the Regencies of Lennox, Mar, and Morton. He was one of those concerned in the successful attempt to secure the person of James VI. called the *Raid of Ruthven* in 1582, and after being connected with many public transactions he died in his own residence on the south side of the Maygate in Dunfermline—a mansion still pointed out, on the 18th of October 1584, in the 64th year of his age. See *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, by the Rev. Peter Chalmers, A. M. Svo. Edin. 1844, p. 199-202.—E.]

³ [Patrick sixth Lord Lindsay of the Byres, who this very year 1567 was deputed by the confederated Lords to wait on Queen Mary when a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, with the documents of her resignation of

Mr James Macgill,¹ and Mr Henry Balnaves,² two Senators of the College of Justice :³ And after other previous formalities, the following Dittay was ordered to be read :—

“ JAMES Erle Bothwell, Lord Haillis and Creichtoun, &c. ze ar indytit for arte and parte of the cruall, odious, tressonabil, and abominabill slauchter and murther of the umquhile, the richt excellent, richt heich, and miehtie Prince, the Kingis Grace, derrest spous for the tyme to our Souerane Ladie the Quenis Majestie, under silence of nicht in his awin ludgeing besyde the Kirk-of-Field, within this burgh, he being taking the nichtis rest, tressonabillie raising fyre within the same with ane greit quantitie of powder, throw force of the quhilk the said haill ludgeing was raisit and blawin in the air, and the said umquhile King was murtherit tressonabillie, and maist cruallie slane and destroyit be zow thairin, upon set purpois, prouission and foirthocht fellonie ; and this ze did upon the ninth day of Februar last bypast, under silence of nicht, as said is, as is notourlie knawin, quhilk ze cannot denie.”⁴

the Crown, and the nomination of Moray as Regent, for her signature, on which occasion he conducted himself with great harshness and brutality towards the unfortunate Queen.—E.]

¹ [James Macgill of Nether-Rankeillour in Fife, implicated in the murder of Riccio, for which he was deprived of the office of Clerk-Register, but restored to it by the Regent Moray in December 1570. He had been appointed a “ Senator of the College of Justice,” or Court of Session, in 1554.—E.]

² [See the note respecting Henry Balneaves of Halhill, vol. i. p. 69, of the present edition.—E.]

³ These four assessors went all afterwards to England, and accused the Queen of the murther of the King by means of the Earl of Bothwell.—[There was, however, no inconsistency in this if they thought Mary guilty. The trial of Bothwell elicited no information whatever, and as no prosecutor appeared, he was necessarily acquitted of the crime which the presiding Earl of Argyll and his four assessors well knew he had committed.—E.]

⁴ This indictment, and the whole process of the trial, is also to be seen in Anderson's Collections.—[In the new edition of Howell's and Cobbett's State Trials, 8vo. London, 1809 (vol. i. p. 109), the proceedings in the mock trial of the Earl of Bothwell are detailed in an abbreviated and mutilated form. On the 12th of April 1567, “ James Erle of Bothwell, James Ormestoun of that Ilk, Hob Ormestoun, his father's-brother, Patrick Wilsone, William

Then the Justice,¹ after some other forms, “causit cal the same James Erle Bothwell, as defender on that ane part, and Matthew Erle of Lennox, and all utheris our Souerane Ladyis liegis, hauand and pretendand to persew in the said mater, to compeir befor him in this Court of Justiciarie, to persew and defend as accordis of the law.

“Compeirit immediatlie thairefter in judgement the said James Erle Bothwell,² and enteris as parsonale, and then cheissit Maister David Borthwick of Luchthill and Maister Edmund Hay,³ prolocutoris for him, quha alsua compeirit

Murray, Sim Armstrong, callit *Wantoun Simie*, Pareis (Nicolas Hubert), Frenchman, (dilated) for the cruel murder of King Henrie, our Souerane Lord's father, for seizing of the Queen's persoun at the Foul-briggs, and imprisoning of her persoun in the Castell of Dunbar, and compelling her to compleit marriage with him.”—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part. II. p. 489. Mr Pitcairn, however, ought to have stated that this must have been a grouping of subsequent events, for none of them, except the murder of Darnley, occurred till after the mock trial and Bothwell's acquittal. Sir Patrick Hepburn of Whitecastle was also accused or dilated on the 12th of April as an accessory to the murder, but none of the perpetrators were brought to justice till some time after the deposition of Queen Mary.—E.]

¹ [Archibald fifth Earl of Argyll, who, as Lord Justice-General of Scotland, presided at this trial. This is another proof that the trial was a mockery, for Argyll was deeply implicated in the conspiracy against Darnley.—E.]

² The author of “*Innocence de Marie*,” &c. says the Earl of Morton attended the Earl of Bothwell in the pannel.—[Bellforest, the author of “*Innocent de la tres Illustre, tres Chaste, et Debonnaire Princesse, Madame Marie Royne d'Escoce*,” 12mo. 1572, might have obtained this information from Archbishop Beaton at Paris. If the statement is true, it is another instance of the unprincipled criminality of Morton and his associates, and of the miserable situation of Mary, who could not avoid contact with those men. It cannot be denied that both Morton and Maitland were zealous for Bothwell's acquittal. The whole proceedings at the trial had been arranged in a council held a short time before, at which Bothwell was present, and gave directions regarding his own arraignment.—Anderson's Collections, vol. i, p. 50, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii, p. 98.—E.]

³ [Mr David Borthwick and Mr Edmund Hay appeared as Bothwell's advocates or counsel at the bar to undertake his defence. David Borthwick of Lochill, one of nine procurators selected by the Court of Session on the 1st of March 1549, appears to have acted as Bothwell's ordinary counsel. He was appointed Lord Advocate and an Ordinary Judge of the Court of Session on the 20th of October 1573, and retained both situations till his death in January 1581. He is said to have acquired much landed property, in which he infefted his son, Sir James Borthwick, who

parsonallie in judgement, and wer admittit be the Justice to that effect.—

“ The said Matthew Erle of Lennox, and utheris our Souerane Ladyis liegis, hauand, or pretandand to haue entres to persew in the said mater, being oftintimes callit to haue compeirit and concurrit with the said Aduocates in persute of the said actioun, compeirit Robert Cuninghame, alledgeing him seruand to the said Matthew Erle of Lennox, and producit the wryting underwrittin, quhilk he subseriuit with his hand in judgement, as he that had power to use the same; and protestit and desyrit conform thairto in all pointis. Of the quhilk wryting the tennor followis:—

“ MY Lordis, I cum heir, send be my maister the Erle of Lennox, to declair the caus of his absence this day, and with his power, as the same beiris. The caus of his absence is the schortnes of tyme, and that he is denyit of his friendis and seruandis, quha suld haue accompanyit him to his honour and suretie of his lyfe, in respect of the greitnes of his partie, and he hauing assistance of na friendis bot onlie himself; and thairfoir his Lordschip hes commandit me to desyre an sufficient day according to the wecht of the caus, quhairthrow he may keip the same. And gif zour Lordschips will proceid at this present, I protest that I may, without ony displesure of ony man, use thir thingis committit to my charge be my Lord my maister, quhairof I tak ane document.

“ *Item*, I protest, that gif the persounis quha passis upoun assyse and inqueist of thir persounis that sall enter on pannell this day, clenge¹ the said persounis of the murther of the King, that it salbe wilfull error and not ignorance, be ressoun that it is notourlie knawin thir persounis to be

was a most improvident person, and sold the estates before his father died. When on his death-bed he was informed that his son had sold the estate of Balmacerieff, the old Judge is said to have exclaimed—“ What shall I say? I have given him to the devil that gets a fool, and makes not a fool of him.” This indignant character of his son became proverbial as *Mr David Borthwick's Testament*. As to Mr Edmund Hay, he appears to have been an eminent counsel of the day, but he never obtained a seat on the Bench. He is probably the Edmund Hay of Megginch, mentioned in the entail executed by George sixth Earl of Errol, Douglas' Peerage edited by Wood, vol. i. p. 549.—E.]

¹ [Challenge.—E.]

the murthereris of the King, as my Lord my maister alledgeis. Upoun the quhilk protestation I requyre ane document.¹

“ ROBERT CUNINGHAME.”

“ Upoun the productioun of the quhilk wryting and protestatioun the said Robert askit actis and instrumentis.²

“ The Justice being auysit³ with the fairsaid wryting and protestatioun producit and usit be the said Robert Cuninghame, in respect of the letteris and wrytingis send to our Souerane be the said Matthew Erle of Lennox, producit and red in judgement, quhair of the copyis ar underwrittin. Be the quhilk letteris and wrytingis, the said Erle of Lennox desyrit schort and summare proces to be deducit in the said mater, and als of the Act and Ordinance of the Lordis of Seceit Counsell grantit thairupoun; and siclyke, in respect of the ernist insisting of the Aduocates desyring proces and richt sute of the said Erle Bothwellis ernist petitioun and desyre of triall to be had in the said mater; with advyse of the Lordis and Baronis Assessoris present, fand be interlocutor, That proces suld be deducit in the said actioun this day conforme to the lawis of this Realme, notwithstanding the wryting and protestatioun producit be

¹ See the ridiculous turn Buchanan puts upon this Protestation, and then consider what faith is to be given that writer, even where he has a foundation to narrate a fact.—[“ Robert Cunningham,” says Buchanan, one of Lennox’s family (household), put a small stop to the proceedings. He, craving liberty to speak, declared that the process was not according to law nor custom, where the accused person was so powerful that he could not be brought to punishment, and the accuser was absent for fear of his life: and therefore whatsoever should be determined there, as being against law and equity, was null and void.”—History, Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 328. See also Buchanan’s “ Detection of Mary Queen of Scots,” London, 1721, p. 106, 107.—E.]

² [When Lennox was “ summoned to make good his accusation,” says Mr Tytler, “ a gentleman named Cunningham appeared, and stated that he had been sent by the Earl his master to reiterate the charge of murder, but to request delay, as his friends, who had intended to have accompanied him both for his honour and security, had changed their resolution. On this being refused to Lennox’s envoy, he publicly protested against the validity of any sentence of acquittal, and withdrew.” Sir John Forster to Cecil, dated Alnwick, 15th April 1567, MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 99.—E.]

³ [Advised.—E.]

the said Robert Cuninghame; and als admittit him to coneur and assist to the said Aduocates, in persute of the said actioun, gif he pleissit.—”

FOLLOWS THE ASSYSE.¹

Andro Erle of Rothes;² *George Erle of Caithnes*;³ *Gilbert Erle of Cassillis*;⁴ *Lord Johne Hammiltoun, Commendater of Arbroith, sone to the Lord Duke*;⁵ *James Lord Ros*;⁶ *Robert Lord Simple*;⁷ *Johne Maxwell Lord Hereis*;⁸ *Laurence Lord Oliphant*;⁹ *Johne Maister of Forbes*;¹⁰ *Johne Gordoun of Lochinvar*;¹¹ *Robert Lord Boyde*;¹² *James Cockburne of Lantoun*;¹³ *James Somerwell of*

¹ [“The assyse,” or jury, consisted principally, if not altogether, of parties favourable to Bothwell; the Law Officers of the Crown were either in his interest, or overawed into silence; no witnesses were summoned; the indictment was framed with a flaw too manifest to be accidental.”—Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 98, 99.—E.]

² [Andrew fourth Earl of Rothes, eldest son of George third Earl by his second Countess Agnes, daughter of Sir John Somerville of Cambusnethan. His son John, Master of Caithness, married Bothwell’s only sister, Lady Jane Hepburn, widow of Lord John Stuart, Prior of Coldingham, and mother of Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell in the reign of James VI.—E.]

³ [George fourth Earl of Caithness, of the surname of Sinclair.—E.]

⁴ [Gilbert fourth Earl of Cassillis, a most zealous adherent of Queen Mary.—E.]

⁵ [Lord John Hamilton was the second son of James second Earl of Arran, Regent of Scotland and Duke of Chatelherault. Lord John was created Marquis of Hamilton in 1599.—E.]

⁶ [James Ross, fourth Lord Ross of Hawkhead, who married Jean daughter of Robert third Lord Sempill.—E.]

⁷ [Robert third Lord Sempill, the father-in-law of Lord Ross.—E.]

⁸ [Sir John Maxwell, second son of Robert fourth Lord Maxwell, assumed the title of Lord Herries in right of his wife Agnes, eldest daughter and heiress of William fourth Lord Herries of Terregles. He is repeatedly mentioned in preceding notes.—E.]

⁹ [Lawrence Oliphant fourth Lord Oliphant, who succeeded his father Laurence, third Lord, in 1566.—E.]

¹⁰ [Afterwards eighth Lord Forbes, but at the time eldest son of William seventh Lord.—E.]

¹¹ [Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, grandfather of the first Viscount Kenmure.—E.]

¹² [Robert fourth Lord Boyd, ancestor of William ninth Lord and first Earl of Kilmarnock.—E.]

¹³ [James Cockburn of Langton in Berwickshire, son of Alexander Cockburn of Langton, and grandfather or great-grandfather of Sir William Cockburn, created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1627.—E.]

Cambusnethain;¹ *Mowbray of Barnebowgall*;² *Ogilbye of Boyne*.³

“ The foirnamit persounis of assyse being chosin, admittit, and sworne in judgement, as use is; and thairfoir the said Erle Bothwell being accusit of the said dittay of the cryme afoirsaid, and the same being denyit be him, and referrit to the delyuerance of the said assyses, thay remouit furth of the said Court, and altogidder conuenit; and efter lang ressoning had be thame upon the same dittay, and pointis thairof, thay, and ilk ane of thame for thameselfis, votit, delyuerit, and acquytit the said James Erle Bothwell of arte and parte of the said slauchter of the King, and pointis of the said dittay.⁴

“ And sen (then) the said George Erle of Caithnes, Chanceler of the said assyses, in his and thair names askit instrumentis, that nouthir the said Aduocatis, nor the said Robert Cuninghame, as hauand commissioun of my Lord of Lennox, nor na utheris broucht unto thame ony wryting, takin, or verificatioun quhairby the dittay abone writtin might be fortifyit, nor the said assyse perswadit to delyuer ony utherwise then is abone writtin: nor zit was the said dittay sworn, nor na partie, except the said Aduocatis, compeirit to persew the same:⁵ And thairfoir, in respect

¹ [Somerville of Cambusnethan was a near relative of the Lords Somerville.—E.]

² [Sir John Mowbray of Barnbogle, near Cramond, now Dalmeny Park, on the shore of the Frith of Forth.—E.]

³ [Apparently Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne, probably the husband of the “Lady Boyn” mentioned by Sir James Melville as announcing to him in Edinburgh Castle the birth of James VI. This lady’s name is said to have been Mary Bethune.—E.]

⁴ Mr Camden says—“The great and sole concern of the conspirators (meaning Moray, Morton, and that gang) was to get Bothwell cleared of the guilt of the King’s murder.—On the day appointed was Bothwell arraigned and acquitted by his judges, and by Morton’s management.” And Bishop Leslie says to the faction in his “Defence”—“Were not ye, and your band and adherents, the chief and principal authors, assisters, fautors, aiders and abettors, for the clearing and justifying of the said Bothwell, accused and indited as guilty of the said murder?”—[Camden’s statement is historically correct, but the Earl of Moray, though certainly one of the “gang,” was not at the time in Scotland.—E.]

⁵ Conformable to this, Crawford’s MS. says the jury “acquitted him (Bothwell) from all suspicion of accession to the murder of the King,

that thay delyuerit according to thair knowlege, protestis that thay suld incur na wilfull error in ony wise heirefter. Quhilk instrument and protestatioun, immediatlie efter the

because it was neither proved by witnesses, nor notified to be probable accusation.”—[When the jury returned the verdict of acquittal in favour of Bothwell, the Earl of Caithness, who acted as Chancellor, protested in their name that no blame could be imputed to them on that account, because no accuser had appeared, and no proof was adduced of the indictment. The Earl also noticed that the *ninth* instead of the *tenth* of February was specified in the indictment as the day on which Darnley was murdered. When the mode in which trials were at that time conducted in Scotland is considered, Bothwell's acquittal is of no consequence in determining the question of his guilt or innocence. That desperate personage wrote a narrative of his personal history, his adventures on the coast of Norway, and other matters, after his flight from Scotland, which was printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB in 1829 by the title of “*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel, l'An. M.D.XXVIII.*” A copy of this narrative was taken by Mr Backman, an officer in the Swedish Service, under the authority of Count Wetterstadt, the Minister, and transmitted to England. The accuracy of this transcript was duly authenticated at Stockholm in June 1824, by Mr Hasselstrom, Sub-Librarian of the Royal Library at Drottningholm, and by Mr Gelinek, notary-public. It was communicated to the Editors of the NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE, by whom a translation of it was published in 1825 (vol. xiii. p. 521-537). The person who translated the Narrative for that periodical must have been in utter ignorance of the localities of Edinburgh, for he makes Bothwell write as if Riccio had been murdered in the *Castle of Edinburgh*, mistaking the words “*Chateau d'Edinbourg*,” which indicate the *Palace of Holyrood*, for *Castle of Edinburgh*. In the above mentioned production Bothwell more directly alleges that the murder of Darnley originated in the murder of Riccio, which latter crime he says was perpetrated by the Earl of Morton, Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, and other accomplices of the Earl of Moray who was then exiled in England—that the denial of Darnley of any implication in Riccio's murder, and his threats against those who persisted in accusing him, enraged those Noblemen—and that in consequence they, not Bothwell, concerted his murder, and were the perpetrators. In all this much truth is evident and undeniable, but Bothwell's assertion of his own innocence is not to be credited for a moment. He pretends that on the morning of Darnley's murder, while he was in bed with his Countess—a sister of the Earl of Huntly, utterly ignorant of the conspiracy or its agents, the said Earl of Huntly, his brother-in-law, came to him, and informed him of the murder—“At which,” says he, “I was much grieved, and many others with me.” Bothwell next asserts that he and the Earl of Huntly made a diligent search at the Kirk-of-Field for the guilty parties on the morning of the commission of the crime, and that they arrested several persons, and detained them until they could clear themselves in a satisfactory manner—the said Bothwell all the time most innocently never imagining that he was himself suspected. “However,” he says, “some of the members of the Council, fearing lest the attention of the Queen and myself should be directed to them, entered into a league

re-entrie of the said Erle of Caithnes Chanceler, and ane part of the namit of the said persounis of assyse, in the said Court of Justiciarie, befor the pronounciatioun of thair delyuerance foirsaid, at the desyre of the said Erle of Caithnes, was oppinlie red in judgement; and thairupoun he of new askit actis and instrumentis, and protestis in maner abone expremit.

“Extractum de Libro Actorum Adjornalis S. D. N. Reginae, per me, Joannem Bellenden de Auchnoule, Militem, Clericum Justiciarie ejusdem Generalem, sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus.

“JOANNES BELLENDEN, *Clericus Justiciarie*.”

Thus was the Earl of Bothwell acquitted by an assize¹ of the murder of the King, and yet nothing is more

with each other against her Majesty and us to prevent it. They accordingly exerted all their malice and ingenuity, by affixing letters and placards at night to the Court-House (Tolbooth), the church-doors, and about the streets and highways, in order to render me and my friends suspected of the said act. On learning that I was by these means censured, and accused of having committed a crime of which *I and all mine were innocent, as I call God to witness (!)*, I besought the Queen and her Council to allow legal proceedings to be instituted against me, that if upon strict inquiry I should be found guilty, I might be punished as such a crime should deserve; but if found innocent, *as in truth I am*, that such scandalous reports should cease.” Bothwell then proceeds to give his own version of the trial, and the verdict of acquittal, falsely asserting that he produced “respectable witnesses” to prove “in what place he was when the calamity (Darnley’s murder) occurred.” “On hearing that I was declared innocent,” he continues, “my opponents and enemies rose, and earnestly besought me not to proceed against them on account of the unfounded charges they had brought against me; but the feelings of their hearts and the fair expressions of their lips were completely at variance, as I have since experienced, and continue to experience even now.”—Translation of the Manuscript of the Earl of Bothwell in the *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. xiii. p. 527, 528; *Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*, 4to. Edin. 1829, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 13, 14, 15.—E.]

¹ Buchanan, Knox, and Spottiswood, do all agree in the story of the Earl of Cassils, though, after all they have said, it appears to be told with too doubtful circumstances; for if that Nobleman was willing to pay the mulct for refusing to be of the jury, it is much to be suspected the Queen could not command him under the pain of treason, as these writers are pleased to represent the matter. Besides, Mr Buchanan in his “Detection” says—“It was concludit that the meaner sort of the judges might with favour and fair promises be led; and the rest of the greater and graver sort (whom for fashion sake they were driven to call to the

certain than that he was the very principal contriver of that nefarious wickedness, as appeared soon after, both

matter) might be drawn with fear to acquit him" (Bothwell). If this was the case in Buchanan's days, it may be justly suspected that in our days fear operates most on the *meaner* sort, and favour on the *greater*. This author says likewise that the judges were *constrained*. One, methinks, would not wish to appear for life and death, before a bench of judges *constrained* to sit; such a one might reasonably dread an unfavourable cast. And whereas this author is pleased to divide the jury into a *meaner* and a *greater* sort, perhaps that division will not be found so just as he would misrepresent it, since it is certain that all the persons of the assize were very honourable, and sufficient by our law to sit on the trial of any Peer whatsoever. Mr Buchanan makes also a huge complaint, that the usual form of forty days was not allowed to elapse betwixt the indictment and the trial; but I suppose there may be herein some mistake by this author, seeing no such space of time is *now* required to intervene; fifteen days only is the legal term: And since we find the same precise time betwixt the 28th of March, the day on which the trial of the Earl of Bothwell was appointed, and the 12th of April, the day on which he was tried, we may safely conclude that the term betwixt indictments and trials has been the same *then* as *now*. And as to the grounds of Buchanan's complaint, it may with justice be affirmed that in the present case the Earl of Lenox as pursuer seems to have had small cause of dissatisfaction against the shortness of the Diet, since he had formerly in his letters pressed much for a speedy trial, nor could his Lordship and the setters up of the tickets be at any loss to produce their evidences after what they had so vigorously affirmed. The Earl of Lenox seems indeed to have had better foundation of complaint, that the Earl of Bothwell was still not only allowed to enjoy his liberty after having been accused, but allowed besides to be at Court, and sit in the very Council which directed the trial of himself and other persons alleged guilty of this murder. To which, whether it be a sufficient reply, that criminals are shut up in prison only to secure them against escaping out of the way of justice, I leave other people to judge; and it is certain that after an indictment is served, all persons have access to the pannel.—[Our Historian, at the commencement of his note, quotes from Buchanan's "*Detection of Mary Queen of Scots*," London, 1721, p. 30. Buchanan's narrative in reference to the Earl of Cassillis in that production is, that the said Earl "willing rather to pay his amercement, as the manner is, than to be a judge (jurymen) in the matter, when he had stood in it a while, and would not appear at the Queen's request and menacing, yea, though she sent her ring for credit both of her earnest prayer and threatening; at length, constrained with fear of exile and punishment, he yielded."—*Detection*, &c. p. 31. He repeats this statement in his "*History*" (Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 328), asserting that when the Earl of Cassillis offered to pay the fine rather than act as one of the jury—"in that very instant of time a messenger brought him a ring from the Queen, with a command that he should sit as one of the judges, or else she threatened to commit him to prison;"—and "when that did not prevail, she sent a second messenger, who told him he should be punished as a traitor if he refused." Knox briefly reiterates this allegation in his "*History*," Edin. edit.

by the declaration of several persons who acknowledged themselves guilty as accessory to the same,¹ and by his

1732, p. 405. The narrative of Buchanan and Knox is apparently unsupported by any evidence.—E.]

¹ See the Depositions of those persons who were executed for the murder in Anderson's Collection, vol. ii.—[See also the Deposition of William Powrie at Edinburgh, 23d June and 3d July 1567, in presence of the Privy-Council; the Deposition of George Dalgleish at Edinburgh on the 26th of June, in presence of the Earls of Morton and Atholl, the Provost of Dundee, and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange; the Deposition of John Hay, younger of Tallo, on the 13th of September, in presence of the Regent Moray, the Earls of Morton and Atholl, the Lairds of Lochleven and Pitarrow, the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, and James Macgill of Rankeillor; the Deposition of John Hepburn, called "Johne of Bowtoun," on the 8th of December, in presence of the Regent Moray, the Earl of Atholl, Lord Lindsay, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden; the two Depositions of Nicolas Hubert, alias *French Paris*, at St Andrews, in August 1569; the Confession of Ormiston of that ilk, alias *Black Ormiston*, in the Castle of Edinburgh, 13th of December 1573. All these, including the Confessions of Hepburn, Hay, Dalgleish, and Powrie, and the Deposition of Thomas Nelson, "cubicular" to Darnley, and who escaped the fate of his master, are inserted from Anderson's Collections, the British Museum, and other Records, in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 493-513. On the 14th of June 1567, Captain William Blackadder was "convict and fylit by ane assize of art and pairt" of Darnley's murder, soon afterwards executed and quartered at the Cross of Edinburgh, and his arms and legs sent to Stirling, Glasgow, Perth, and Dundee, on the 26th of July. On the 3d of January 1567-8, Hepburn of Bolton, Hay of Tallo, William Powrie, and George Dalgleish, were executed at the Cross of Edinburgh, after trial and conviction before the High Court of Justiciary, by which Hepburn, Hay, and Powrie, were sentenced to be "hangit to the deid on ane gibbet," and "thair heidis, leggis, and armis, to be cuttit from thair bodies, and put up and hangin, as for example, on the ports (gates) of Edinburgh, and other ports of the principal burrowis of this Realme; and their bodies to be brynt and consumit in fyre besyde the said gibbet." George Dalgleish was ordered to be "hangit to the deid, and his heid to be cuttit fra his bodye, and put upon the port of Edinburgh." This was after the flight of Bothwell subsequently narrated. In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts are the following entries of payments:—"Jan. 13, 1567-8. *Item*, to Johne Brown, messinger, and ane boy, passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis, togidder with the heid of Powrie, leggis of Johne Hay, younger of Tallo, and Johne Hepburne of Bolton, to be affixed on the portis of Glasgow, Hammiltoun, Dunbertane, Air, and Wigtoun, iij li. ijs. *Item*, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh to Leith, Haddingtown, and Jedburcht, with thair leggis to be affixit, xxii s. *Item*, to three boys passand of Edinburgh, with the rest of thair armes and leggis to the burrowis of Perth, Dundee, Aberdene, Elgin, and Inverness, to be affixt, lv s. *Item*, for crelis (willow baskets) and tursing (conveying) of the saidis heidis, leggis, and armis, and candle for packing thair of, x. s."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 491, 492.

own confession in Denmark the time of his death;¹ the

Nicolas Hubert, alias *French Paris*, was executed for the murder of Darnley in August 1569, and Ormiston of that ilk in December 1573. On the 1st of June 1581, the Earl of Morton, who had demitted the Regency in 1578, was tried before the High Court of Justiciary for his knowledge of the murder, on the accusation of his implacable enemy Captain James Stewart, King James VI.'s new favourite, by whom he had been created Earl of Arran—one of the most profligate men of the age. The condemnation and execution of Morton by the instrument which he is said to have introduced into Scotland, called the *Maiden*, are well known. On the 3d of June 1581, John Binning, described as “servant to Mr Archibald Douglas, Parson of Glasgow,” was tried for having been “airt and pairt of the tressonabill parrieide, murthour, and crewall slaughter of umquhill Henrie, King of Scottis,” and was sentenced to be executed.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 95, 96. On the 16th of June that year, George Home of Spott was tried and acquitted of having been an accessory to the murder of Darnley and of the Regent Moray.—Ibid. p. 101-108. The defective state of the Scottish Criminal Records, which are said to have been wilfully destroyed during that troublesome period, precludes an accurate knowledge of all the parties who were tried, acquitted, or convicted of Darnley's murder, but we may assume that numbers were accused or implicated. On the 26th of May 1586, the before mentioned Archibald Douglas, “Parson of Glasgow,” was tried for the murder of Darnley. He was the cousin of the Regent Morton, and one of the Ordinary Lords of Session. He was acquitted chiefly by the intrigues of Patrick, Master of Gray, and of Randolph, the English ambassador. It appears from that indictment that another domestic of Darnley, named Andrew M'Caig, was murdered with him, and his page Taylor, at the Kirk-of-Field house.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 142-154. Arnot's Criminal Trials, 4to. Edin. 1785, p. 7-20.—E.]

¹ [This is Bothwell's own Narrative, entitled, “*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel, l'An. M.D.LXVIII.*,” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, and mentioned in the previous note, p. 547 of this volume. This curious narrative was presented to the BANNATYNE CLUB by Henry Cockburn, Esq. Advocate, appointed a Judge in the Scottish Supreme Court, taking his seat on the Bench by the title of Lord Cockburn, in 1834, and by Thomas Maitland, Esq. of Dundrennan, Advocate, Solicitor-General for Scotland in 1840 and 1841. The volume is illustrated by Bothwell's arms, printed on the title-page, and engraved, the learned Editors inform us, “from a stamp upon a copy of *Les Douze Livres de Robert Valtrien touchant la Discipline Militaire a Paris*, 1555, in the Library of the College of Edinburgh, which appears to have belonged to the Earl.” The family arms are two lions pulling at a rose; the supporters are lions; the crest is the head and neck of a horse bridled, and the motto KEEP TREST, the whole surrounded by the inscription—JACOBUS HEPBURN COMES BOTHV. D(OMINUS) HAILLES, CRICHTONE ET LIDDES(DALE), ET MAGN. ADMIRAL SCOTIE. A fac-simile of Bothwell's signature—JAMES ERLE BOTHVILLE—in bold and legible hand-writing, is also copied from “a Precept of *clare constat* granted by him at Edinburgh on the 5th of March 1565, as superior of the lands of Clelandtown in the Barony of Bothwell and shire of Lanark, to William Cleland, as heir of his father, Alexander Cleland of that ilk.” This document, written on parchment, is preserved

particulars of which last, so far as I have got information, the readers may see in the Appendix.¹

in the charter-chest of North Dalrymple, Esq. of Fordel and Cleland, in 1845 presumptive heir to his brother John Earl of Stair, and has Bothwell's seal attached to it in a very entire state, bearing the inscription—SIGILLUM JACOBI COMITES DE BOITHVILE DOMINI HALIS ADMIRAL. It will be seen that Bothwell, after his flight to Denmark, was consigned to several prisons in that kingdom, and the learned Editors state that at "an early period of his confinement he wrote a *Narrative* of leading events which terminated in his flight from Scotland in 1567, and of his subsequent adventures upon the coast of Norway." It is farther observed in the Preface to "*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*," that the original is preserved in the Royal Library at the Castle of Drottningholm in Sweden, written in old French, and occupies sixteen leaves, neatly written, with a number of contractions, which render it difficult to be decyphered, of a volume of MSS. entitled—"Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel l'An. 1568, nec non Caroli Dantzaei Gallarum Regis Legati, Literæ ab anno 1575 ad annum 1586, ad Regem, Reginam, Proceresque Galliae, datæ durante Legatione in Dania; quibus adjunctæ sunt variæ Principum et Illustrium Virorum ad Dantzaeum Literæ." Bothwell's *Narrative*, it is added, "has apparently been revised by the author, from the number of additions and contractions which occur in a different hand, and in which the first person *je* is invariably used." It appears from an attestation on the MS. by the Chevalier Dantzay, who during the latter part of the sixteenth century was ambassador from France to the Courts of Sweden and Denmark, that Bothwell entrusted it to him that it might be submitted to Frederick II., King of Denmark, and it is presumed that the answer received by the Chevalier Dantzay was unfavourable. "It is just possible," observe the learned Editors, "that the *Narrative* committed to Dantzay may have been the same with that of which the King of Denmark is said to have transmitted a copy to Elizabeth (Jebb, ii. 227), and which Mary, in her correspondence with Beaton, accuses the English Queen of suppressing, (Laing, ii. 357)." A Latin inscription on the title-page intimates that the MS. came into the possession of Dr Claudius Plumius, a Professor in the Royal Academy at Copenhagen, who is said to have presented it to the Royal Library of Denmark in 1644. The learned Editors inform us, on the conjecture of Mr Granberg, Historiographer to Charles XIV. (Bernadotte), King of Sweden, that it "must have been carried off from this establishment by some Swede who accompanied Charles X. in his descent upon Zealand, and that in this way it ultimately passed into the hands of Gustavus III. of Sweden, by whom it was deposited in the royal collection at Drottningholm, where it still remains." A transcript of Bothwell's MS. was obtained by the Curators of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh by the influence of Professor Rask of Copenhagen, and under the superintendence of Mr Wallmark, Librarian to the King of Sweden, and this transcript, which was transmitted to Edinburgh, sufficiently attested as to its authenticity, was that printed in 1829 for the BANSATYSE CLUB.—E.]

¹ Numb. XVIII. [The dying Confession of Bothwell printed by our Historian in his Appendix from a MS. in the then Scottish College at Paris, and of which a copy is in the Cotton Library, British Museum, is spurious, and cannot be received as an authentic document. As it respects the

Two days after the acquittal of the Earl of Bothwell, viz. on Monday the 14th of April, the Parliament of this kingdom sat down, and the Earl of “Bothwell was “promoted to bear the royal sceptre¹ to the Parliament “House.”² And because the affairs of this meeting has

Confession of Bothwell, it was long, and still is, doubtful whether he ever made any at all immediately before his death, but this has no connection with his own Narrative of his “Affairs,” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB. Some writers have referred to it as convincing evidence of his own guilt and of the innocence of Mary, while others (Laing, vol. ii. p. 52) denounce it as a forgery, and contend that as Bothwell is alleged to have died mad, he was incapable of any genuine declaration at his death. Dr Gilbert Stuart, who admits the document printed by our Historian in his Appendix to be spurious, observes that “the want of the real Confession” is “still a deficiency in our history.” On this point the learned editors of “*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*” state—“The obscurity which hangs over the last years of Bothwell’s life excludes the hope of ever resolving this disputed point with any degree of certainty. Little is known of his personal history during this period, (from 1567 to his death in captivity at the castle of Malmoe in the province of Schonen in Sweden in 1576), or of the circumstances attending his death.”—Preface, p. iii. iv.—E.]

¹ [This appearance of Bothwell in the procession to the Parliament, which was held in the Tolbooth, greatly irritated the people, who were indignant at his mock trial and acquittal, and who strongly expressed their disgust when it was publicly rumoured that a divorce was meditated between the Earl and his Countess. Some allege that Bothwell carried the Sword of State—not the Sceptre—before the Queen, while Mr Tytler alleges on the other hand that he carried the “Crown and Sceptre,” referring as his authority to our Historian, who says nothing of the Crown in his brief extract from Crawford’s spurious MS. The conduct of Queen Mary at this period evinces a fatality and imbecility which can only be explained by viewing her as under the influence of a strong, engrossing, and ungovernable passion. She well knew the public feeling, for even in the streets and in her presence it was not repressed. The very market women exclaimed as she passed them—“God preserve your Grace if you are innocent of the King’s death.” It had been observed that Bothwell rode to his pretended trial on Darnley’s favourite horse, and it was reported to Drury that during the proceedings at that insult to justice Mary had sent him a message and token of her esteem.—(Drury to Cecil, MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, cited in Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 100, 101.) When she proceeded to the Parliament, she declined the ancient custom of a guard from Holyrood formed by the Magistrates and the civic body long known as the Trained Bands, preferring a company of hackbutterers; and as if still farther to excite sorrow and indignation at her conduct, she selected Bothwell to appear prominent with the Sceptre at a time when prudence might have suggested to her a different course.—E.]

² Crawford’s MS. And this author immediately adds—“And the Earl of Lenox, perceiving all things to go astray in Scotland, thought it unsure to remain any longer to behold such unpunished barbarity; he therefore

not been hitherto candidly represented, and a late publisher of Collections¹ thinks fit only to mention two or three Acts thereof, and omit the rest as being not necessary, I reckon, for his purpose, I shall therefore be the more punctual in reciting the journal of it, which through good fortune is preserved entire among the Records.

The Parliament² begun and holden at Edinburgh on Monday the 14th of April 1567. This day the Queen was not present,³ and nothing farther was done than the calling of the members, and marking those that were absent. The Parliament was holden this day by Commissioners therein named, viz. John Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of our whole kingdom, and Legate born (*totius Regni nostri Primate, Legatum natum*), Alexander Bishop of Galloway, William Bishop of Dunblane, Adam Bishop of Orkney, John Bishop of the Isles;⁴ Archibald Earl of Argyll,

retired himself to England by the west sea.”—[See Historie and Life of King James the Sext, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 8, in the Preface to which Crawford's MS. is severely exposed, and our Historian himself censured.—E.]

¹ [Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland, revised and published by James Anderson, Esq. in Four Volumes, Edin. 4to. 1727, vol. i. p. 117-127.—E.]

² I suppose my readers do know that all the Records of our Parliaments, the Acts excepted, are in the Latin tongue, and I have here turned a part of this Record into English only for the benefit of those that understand not that language.

³ [On the 14th of April, when the Parliament assembled, the Queen was absent, but she was present on the 16th, two days afterwards, when the real business of the Parliament commenced.—E.]

⁴ This was John Carsewell, at first made Superintendant of Argyll and the Isles, and afterwards, in the year 1566, presented by the Queen to the Bishopric of the Isles, for which, and for his being present in this Parliament, he was censured by the Assembly of the Kirk.—[Carsewell was rector or parson of Kilmartin in Argyllshire, and had been promoted to be one of the newly devised “Superintendants” in 1560 by the influence of the Earl of Argyll, who hoped to be assisted by him in his projected seizure of the temporalities of the Bishoprics of Argyll and The Isles, which he afterwards effected. Carsewell was merely a Titular or Tulehan Bishop, but the other four mentioned, viz. Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, Bishop Gordon of Galloway, Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane, and Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, had been canonically consecrated during the establishment of the Papal Hierarchy. Bishops Gordon and Bothwell, however, became Reformed preachers, and the latter was a Judge in the Court of Session. Carsewell was censured by the General Assembly in 1568 for his attendance at this Parliament and for becoming a Titular Bishop.—Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I. p. 144.—E.]

James Earl of Bothwell, George Earl of Caithness, David Earl of Crawford, Hew Earl of Eglinton, Andrew Earl of Rothes; George Lord Seton, John Lord Fleming, James Lord Ogilvie, John Lord Herries, Laurence Lord Oliphant; John Commendator of Aberbrothwick; Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Keeper of the Privy Seal; William Maitland younger of Lethington, Secretary; Sir James Balfour of Pittendriech, Clerk of Register and Council; Sir John Bellendein of Auchnoul, Clerk of Justiciary; Mr Robert Richardson, Prior of St Mary Isle,¹ Thesaurer; Mr John Spence of Condie, our Advocate—*Commissarios per specialem commissionem dictæ supremæ Domine nostræ Regine constitutos*; together with Monan (Ninian) Hog, Deputy of the Earl Marischal, William Henderson the Constable's depute, David Kintore, macer, Andrew Lindsay, dempster.² On the 16th of April, the Queen was present, and the Lords of Articles were chosen.³ Same day a discharge to the Earl of Mar of his own and his father's keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh, conformable to a prior exoneration

¹ [Richardson had been a canon and sacristan of the Abbey of Holyrood in 1520.—*Liber Sententiarum Officialis St Andree*, fol. 83.—E.]

² In Latin it is—*una cum Davide Kintore, Serjundo, et Andrea Lindesay, Judicatore*.—[David Kintore's situation or office of "macer" is obvious, and the name of Andrew Lindesay, "dempster," often occurs in the Justiciary Records of the time. The duty of the "dempster" in Scotland was to pronounce the doom or sentence in the High Court of Justiciary, as directed by the clerk of the court or the judge. The dempster was often the executioner, though it was different from that revolting office; but in the case of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, when they appointed an executioner, it was customary to furnish him with an extract recording the appointment, which that functionary presented to the High Court of Justiciary, and he was in consequence nominated *dempster*. Such a functionary has been long in disuse, the judges of the Court now pronouncing sentence.—E.]

³ [They were Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, Bishop Lesley of Ross, Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, the Titular Bishop Carswell of The Isles, the Abbots or "Commendators" of Aberbrothock, Kilwinning, Balmerino, and St Colm, as representing the Spiritual Estate; the Earls of Argyll, *Bothwell*, Crawford, Morton, Cassillis, and Marischal, Lords Fleming and Herries, for the Nobility; the Provost of Edinburgh, and Alexander Clerk, William Fleming for Perth, Gilbert Menzies for Aberdeen, Richard Blyth for Dundee, John Lockhart for Ayr, Charles Drummond for Linlithgow, and John Forhouse for Haddington, as representing the burghs.—*Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. ii. p. 546. This was the last Parliament which Queen Mary was allowed to hold.—E.]

made by the Queen and Privy-Council at Holyrood-house, 19th March 1566-7.¹

Last day of the Parliament, viz. 19th April, are these several Acts :²—1. Act concerning the Religion—to be seen among the printed Acts towards the end of Parl. 1 King James VI.³ 2. Ratification of the Earldom of Mar, Regality

¹ The reader will remember that the keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh had been committed to the Lord Erskine, father of the now Earl of Mar, about the time the Duke of Chastellherault demitted the Regency of the kingdom anno 1554. And now this Earl of Mar resigned up the said Castle to the Queen, and her Majesty delivered into his Lordship's keeping the young Prince her son.

² [The whole of the Acts of the last Parliament of Queen Mary are in the Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 545-590. Our Historian, in his list, makes the "Act concerning the Religion" to be the *first* Act, but it was in reality the *second*, for the first was the "Earl of Mar's discharge of the Castell of Edinburgh," which was passed on the 16th of April, when the Queen was present, and is the only document of business done on that day, when the Lords of the Articles were chosen to prepare the Acts which occupied the Parliament on the 19th, the last day of the meeting, for in those times "parliamentary sessions" were unknown. The Act or "Discharge," exonerating the Earl of Mar from all liabilities connected with Edinburgh Castle, which had been signed by the Queen at Holyrood Palace on the 19th of March, bears the additional signatures of the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, *Bothwell*, Moray (who signs himself *James Stewart*), Crawford, Cassillis, Atholl, Rothes, and Caithness, Bishops Gordon of Galloway and Lesley of Ross, Lords Fleming and Herries, Robert Richardson, Lord High Treasurer, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, Comptroller of the Queen's Household, Sir James Balfour, the Lord Justice Clerk Bellenden, Secretary Maitland of Lethington, John Spence of Comrie; and a personage who is styled "Ga. Rossen." Our Historian enumerates only twenty-four Acts of this Parliament, but *thirty* are recorded. The six which Bishop Keith omits are—"Ratification to the Laird of Dalhousie" (Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 572), who was George Ramsay, grandfather of the first Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie, and of his brother John Earl of Holderness; one of the two "Reductions of the Forfaltour of umquhile George Erle of Huntly;" and four other "Reductions" of the forfeitures of gentlemen of the name of Gordon, who had been concerned in Huntly's insurrection and the battle of Corrichie.—E.]

³ This Act is so full and explicite for the settlement of the new Form, that the Parliament held in the month of December following by the Queen's inveterate enemies and rebels could devise nothing stronger, and therefore satisfied themselves with repeating it in that new Parliament. It is therein declared that "the Queen had attemptit nothing contrair the estait of religioun, quhilk hir Majestie fand publiklie and universallie standing at hir arrival." Nobody needs find strange that Mr Buchanan should roundly affirm that nothing could be obtained at this Parliament from the Queen in favour of the Reformed religion; but that Archbishop Spottiswood should blindly go into the same steps, is unpardonable in that great Prelate.—[Buchanan's statements are

of Garioch,¹ Heritable Capitanrie of the Castle of Stirling, and keeping of the park thereof; Sheriffdom of Stirling, Bailliary and Chamberlainry of the Lordship thereof; Chamberlainry of certain lands in Menteith,² &c. to John Erskine,

unworthy of the least credit. He alleges that "the Queen in that Parliament was more rugged than formerly, for whereas before she pretended civility in her carriage, she now plainly discovered an inclination to tyranny, for she now flatly denied what she had promised at Stirling in matters of religion, and that was that the laws established under Popish tyranny should be abrogated in the first Parliament, and the Reformed religion should be strengthened by new laws; and when, besides her promise, two edicts signed with her own hand were produced, being caught here, she eluded them, and commanded the commissioners of the Kirk to attend her another time, but after that she never gave them an opportunity to appear before her again."—History, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 329. All this is gross misrepresentation. We have seen that Mary would willingly have restored the Papal Church, but she never had the power even to attempt it, and at this time the series of events and crimes which were rapidly succeeding each other, and her encouraging familiarity with Bothwell, had rendered her so unpopular that her authority was only nominal. But the Queen's procedure in this Parliament was the very reverse of that which Buchanan states. Mr Tytler writes—"It is worthy of remark also, that in this same Parliament the Roman Catholic partialities of the Queen seemed to be modified, and it is by no means improbable that owing to the influence of Bothwell, who was a Protestant, the Reformed party were treated with greater favours than before. Mary willingly agreed to abolish all laws affecting the lives of her subjects on the score of their religion; she passed an Act securing a provision to the poorer ministers; and it is likely more would have been granted if this Assembly had refrained from recommending a rigid inquiry into the King's murder, which she resented and declined."—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 102. Mr Tytler cites as his authority for the latter statements two MS. Letters in the State-Paper Office from Drury to Cecil, dated the 19th and 27th of April 1567; but no such Act "securing a provision to the poorer ministers" occurs in the Records of this Parliament; and as to the fierce invective transmitted by the Kirk General Assembly, "recommending a rigid inquiry" into Darnley's murder, that body did not meet till the 25th of June, upwards of *two months* after the last meeting of the Parliament on the 19th of April, and George Buchanan was elected Moderator. In the account of the proceedings in the "Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland" (Part I. p. 93-99) no allusion occurs to the murder of Darnley; but in another General Assembly held on the 21st of July that year, a fierce invective occurs against the perpetrators of that crime.—(Ibid. p. 108.)—E.]

¹ [Garioch is one of the five ancient districts of Aberdeenshire, and one of ten districts into which the county is divided in the Court of Lieutenancy. It is a beautiful, fertile, and well cultivated tract, long known as the *Granary of Aberdeen*, in the centre of the county, containing about 150 square miles and fifteen parishes.—E.]

² [The district in Perthshire so called, a part of which is now the parish of Port-of-Menteith, near the river Forth.—E.]

Earl of Mar. 3. Ratification of the barony of Blyth to Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington,¹ Keeper of the Privy Seal. 4. Ratification to Mr David Chalmers² of Ochterslo, Castle-ton, &c. 5. Ratification to the Earl of Bothwell³ of several lands, &c., to defray his charges in keeping the Castle of Dunbar.⁴ 6. Act concerning the Oblivion.⁵ 7. Act anent

¹ [Father of Secretary Maitland and of his second brother Sir John Maitland, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, who was created Lord Maitland of Thirlstane in 1590, and whose only son John, second Lord, was created Viscount of Lauderdale in 1616, and Earl of Lauderdale in 1624. Sir Richard Maitland, who filled several important offices, and was a very eminent personage, died at an advanced age in 1586.—E.]

² [One of the devisers of the murder of Darnley, and a follower of Bothwell. See the note respecting him, p. 372 of the present volume.—E.]

³ [The preamble of this Act, which confirmed Bothwell in all his lands and hereditary and acquired offices, is, considering the circumstances, and the crime of which he was accused, not a little remarkable. It sets forth that the Queen's Majesty "taking regard and consideration of the great and manifold good service done and performed not only to her Highness' honour, weill, and estimation, but also to the common weill of her Realm and lieges thereof by her right trusty cousin and councillor James Earl Bothwell, Lord Hailes," &c. The preamble of the "Ratification" to Mr David Chalmers is expressed in similar language. *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. ii. p. 549, 550.—E.]

⁴ The Queen likewise, besides the Castle of Dunbar, had committed to the Earl of Bothwell the keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh, for which and other great offices put into the hands of this Nobleman it is no wonder that the other Peers would make complaints; for besides that he was Heritable Great Admiral of the nation, he was just now Lord Warden of all the Marches. These heaps of favour loaded on this person bring into my mind the ridiculous story narrated by Buchanan concerning the fitting up the King's clothes, in order to be worn by the Earl of Bothwell. The readers may see a smart observation hereupon by Mr Crawford of Drumsoy, in the Preface to the Memoirs which go under his name.—[Crawford's "smart observation" in his Preface to his so called "Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland," 8vo. London, 1706, p. xvii. xviii.] is apparently the following passage:—"Now, consider Bothwell has all the cash a prodigal Queen can spare to make him wondrous beautish; nay, she must have some of her own handywork upon him too, though it was not easy for a sovereign oppressed with cares and business to sow so much in private, and if she did it in public she was very fond indeed to put it upon her gallant's back before the world, and upon so solemn an occasion.—Having thus equipt the Earl, made him a downright beau, and the poor King a very tatterdemalion, not fit to be seen in so scurvy a pickle, you will imagine perhaps the Prince is about to borrow a suit from his Lordship, to serve the present or any other occasion; but instead of that be pleased to turn the leaf, and to your great surprise you will find the King dead, and a tailor fitting up his shabby coat to make Bothwell a spark."—E.]

⁵ These two preceding Acts see in "Anderson's Collections," vol. i. p. 117-126.

the makers and upsetters of placearts and bills.¹ 8. Ratification to the Lord Robert Stewart, Abbot of Holyroodhouse,² the Queen's natural brother, and to his children, of several payments to be made from her Majesty's thirds of the Abbacy of Holyroodhouse.³ 9. Ratification to the Queen's natural brother James Earl of Moray⁴ of the said Earldom, of the date 22d January 1563-4; and Strathdee, of the date 20th October 1564. 10. Ratification to John Chisholm of her Highness's lands called the *King's Wark* in Leith.⁵ 11. Ratification to the Earl of Huntly of several lands. 12. Ratification to the Lord Herries of Terreigles, to be holden in blanch-farm of the Crown. 13. Ratification of some lands to John Sempil, son to Robert Lord Sempil.⁶ 14.

¹ See this Act on the next page.—[P. 561 of this edition.—E.]

² [See the note, p. 99, 126, of the present volume. Lord Robert Stuart was created Earl of Orkney in 1581, twelve years after he had exchanged the Abbey of Holyrood with Bishop Bothwell for the temporal estates of the See of Orkney.—E.]

³ [These "thirds" of the Abbey of Holyrood, assigned for the "nursing and upbringing of Lord Robert Stuart's bairns," were an annual pension for life of L.990 Scots, nine chalders four bolls of wheat, thirteen chalders eight bolls barley, eleven chalders eleven bolls oats, and one chalders five bolls meal, to "be uplifted and uptaken by them, their factors and tutors in their names yearly during their life times."—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 552, 553. The "bairns" mentioned in the Act as the lawful issue of Lord Robert Stuart and his wife Lady Janet Kennedy, eldest daughter of Gilbert third Earl of Cassillis, are Henry, Jane, and Mary Stuart, and two illegitimate sons named Robert and James. Henry is said to have died before his father, but the Commendator of Holyrood, or Earl of Orkney, had subsequently, according to the Peerage narratives, four other children. Those were Patrick, who succeeded him as second Earl of Orkney, John, who became Earl of Carrick, and two daughters—Lady Elizabeth and Lady Barbara. The two illegitimate sons are mentioned as Sir James Stuart of Tullos, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to James VI., and Sir Robert Stuart. Patrick, the successor of his father as second Earl of Orkney, was after a brief career of extraordinary turbulence and prodigality tried, convicted, and executed for high treason at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 6th of February 1614, and his estates and honours forfeited to the Crown.—E.]

⁴ [Moray, who, it will be recollected, was at the time out of Scotland, had entrusted the management of his affairs to Morton and Secretary Maitland, and they looked faithfully after the interests of one who was soon to be conspicuous in the great projects about to be developed.—E.]

⁵ [The "lands" were houses. The *King's Wark* in Leith, consisted of a series of buildings of great antiquity, occasionally a royal residence, and covering a considerable extent of ground, between the present Broad Wynd and Bernard Street, overlooking the harbours and quays.—E.]

⁶ [John Sempil, only son of Robert third Lord Sempil by his second

Ratification to James Ogilvie¹ of the lands of Findlater, &c. 15. Ratification to Michael Balfour² of Burley of the Coronership of the shire of Fife. 16. Ratification to the

wife Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Carlile of Torthorwald, married Mary, youngest daughter of Alexander fifth Lord Livingstone, one of the Queen's "four Marys." John Knox notices the marriage of Mary Livingstone, whom he ungallantly designates "*the lusty*," to John Sempill "*the dancer*," in one of his tirades against the morals of Queen Mary's Court, and he alleges—"It was weil knawin that shame haistit the marriage," which took place about the end of 1563.—*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 345. On the 9th of March following Queen Mary granted to John Sempill, who had been one of her Household, and Mary Livingstone, a charter of the lands of Auchtermuchty in Fife, and various properties, some of which in the North had belonged to the forfeited Earl of Huntly, till they should be provided with an estate of £500 per annum, in consideration of the "long continued services" of the latter, "her Majesty's familiar servitrice," and of her husband, the Queen's "daily and familiar servitour." By this Act of 1567 all the lands granted to John Sempill and Mary Livingstone in 1564 were ratified, with the exception of those of the Earl of Huntly, which were restored to him at the removal of the forfeiture of his Family in the person of his father who fell at the battle of Corrichie. Sempill acquired the lands of Belltrees in Renfrewshire. In 1576 the Regent Morton increased his unpopularity by proposing to re-assume as crown lands the properties ratified to Sempill in this Parliament, on the pretence that they were unalienable, and when the latter was informed of Morton's design, he is reported to have exclaimed, that if he lost his lands he should also lose his head. The Regent ordered him to be apprehended on a charge of conspiring to assassinate him in the month of January 1565-6, and he was put to the torture, under which, from weakness and fear, he confessed whatever charges were alleged against him. On the 15th of June 1577, Sempill of Belltrees was tried for this pretended conspiracy against Morton, convicted, ordered to be executed at the Cross of Edinburgh, and all his lands were forfeited; but he was afterwards pardoned. It is said that a gentleman named Adam Whiteford, the son of John Whiteford of that Ilk and Milton, who had married a half-sister of Sempill, was also tortured respecting the same false plot, which he persisted in utterly denying, though his body was cruelly mangled. He had been summoned to appear for trial on the 15th of May 1577, and had been outlawed for not choosing to risk the wrath of the Regent.—*Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. p. 70, 72. Belltrees continued in this branch of the Noble Family of Sempill till about the end of the seventeenth century. Sir James Sempill, a Scottish Poet of considerable talent, was the son of John Sempill and Mary Livingstone. His son Robert Sempill, and grandson Francis Sempill (son of Robert), who sold Belltrees, are also known as Scottish Poets.—E.]

¹ [See the notes respecting Ogilvy of Findlater, p. 155, 156, of the present volume. He married another of Queen Mary's four "Marys."—E.]

² [The father-in-law of Sir James Balfour repeatedly mentioned, who married Margaret his only child by his wife Christian, a daughter of Beaton of Creich.—E.]

Earl of Crawford. 17. Ratification to the Earl of Rothes. 18. Ratification to the Earl of Morton. 19. Ratification to the Earl of Angus. 20. Ratification to the Earl of Cathness of the office of Justiciary within the bounds and Diocese of Cathness, &c. 21. Reduction of the Forfeiture against the Earl of Huntly,¹ made at Edinburgh in the Parliament 28th May 1563. 22. Reduction of Forfeiture against the Earl of Sutherland.² 23. Four several Reductions of Forfeiture against gentlemen of the sirname of Gordon³ for assisting in the battle of Corrichie. 24. Reduction of Forfeiture against David Balfour of Balbuthais, given in Parliament 14th August 1546, for the murder of Cardinal Beaton.⁴

*Follows the Act anent the Makaris and Upsettaris of Placardis and Billis.*⁵

“THE quhilk day, forsamekle as be ane licentious abuse

¹ The reader will likewise remember that this Earl had been imprisoned soon after his father's unfortunate death, and the Earl of Moray had also been solicitous enough to have the sentence of death executed upon this present Earl of Huntly, even so far as to obtain a surreptitious warrant for that purpose, which, how soon it came to the Queen's knowledge, she was pleased graciously to recal. (See Crawford's Lives of the Chancellors.) About the time of her marriage with the Lord Darnly, she restored this Earl not only to his liberty, but besides made him Lord High Chancellor, upon removing the Earl of Morton, 20th March 1565-6. Nevertheless the forfeiture given against his father had not been reversed until now. Mr Anderson, in the Contents of the 1st Vol. of his “Collections,” p. 65, says—“The reasons and grounds of this Reduction seem to be somewhat extraordinary.” The principal reason, so far as I could observe, is the *informality* of the sentence of forfeiture; and the same reason is assigned for reducing the forfeitures of the other persons at that time concerned with the Earl of Huntly.

² [The Earl of Sutherland had been forfeited for his alleged concern in Huntly's insurrection.—E.]

³ [Alexander Gordon of Strathdon, George Gordon of Baldornie and his son, James Gordon of Lesmoir, John Gordon of Cairnburrow, James Gordon of Tullyangus, and “umquhile” Thomas Gordon of Cragtullie, all implicated in the Earl of Huntly's affair at Corrichie.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 576-586.—E.]

⁴ [David Balfour of Balbithie was a Fife laird. In the summons of treason against Norman Leslie and others he is designated *David Balfour, son to the Laird of Mountquhanie*, also in Fife.—Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 467. He was undoubtedly a near relative of Sir James Balfour.—E.]

⁵ [Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 552. This Act is undeniable evidence that the posting of the placards gave Mary much uneasiness, while those of the Nobility concerned in Darnley's murder would willingly sanction any measure which imposed silence or stifled public clamour.—E.]

enterit laitie and cum in practize within this Realme, thair hes bene placardis and billis, and tickittis of defamatioun, set up under silence of nycht, in diverse publick places, alsweill within burgh as utherwyss in the Realme, to the selander, reproche, and infamy of the Quenis Majestie and diverse of the Nobilitie; quhilk dissordour, gif it be sufferit langar to remane unpunyst, may redound nocht only to the greit hurt and detriment of all Nobillmen in thair gude fame, privat calumpniatours having be this meanis libertie to bakbyte thame, bot als the commone may be inquietit, and occasioun of querrelltakin upon fals and untrew selander.¹ For remeid quhairof, the Quenis Majestie and thre Estaitis of Parliament statutis and ordanis, that in tyme cuming, quhair ony sic bill or placard of defamatioun beis fundin affixt or tint, the persoun first seand or findand the samin sall tak it, and incontinent destroy it, swa that no forder knowledge nor copy pas of the samin: And gif he failziez thairin, and that thairthrow outhur the writing beis copyit, or proceidis to forder knowledge amang the peple, the first sear and findar thairof sall be punist in the samin maner as the first inventar, writtar, tynar, and upsettar of the samin, gif he wer apprehendit; that is to say, the defamaris of the Quene, under the pane of deid, and to extend upoun all the utheris to imprisonment, at the Quenis grace plessur, and forder to be punyst at hir Hienes plessur, according to the qualitie of the persoun swa defamit."

After the rising of the Parliament, in which the Earl of Bothwell is marked every day to have been present, a very infamous and remarkable scene did quickly open. This was the subscribing a Bond by a great many of the Nobility in favours of the Earl of Bothwell, bearing testimony of his acquittal of the late King's murder, recommending him as a proper person upon several accounts for partaking the honour of the Queen's bed, and pledging their mutual assistance in defence of the Earl's marriage with her Majesty. The tenor of the Bond was this.²

¹ The ground and reason of this Act, as here narrated, is certainly very sufficient for making a severe law against such practices, let Buchanan turn the same into as much ridicule as he will.

² [We now see perceptibly the developement of the confederacy to ruin Queen Mary, which her infatuated predilection for Bothwell rendered an

“WEE, under subseryveand, understanding that, although the nobill and mightie Lord James Erle Bothwell, Lord Halis, Creightoun, and Liddisdale, Great Admirall of Scotland, and Lievetennent to our Soverane Lady over all the Marches thair of, being not onlie bruitit and calumniat be placartes privilie affixit on the publick places of the kirk of Edinburgh, and utherwayes sklanderit be his evill willaris and privie enymeis as airt and pairt of the haynous murthour of the King, the Quenes Majestie’s lait husband, bot also be speciall letteris sent to her Hienes be the Erle of Lennox, and delaitit of the samyne cryme, quha in his letteris earnestlie desyrit and requyreit the said Erle Bothwell to be tryit of the said murthour, he be condigne inqueist and assisse of certane Nobillmen his peeres, and utheris barronnes of gud reputation, is fund guiltles and innocent of the odious cryme objectit to him, and acquite thair of, conforme to the lawes of this Realme, quha also for farder tryell of his part has offerit him reddie to defend and mantane his innocencie, contrair all that will impugne the samyne, be the law of armes, and sua hes omittit nothing for the perfyte tryell of his accusatioune, that any Nobillman of honor, or be the lawes, ought to underlye and accomplishe; and wee, considering the anciencie and nobillenes of his Houis, the honorable and guid service done be his predecessoris, and

easy achievement. After his acquittal at the mock trial, Bothwell, by a public cartel, challenged any gentleman who should persist in accusing him of Darnley’s murder. In his own Narrative he says that “according to the usage of the country and the laws of war,” he affixed the following document, sealed with his own seal, to the doors of the Tolbooth, St Giles’ church, and other public places:—“For the defence of my honour and reputation, if there be any one, whether noble or commoner, rich or poor, disposed to accuse me of treason, secret or overt, let him present himself, that I may give him combat in this just cause.”—*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel (BANNATYNE CLUB)*, p. 15. When Sir William Drury heard of this impudent defiance, he wrote to Cecil, requesting him to obtain Queen Elizabeth’s permission to allow him to accept it, as he was convinced of Bothwell’s guilt, and on the following day a paper was posted in Edinburgh declaring that, if a day was fixed, a gentleman would appear; but the affair was dropped. In the Parliament the principal conspirators against Darnley were all particularly benefited. Among those were Morton, Argyll, Huntly, and Mr David Chalmers. Bothwell himself had received a “Ratification of the Lordship and Castle of Dunbar,” with an enlargement of his office of High Admiral from the Queen; and his Bonds with the greater Nobility had been placed in such strong position that none dared to resist him.—E.]

speciallie himselffe to our Soverane, and for the defence of this her Hienes' Realme againis the enymeis thair of, and the amytye and friendshippe quhilk sa lang hes perseverit betwix his Houis and everie ane of us, and utheris our predecessoris in particular, and therewithall seing how all Nobillmen being in reputation, honor, and credite with their Soverane, ar comonlie subject to sustene asweill the vaine brutes of the commone people inconstant, as the accusatioun and calumnies of thair adversers, invyfull of our place and vocation, quhilk we of our dewtie and friendship are astrictit and debtbund to repress and withstand: Thairfore oblies us, and ilk ane of us, upon our faith and honors, and treuth in our bodies, as we are Nobillmen, and will answer to God, that in caice heireftir anie maner of person or persones, in quhatsumevir maner sall happin to insist farder to the sklander and calumniatioun of the said Erle of Bothwell, as participant, airt or pairt, of the said hyneous murther, quhairof ordinarie justice hes acquite him, and for the quhilk he hes offerit to do his devoire be the law of armes in maner above reherst; wee, and everie ane of us, be our selffes, our kyn, friendis, assistaris, partakeris, and all that will doe for us, sall tak trew, effauld, plane, and upricht pairt with him, to the defence and maintenance of his quarrell, with our bodies, heretage, and guidis, agains his privie or publick calumnyatoris, bypast or to cum, or onie utheris presumeand onie thing in word or deid to his reproach, dishonor or infamie. Mairovir, weying and considdering the tyme present, and how our Soverane the Quenes Majestie is now destitute of a husband, in the quhilk solitarie state the commonweall of this Realme may not permit her Hienes to continew and indure, but at sum tyme her Hienes in appearance may be inelynit to yield unto a mariage; and thairfore, in caice the former affectionate and hartlie service of the said Erle done to her Majestie from tyme to tyme, and his uther gude qualities and behaviour, may move her Majestie so farr to humble her selff, as preferring ane of her native born subjectis unto all forrane Princeis, to tak to husband the said Erle, wee, and everie ane of us undersubscribeand, upon our honors and fidelitie, oblies us, and promitts, not onlie to forder, advaunce, and set fordwart the mariage, to be solemnizat and compleit betwix hir

Hienes and the said noble Lord, with our voates, counsell, fortificatioun, and assistance in word and deid, at sic tyme as it sall please her Majestie to think it convenient, and how sone the lawes sall leave it to be done ; but in caice onie wald presume directlie or indirectlie, opinlie, or under quhatsumevir colour or pretence, to hinder, hald back, or disturb the same mariage, wee sall in that behalfe esteime, hald, and repute the hinderaris, adverseris, or disturbaris thair of, as our comoune enemyis and evill willeris, and notwithstanding the samyne, tak pairt and fortifie the said Erle to the said mariage, so farr as it may please our said Soverane Lady to allow ; and thairin sall spend and bestow our lyves and guidis againes all that leive or die may, as we sall anser to God, and upon our awin fidelities and conscience ; and in caice we doe in the contrare, never to have reputatioun or credite in na tyme heireftir, but to be accounted unworthie and faithles traytors. In witnes of the quhilk wee have subseryeit thir presents, as follows, at Edinburgh, the xix day of Aprile, the zeire of God 1567 zeires.”

This Bond is taken from a copy in the Cotton Library, and the names of the subscribers are contained in a separate paper bearing this title, viz.—“The names of such of the Nobility as subscribed the Band, so far as John Read might remember, of whom I had this copy,¹ being in his own hand, being commonly termed in Scotland *Aynslie's Supper*.² The Earles Moray,³ Argile, Huntley, Cassiles, Morton, Sutherland, Rothes, Glencairn, Cathnesse. Lords Boyd, Seyton, Sinclare, Semple, Oliphant, Oglevy, Rosse-

¹ Viz. Sir William Cecil, for the Bond is among his Collections in the Cotton Library, Calig. B. I. F. 1.—[The Earl of Moray's name as first at the above Bond is altogether unwarrantable, as he was not in Scotland at the time. This fact renders several of the signatures very suspicious.—E.]

² [A soubriquet occasioned by the parties meeting in the hostelry or tavern of a man named Ainslie.—E.]

³ Mr Anderson, Collect. vol. i. p. 112, justly observes, that “Mr Read's memory might have slipt in other Noblemen's names, as he seems to have done in the first that he sets down as a subscriber, viz. the Earl of Moray,” who was at that time certainly out of the kingdom. This John Read (or Reid) was Mr George Buchanan's amanuensis, and he has been employed in copying papers for Mr Cecil, the English Secretary :—so we may guess at the unworthiness of these papers, and how small regard is to be given them.

Hacat,¹ Carleile,² Herris, Hume, Innermeith. Eglinton subscribed not, but slipped away."

All parties do acknowledge that there was such a schedule subscribed at this time, and that, too, by persons who were enemies as well as friends to the Earl of Bothwell; and I may reasonably suppose my readers will readily accept in good part some further authentick account of this so infamous a writing. There is, then, another copy of this same Bond in the Scottish College at Paris, attested by the proper subscription of Sir James Balfour of Pittendrich, the Clerk of Register and Privy-Council, at the time the Bond was formed, who had the original in keeping; and this attested copy that gentleman sent to Queen Mary, as he tells in his letter to her Majesty of the 30th January 1580-1.³ The substance of the Bond is the same as in the copy belonging to the Cotton Library, with no material difference except the date, which is the 20th of April, in place of the 19th. This difference may, indeed, appear to be not very material, and yet there is some ground for observing the difference, when it is considered that the fautors of the Earl of Moray's party pretend that in the very same evening, after the Parliament was ended, which was on a Saturday, the Earl of Bothwell invited so many of the Nobility to the house of one Ainsly, a taverner,⁴ where he made them sign the

¹ [James fourth Lord Ross of Hawkhead near Paisley, of which *Hacat* is the local corruption.—E.]

² [Michael Carlyle, fourth Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald—a Peerage which became extinct in the reign of Charles I.—E.]

³ Mem. Scot. tom. xiii. fol. 30.

⁴ [Bothwell invited the principal Nobility to a supper in a tavern in Edinburgh kept by a person named Ainslie, and they sat drinking till a late hour. During this carousal a band of two hundred hackbutterers surrounded the house and overawed the inmates. When they were all considerably intoxicated, Bothwell rose and proposed his marriage with the Queen, alleging that he had her consent, and even producing her written warrant, it is said, authorizing him to submit the important matter to her Nobility. This was little more than *five weeks* after the murder of Darnley. Some of his guests were his sworn friends and companions in guilt, others were terrified, and dreaded his power; but all, except the Earl of Eglinton, who contrived to escape, were induced to sign the preceding Bond, in which they declared their conviction of Bothwell's innocence, and recommended him as a suitable husband for the Queen, whose solitary widowhood, they pretended, was injurious to the commonwealth. In Bothwell's own "Narrative" he takes no notice of

foregoing Bond which he had ready in his pocket for that purpose—the doing whereof, it is said, they could not evite, that Earl having surrounded the house with a great number of armed men ; but to testify their abhorrence of what they had been forcibly engaged to comply with, most of them got up early next morning, and left the city by four of the clock. But this pretended force and jest of *Ainsly's Supper*, which in the Cotton Library is annexed to the Bond, seem to lose their foundation by the true date being the *twentieth* day of April.¹

this entertainment in Ainslie's hostelry, but he alleges that eight Bishops, twelve Earls, and eight Lords, came to him at *his own house*, after he had been acquitted, and that they did so “ of their own free will, and without any solicitation,” to offer him their support and friendship. He says that they approved of his conduct in defending his “ *honour (!)*” against the charges preferred against him—that they and their friends were determined to support him against all who accused him of Darnley's murder—that they thanked him for his friendly behaviour to them—and that as the Queen was now a widow, and had only one infant son, as they would not consent to her union with a foreigner, they considered him (Bothwell) to be the most worthy of her of any in the kingdom. He adds that they expressed their resolution to facilitate the marriage, and to oppose those who should endeavour to offer any impediment, consulting at the same time how he could lawfully procure a divorce from his Countess, to which they came to an unanimous agreement. This is the substance of the following extract, which is in his own language, but is not to be received as truth :—“ *Après que j'eus gagné ma cause, comme dict est, vindrent deuers moy en mon logis vingt huict du dict Parlement de leur franche et propre volonté, sans estre pryéz, qui estoient douze Contes, huict Euesques, et huict Sieurs, ma faisant cest honneur de m'offrir leurs conionction et amytié comme s'ensuyt. Premièrement qu'ils songnoissoient que j'auois faict mon debuoir pour defendre mon honneur en toutes les choses, dont ils m'auoyent voulu accuser, pour ceste cause qu'ils employeroient leurs corps, biens, parens, et amys, et tout ce que en peult defendre, pour me defendre, enuers et contra tous ceux qui me voudroyent doresnavant rechercher en quelque sorte que ce fust pour le dict crime. Davantage me remercyerent chascun particulierement de ce que je m'estois comporté si amyablement envers eux, et me firent tel recit : Qu'ils voyoyent que la Royne estoit vefue, et pourroit avoir des enfans, qu'elle n'avoit encores que ung jeune Prince. Qu'ils ne vouloyent permettre qu'elle esponsast aulcun estranger, et qu'il leur sembloit que j'étois le plus digne qui fust au royaume. Ce considere qu'ils avoyent resolu de faire ce qu'ils pourroyent afin que ce mariage fust accomply, et qu'ils s'oposeroient à tous ceux qui y voudroyent mettre empeschement. Au mesme instant ils consulterent comment je pourrois légitimement repudier ma premiere princesse, celon les loix divines, de l'Eglise, et la coustume du pays, dont ils convindrent incontinent.*”—*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 16.—E.]

¹ [Bishop Keith is here mistaken. Mr Tytler says that a contemporary

There is, howsoever, no doubt that the Earl of Bothwell has used all proper persuasives to obtain the consent of so great a number as subscribed to this Bond. This is plainly acknowledged by himself in the Instructions sent into France after his marriage with the Queen ;¹ and I suppose as little doubt needs be made that these Noble persons, who did afterward set themselves in such opposition to the Earl, did at least very readily comply with Bothwell's proposal on purpose to lead him into snares ; and perhaps, also, it was true which Cambden, as well as some other writers, says² concerning the Bond, viz.—“ The confederacy so managed the matter as to work up a great part of the Nobility to comply with the marriage, and to set their hands to a writing to that purpose, for fear if he (Bothwell) had sunk from his hopes he should have betrayed the whole bloody secret.” And had there been such threatening and collusion of armed force made use of by the Earl of Bothwell, as is pretended, in my opinion we had heard more of it in a more publick manner, and that Lord's enemies would not have failed afterwards to have made good use of it to ruin his whole wicked contrivance.³

copy of the Bond is preserved in the State-Paper Office, dated *nineteenth* April 1567, and bearing the endorsement in Randolph's hand-writing—“ Upon this was grounded the accusation of the Earl Morton.”—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 104.—E.]

¹ See these Instructions, p. 592, &c.

² [The passage inserted by our Historian in his text is not in Camden's *Annales of Queen Elizabeth*, 4to. London, 1625.—E.]

³ [Although the names of Morton and Argyll were affixed to the Bond obtained by Bothwell, recommending that “ noble and mighty Lord” as a suitable husband for the Queen, those two personages, in conjunction with the Earl of Atholl and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, were secretly organizing a party for the protection of the infant Prince and the government against the designs of Bothwell. Several paid informers from England were now in Scotland, and secret intelligence of every transaction was sent with astonishing rapidity to Cecil and the Earl of Bedford, who managed Scottish affairs. Meanwhile Queen Elizabeth was watching with intense interest every movement of Mary, and saw the ruin of her envied rival in the career of passion upon which it was too apparent she had entered. The new confederacy formed against Bothwell, in which Morton and Argyll acted the part of consummate hypocrites, when it is recollected that their signatures were at his Bond for the Queen's marriage, cautiously resolved, while organizing its strength, to consult Elizabeth on every occasion. On the 20th of April, which was Sunday—the day after the entertainment given by Bothwell to his avowed

As to the subscribers of the Bond, they stand thus in the above-mentioned attested copy :—" Santandrois, William Bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ, William Bishop of Dumblain, Alexander Episcopus Brechinen, Joannes Episcopus Rossen. John Bishop of the Isles, Adam Orchaden.; George Earl of Huntley, Argyl, Mortoun, Cassilis, Sutherland, Errol, Crawford, Cathnes, Rothes. The Lords R. Boyd, John Lord Glammiss, Wm. Ruthven, Sempill, Herryys, Ja. Lord Ogilvy, Flemyng." And underneath these subscriptions are the following words—" *This is the authentick copie of the principal Band as is above-written*"—(signed) "SIR JA. BALFOUR"—(in his own writing).

The Earl of Bothwell being now master of the joint assistance, as he imagined, of so many Noble persons, resolved to make himself without delay master of the Queen also.¹ For this purpose, when her Majesty had gone to

and pretended friends in Ainslie's tavern, Sir William Kirkaldy addressed a letter to the Earl of Bedford, informing him of the degraded servitude of the Nobility, and of the infatuation of Mary, who was no longer mistress of her own actions, but assuring the Earl that if Elizabeth would assist him and his friends the murder of Darnley would be speedily avenged. Kirkaldy prominently drew Bedford's attention to the dangerous situation of the infant Prince, and predicted Mary's marriage to Bothwell, of whom, he said, she had become so "shamefully enamoured," that she had been heard to say—"She cared not to lose France, England, and her own country, for him (Bothwell), and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat before she leave him." Kirkaldy concluded his letter thus—"Whatever is dishonest reigns presently in our Court. God deliver them from their evil!"—Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 104, 105, 106.—E.]

¹ [Our Historian evidently wishes to palliate, as much as possible, the conduct of the Queen and of Bothwell, as if the former had no knowledge of the designs of the latter; but this cannot be admitted by any candid inquirer into the *denouement* of the extraordinary career of Mary in Scotland. While she and Bothwell believed that all their secret plans were safe, Kirkaldy's letter, mentioned in the preceding note, was followed by an anonymous communication, probably addressed to Cecil, which shews that the confidential agents of Mary and Bothwell were sufficiently venal, and betrayed their projects. The writer, whoever he was, mentions that the Countess of Bothwell, Huntly's sister, was about to divorce her husband, and that Mary had actually projected with Bothwell his seizure of her person, and the affected open violence by which he was to carry her to Dunbar Castle. "This is to advertise you," says the writer, "that the Earl of Bothwell's wife is going to part with her husband, and a great part of our Lords have subscribed the marriage between the Queen and him. The Queen rode to Stirling this last Monday, and returns this

Stirling two days after, viz. on the 21st, to visit the Prince her son,¹ the Earl drew together a body of about 800 horsemen, under a pretence, some say, of marching into Lidsdale to look after thieves and robbers, of which and the other southern countries he was Lord Lieutenant for the time; but instead of going southward, as was given out, he marched immediately to the west, and met the Queen at Almond-Bridge² on the 24th of the same month of April,

Thursday. I doubt not but you have heard how the Earl of Bothwell has gathered many of his friends, and, as some say, to ride in Liddesdale, but I believe it is not, for he is minded to meet the Queen this day called Thursday, and to take her by the way and bring her to Dunbar. Judge you if it be with her will nor no; but you will hear more at length on Friday or Saturday, if you will find it good that I continue in writing as occasion serves.—At midnight.” MS. Letter, State-Paper Office. Mr Tytler observes—“This letter, though undated, contains internal proof that it was written on Thursday, the 24th April, the day Bothwell carried off the Queen to Dunbar.”—Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 107, 108.—E.]

¹ [Our Historian was apparently not aware of an interesting particular connected with Queen Mary’s visit to Stirling on this occasion. When she arrived, the Earl of Mar, Governor of the Castle, who was responsible for the safety of the infant Prince, and who was well informed of all the rumours concerning Bothwell, refused to admit the Queen into the royal apartments with more than two of her ladies.—MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, 27th April 1567, cited in Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 108.—E.]

² It stands over Avon-water, a short mile to the west of the town of Linlithgow, and is now commonly called Linlithgow-bridge.—[Our Historian is most inaccurate in making *Almond Bridge*, where Bothwell seized Queen Mary, to “*stand over Avon Water*,” as there happens to intervene a distance of probably *fifteen miles*—the entire length of the county of Linlithgow from east to west, and the locality which our Historian most erroneously assigns is the road-side hamlet of Linlithgow-Bridge, upwards of a mile west of the burgh of Linlithgow, on the road to Falkirk and Stirling. At that hamlet the Avon, not the *Almond*, is crossed by a bridge. The seizure of Mary occurred near the bridge over the river Almond. The river Almond, which enters the Frith of Forth at the village of Cramond, partly divides the counties of Edinburgh and Linlithgow, or Mid and West Lothian on the east; and the Avon, which falls into the Frith of Forth between Borrowstounness and Grangemouth, is the boundary between the counties of Linlithgow and Stirling on the west. Chalmers (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 216) merely states that Bothwell at the head of 800 men seized the Queen at the *Foulbriggs*, and in another place (vol. ii. p. 233), he assigns the locality as “*near Edinburgh*.” This indefinite assertion seems to have misled Dr Lingard, who, in his “History of England” (4to. edit. London, 1823, vol. v. p. 249), shews *his* ignorance of the place, by mentioning the said “*Foulbriggs*” as only “*half a mile from the Castle of Edinburgh*.” (‘) Almond Bridge,

in her return from Stirling, took her Majesty's horse by the bridle, "and conveyed her by force, as appeared, to the Castle of Dunbar, to the end he might enjoy her as his lawful spouse.—The friendly love was so highly contracted betwixt this great Princess and her enormous subject, that there was no end thereof (for it was constantly esteemed by all men that either of them loved other carnally), so that she suffered patiently to be led where the lover list, and all the way neither made obstacle, impediment, clamour, or resistance, as in such accidents use to be, or that she might have done by her princely authority, being accompanied with the Noble Earl of Huntly, and Secretary Maitland of Lethington."¹ Sir James Melvil² mentions the same two persons and himself to have been in company of the Queen, and he tells that they three *only* were carried captives to Dunbar; all the rest of the Queen's servants, &c. were permitted to go free; and next day, he says, that *he* also obtained permission to go home. There, adds he, the Earl of Bothwell boasted he would marry the Queen, who would or who would not, yea, whether she herself would or no: And Captain Blackader,³ who had taken Sir James, alleged the thing was done with her Majesty's own consent.

Whatever conjectures, surmises, or complaints might have been made in the minds of men, when they first heard of this surprising and treasonable action,⁴ yet all ground of

where Bothwell secured Mary's person, is upwards of six miles west of Edinburgh on the road to Linlithgow and Stirling, and about eleven miles from the former town. It is pretended that Morton and others, who had now concerted a deep laid plot to ruin the Queen, advised Bothwell to intercept her as she returned from Stirling, and that her subsequent marriage to him was the result of their recommendation.—History of Mary Queen of Scots, or a Translation from the only MS. known to exist, of the work entitled "Martyre de Marie Stuart, Roynne d'Escoce, Dovairiere de France," by Adam Blackwood, Councillor of State to the King of France, Svo. Antwerp, 1588, printed for the MAITLAND CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1834, p. 35, 36.—E.]

¹ Crawford's MS.

² [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 79, 80; and the same Memoirs printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB from the Original MS. in the possession of the Right Honourable Sir George Rose, 4to. Edin. 1827, p. 177.—E.]

³ [Captain William Blackadder was tried, convicted, and condemned to be executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 24th of June 1567, for his share in the murder of Darnley.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 490.—E.]

⁴ [The Queen remained at Stirling till her departure on the 24th, and

conjecture seemed quite to evanish when a process at the Earl of Bothwell's instance was commenced, craving a divorce from his wife, Lady Jean Gordon,¹ sister to the Earl

on the 26th, two days after Bothwell had carried her to Dunbar, Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange wrote the following letter to the Earl of Bedford, but it must be remembered that he was the enemy of Mary, and resolutely opposed to Bothwell—"This Queen will never cease unto such time as she (will) have wrecked all the honest men of this Realm. She was minded to cause Bothwell to ravish (forcibly to seize) her, to the end that she may sooner end the marriage whilk she promised before she caused Bothwell murder her husband. There are many that would revenge the murder, but they fear your mistress. I am so suted to for to enterprize the revenge, that I must either take it upon hand, or else I maun (must) leave the country, the whilk I am determined to do, if I can obtain license; but Bothwell is minded to cut me off, if he may, ere I obtain it, and is returned out of Stirling to Edinburgh. She minds hereafter to take the Prince out of the Earl of Mar's hands, and put him in his hands that murdered his father, as I writ in my last. I pray your Lordship let me know what your mistress will do, for if we seek France, we may find favour at their hands, but I would rather persuade to lean to England. This meikle in haste from my house the 26th of April."—MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, copy of the time backed in the hand-writing of Cecil's clerk—"Copy of the Laird of Grange's letter to the Earl of Bedford," *apud* Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 109.—E.]

¹ [We have already seen that Bothwell married on the 22d of February 1565-6, Lady Jane Gordon, his cousin in the fourth degree of consanguinity, in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, in the presence of Mary and Darnley. Bishop Gordon of Galloway, the uncle of Lady Jane Gordon, a Prelate repeatedly mentioned as having renounced the Roman Catholic faith, performed the ceremony according to the newly devised form, though Lady Jane was a Roman Catholic, but Bothwell refused to be married according to that ritual, notwithstanding the particular request of the Queen herself. The marriage contract, which was dated on the 9th of February 1565-6, is recorded in Privy Seal Register, xxx. fol. 8. Bothwell was at that time thirty-five years of age, and his bride seems not to have been very scrupulous as to his character, which had been long notoriously bad, for on the 6th of April 1565 the Earl of Bedford wrote to Cecil—"I assure you Bothwell is as naughty a man as liveth, and much given to the most detestable vices;" and again, on the 8th of February 1565-6, Bedford assures Cecil that Bothwell neither "fears God nor loves justice." It is most unlikely, however, that the inclinations of Bothwell's Countess were ever consulted in the matter—a system of family tyranny commonly practised in that age among persons of rank, if the match in other respects was considered suitable. Lady Jane Gordon was, according to the Peerage accounts, the second daughter of George fourth Earl Huntly, who fell at the Battle of Corrichie, and his Countess Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Lord Keith, and sister of William fourth Earl Marischal. Bothwell had no issue by his marriage with Lady Jane Gordon. Before the divorce he granted to her for life the lands of Nether Hailes in Haddingtonshire, which was confirmed by a charter of the Great Seal, 10th June 1567—(Privy Seal Register, xxxvi. fol. 115).]

of Huntly, to whom he had been married only about six months before.¹ The business was prosecuted both after the ancient and the new established Form.² In the Archbishop's Court,³ the Earl sued for a divorce upon the score of

Lady Jane Gordon married, in December 1573, Alexander eleventh Earl of Sutherland, by whom she had issue; and after his death, which happened in December 1594 at Dunrobin Castle, she married, as her third husband, Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne. This lady died in May 1629 in the 84th year of her age, by which we ascertain that she was in her 21st year when she married Bothwell, who was fourteen years her senior. She enjoyed her jointure out of the Earldom of Bothwell till her death. Lady Jane, though united for a short time to a most unscrupulous husband, and happily escaping his evil fortune caused by his crimes, is described as "virtuous and comely, judicious, of excellent memory, and of great understanding above the capacity of her sex." By the Earl of Sutherland she had issue, John twelfth Earl of Sutherland, and three other sons, the youngest of whom was Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, Bart. the historian of the illustrious Family of Sutherland, whose "Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland from its Origin to the Year 1630"—a stately folio, the original MS. of which is in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland, and a copy in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, was printed and published at Edinburgh in 1813.—E.]

¹ [Bishop Keith is here again inaccurate. Lady Jane Gordon was married to Bothwell, as stated in the preceding note, on the 22d of February 1565-6, and the marriage was annulled on the 7th of May 1567, so that she was nearly *one year and three months* the wife of the Earl.—E.]

² [Or the ancient Roman Catholic form of procedure, and that devised by the Reformers.—E.]

³ Sometime about the end of December preceding, the Queen had by a signature restored to the Archbishop of St Andrews his ancient consistorial jurisdiction over all that Diocese. The Judges nominated at this time by the Archbishop were Robert Bishop of Dunkeld, William Bishop of Dunblain, Mr Archibald Crawford, Parson of Eagilsham, Mr John Manderston, Chanon of the College Church of Dunbar, Mr Alexander Crichton and Mr George Cook, Chanons of Dunkeld.—[This statement that the Queen had restored Archbishop Hamilton about the end of the preceding December to his "ancient consistorial jurisdiction" over the Diocese of St Andrews is not clear; but it is certain that the Primate had the power, which he exercised in the matter of this unhappy divorce. It was suspected that the recent restoration of his consistorial rights to Archbishop of Hamilton had been made with a view to procure this divorce as soon as possible. Nevertheless, by a letter recorded in the Books of Sederunt, dated January 7, 1567, Queen Mary transferred the nomination of the Commissaries to the Court of Session, who about that time obtained a grant of the quots of testaments, authorizing those Judges to present to her qualified persons for the office after due examination, and declaring all grants of commissariat made without such previous presentation null. At the establishment of the Episcopate in 1609, the Bishops of the several Dioceses were restored to the nomination of the

consanguinity;¹ and in the new Consistorial or Commissariot Court, appointed by the Queen,² the plea was founded on

Commissaries, and the right of naming the four Commissaries of Edinburgh was by statute divided between the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow. After the erection of the Bishopric of Edinburgh in 1633, the nomination of the two Commissaries of Edinburgh, which had been in the gift of the Archbishop of St Andrews, was transferred to the Bishop of Edinburgh, but it was provided that the Archbishop should consent to the nomination. After the Revolution the patronage of those judicial offices reverted to the Crown.—*Erskine's Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, edited by Alexander Macallan, Esq. Advocate, Svo. Edin. 1838, p. 108; *Ferguson's Treatise on the Constitutional Law in Scotland*, Svo. Edin. 1829, p. xvii. As to the parties mentioned by our Historian as the Judges nominated by Archbishop Hamilton on the above occasion, the Bishop of Dunkeld was Robert Crichton, and the Bishop of Dunblane was William Chisholm, the nephew and coadjutor of his predecessor also called William Chisholm, in that See. Both were connected with the subverted Hierarchy. Archibald Crawford, Parson of Eaglesham in Renfrewshire, was the second son of John Crawford of Crawfordland. He had been secretary and almoner to Mary of Guise, the Queen Regent of Scotland, with whose corpse he proceeded to France, and he was also almoner to Queen Mary. He was appointed an Ordinary Lord of Session in April 1566, but he was deprived for "inhabilitie," and "divers offences committed by him," in June 1568.—E.]

¹ [We have seen that Bothwell was the cousin in the *fourth degree* of Lady Jane Gordon, a very distant relationship on which to found a process of divorce even according to the Roman Catholic ritual, which prohibits the marriage of cousins-german unless sanctioned by a Papal dispensation. The direct connection of the Noble Families of Hepburn and Gordon, whose territorial possessions were in opposite quarters of Scotland, seems to have had a royal origin. Adam, second Earl of Bothwell, married Agnes, illegitimate daughter of James Earl of Buchan, uterine brother of James II., and the issue was Patrick third Earl, the father of Bothwell. Alexander third Earl of Huntly, married Joanna or Janet Stewart, a daughter of the same Earl of Buchan, and his great-grandson was George fifth Earl of Huntly, whose sister Bothwell had married. Probably other relationship by intermarriages among their respective friends could be traced, as most of the Scottish Nobility were more or less connected with each other by such family arrangements.—E.]

² See the Act of Privy Council constituting the Court, anno 1563, in the Appendix. The Judges in this Court were Mr Robert Maitland, Mr Edward Henryson, Mr Alexander Sim, and Mr Clement Little, lawyers.—[Robert Maitland was Dean of Aberdeen, and was appointed an Ordinary Lord of Session in December 1564. Edward Henryson was a learned civilian who received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Bourges, and was in great repute as a scholar. He was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session in 1566. Dr Henryson's salary as a Commissary was 300 merks. Alexander Sim and Clement Little were Advocates, and the latter founded the Library of the University of Edinburgh. It is to be observed, however, that the name of Alexander Sim is not in Queen Mary's "*Carta Constitutionis Commissarium Edinburgi*" of 1563, and that of Sir

the head of *adultery*:¹ and in both Courts the divorce was finished in the space of very few days.² “They had scarcely remained be the space of ten days in the Castle of Dunbar, and no great distance being between the Queen’s chamber and Bothwell’s, when they thought it expedient to come to Edinburgh Castle.³ And by the way the Queen behaved herself to the people as that Bothwell was ready to put her at liberty again, according to the duty of an obedient subject. But at the entry of the tower that leads to the Castle, he made semblance to lead her bridle; and sensible people interpreted the same as that he conveyed her

James Balfour, “Parson of Flisk,” is inserted with Maitland, Henryson, and Little.—See the same Sir James Balfour’s Practicks, Edin. folio, 1754, p. 670-673. As it respects the Consistorial Court, it was instituted by Queen Mary on the 8th of March 1563-4, with four Judges, to try questions of marriage, nullity, divorce, legitimacy, bastardy, confirmations of moveable succession, and a variety of incidental matters, such as alimentary claims. Such a Court was necessary, as in 1560 all ecclesiastical jurisdictions which had belonged for centuries to the Bishops were abolished. A subordinate Commissary was also appointed to each of the Dioceses to try minor and local cases. On the 12th of March 1563-4, Queen Mary issued particular instructions to be observed by the Commissaries of Edinburgh and of the Dioceses, which were ratified by the Parliament in 1592 and 1606.—E.]

¹ [This charge evidently implicates Queen Mary after Bothwell’s seizure of her person at Almond Bridge.—E.]

² “The 26th day of April, first precept for the partising of the Erle of Bothwell and his wyiff,” says Cecil’s Diary, “was direct furth from the Commissaries of Edinburgh; and April 27th, the second precept of partising before Mr John Manderston, Commissair to the Bishop of Sanctandros, wes direct furth.”—[Blackwood, Mary’s zealous panegyrist, pretends that her scruples concerning Bothwell as the murderer of Darnley were overcome by the assurance that he was cleared of all suspicion by the law, and that *his Countess was dead!*—History of Mary Queen of Scots, printed for the MAITLAND CLUB, p. 34, 35. These statements are of no authority. Mary, whatever may have been her opinion of Bothwell, knew well that his Countess was alive, otherwise the divorce on the ground of consanguinity and adultery was unnecessary. Bothwell carried on *his* process in the Archbishop’s Court, and the marriage was declared null on the 7th of May; and Lady Jane Gordon prosecuted *hers* before the Consistorial Court, who pronounced the sentence of divorce on the 3d of May; but “whether the parties to those proceedings,” says Chalmers, “could marry again—he to some other woman, and she to some other man—was then doubted by the gravest lawyers.”—Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. ii. p. 234, 235. The process was hurried through the Archbishop’s Court and the Commissary Court in *two days*. Such was the indecent haste by which Mary was impelled in her blind and infatuated passion.—E.]

³ This agrees well with the Diary, which says that “on May 3d the Queen was conveyit be Bothwell, and all his friends and speiris, to Edynbrough Castell.”

Majestie as a captive into the Castle, where a subject of his was, called Sir James Balfour.”¹ And Buchanan reports,² that Bothwell’s dependents threw away their weapons as they were conveying her Majesty from Dunbar to Edinburgh, lest some time or other they might come to be challenged for detaining the Queen a prisoner.³

After the Court was thus returned to Edinburgh, a number of Noblemen, Sir James Melvil says,⁴ were drawn together in a chamber within the Palace, where “they all subscribed a paper, declaring that they judged it was much the Queen’s interest to marry the Earl of Bothwell, he having many friends in Lothian and upon the Borders, which would cause good order to be kept.” And then, adds he, “the Queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will.” But

¹ Crawford’s MS. But this, however, has been a mistaken conjecture.

² [Buchanan’s History of Scotland, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 332.—E.]

³ The same thing is said in the Diary, which is a further proof that the Diary has been formed from Buchanan’s papers, or by his scribe.—[After a brief and it cannot be denied a criminal residence in Dunbar Castle with the man accused of the murder of her husband and the seizure of her person, Mary and Bothwell rode in company to Edinburgh. As it was then generally believed that Bothwell had forcibly committed violence towards the Queen, the city gates were ordered to be shut, the inhabitants ran to arms, and the artillery of the Castle was fired. On the 6th of May, the third day after the divorce had been pronounced in the Consistorial Court at the instance of Lady Jane Gordon for *adultery*, and on the day before it was pronounced in the Court of the Archbishop of St Andrews on the pretence of *consanguinity*, the Queen entered the city by the West Port, and rode through the Grassmarket and up the curious old street now removed known as the West Bow, to the Castle, Bothwell on foot leading the Queen’s horse by the bridle—“a sight,” as Mr Tytler observes, “which her friends beheld with the deepest sorrow, and her enemies with triumph and derision.” On the 8th of May, the day after the divorce of Bothwell from his Countess was declared in the Archbishop’s Court, a proclamation was issued at the Palace of Holyrood announcing that the Queen had resolved to marry Bothwell, and on the 11th, the day before her appearance in the Court of Session to make the Declaration inserted by our Historian in the text, the Queen and Bothwell removed to the Palace of Holyrood—Sir James Balfour having been previously constituted Captain and Governor of Edinburgh Castle.—Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland since the death of James IV. till the year 1575, printed for the BANSATYNE CLUB, p. 110, 111.—E.]

⁴ [Sir James Melville’s Memoirs, folio, p. 80 ; and the same “Memoirs,” printed for the BANSATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1827, p. 177.—E.]

Bishop Leslie, in his "Defence,"¹ talks thus—"She yielded to *that* to the which these crafty, colluding, seditious heads, and the necessity of the time, as then to her seemed, did in a manner enforce her." Thus we have living witnesses testifying differently; but it were strongly to be wished the Queen had not given too much ground to posterity to suspect her imprudence, at least, in this unhappy transaction. Whether Sir James Melvil's memory has failed him, and the Band which he mentions at this time be the same with that of the 19th or 20th of April, or if this be another Band different from the other, I shall not affect to determine; but in either case it may not be improper to subjoin here the consent which Mr Anderson tells us² the Queen gave to the Band the night before her marriage, and it will be easy to observe that this paper has been signed by her Majesty as a security to the subscribers of the foregoing Bond, according to what they seem to require in the close thereof.

"THE Queene's Majestie having sene and considderit the Band above writtine, promittis in the word of a Princessae, that she, nor her successoris, sall nevir impute as cryme or offence to onie of the personis, subscryveris thair of, thaire consent and subscription to the mater above writtin, thairin contenit; nor that thai, nor thair heires, sall nevir be callit nor accusit thairfoir; nor zit sall the said consent or subscryving be onie derogatioun or spott to their honor, or thai esteemit undewtifull subjectis for doing thair of, notwithstanding quhatsumevir thing can tend or be allegeit in the contrare. In wites quhair of her Majestie hes subscryveit the samyne with her awin hand."

The Queen's consent to her marrying the Earl of Bothwell being now obtained, the next step was an order, under her Majesty's own hand, for having the banns of marriage betwixt her and the Earl of Bothwell promulged according

¹ [A Treatise concerning the Defence of the Honour of the Right High, Mightie, and Noble Princess Marie, Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France, made by Morgan Philippes, Bachelor of Divinitie, an. 1570, published by Anderson in his "Collections" from the copy printed at Liege in 1571, vol. i. p. 27, 28.—E.]

² [Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 111.—E.]

to the new Form, which order, after abundance of reluctance,¹ was at last complied with by Mr John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.²

On the 8th of May there is an Act of Privy Council at Edinburgh—"discharging all Lieutenandries made in favours

¹ An account of the whole Demur, &c. may be seen in Spottiswood, in the Acts of Assembly, and in Anderson's Collect. vol. ii.—[P. 278 282 ; Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I. p. 115, 116.—E.]

² [Mr John Craig was the colleague of John Knox. As he is prominently noticed in our Historian's third Book, which forms vol. iii. of this edition, it may be here simply stated that he was assailed in the General Assembly, held on the 25th of December 1567, for proclaiming the banns of marriage between the Queen and Bothwell. Craig "answerit be word, justifying his proceedings thereanent, and was ordainit to give in his purgatioun in wryte, to the effect that his good mynd and proceedings may be knawin to all and sundrie that hereafter wald be satisfied heiranent." A "purgatioun" was accordingly produced by Craig, in which he alleges that when he was first requested to intimate the banns by Thomas Hepburn in the Queen's name he refused, because he had not her written authority, and also on account of the prevailing rumour that Bothwell had "both ravischt her and kept her in captivitye." On the following Wednesday the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden brought him a document signed by the Queen, in which she declared that "she was neither ravischit, nor yet retanit in captivitye, and therefore chargit him to proclaime." "My answer," says Craig, "was, I durst proclaime no banns, and chieffie such, without consent of the Kirk. Upon Thuresday next the Kirk, after long reasoning with the Justice-Clerk and amongst the brethren, concluded that the Queen's mind should be publishit to her subjects thrie next preaching dayes ; but because the Generall Assemblie had prohibited all such marriages, we protestit we wold neither solemnize, neither yet approve, that marriage, but wald only declare the Prince's mynd, leaving all doubts and dangers to the Councillers approvers and performers of the marriage." After some minor details he relates that he met Bothwell at a meeting of the Privy-Council.—"I laid to his charge," continues Craig, "the law of adulterie, the ordinance of the Kirk, the law of ravisching, the suspicioun of collusioun betwixt him and his wyfe, the sudden divorcement, and proclaiming within foure days ; and last, the suspitioun of the King's death, whilk her marriage wald conforme ; but he answerit nothing to my satisfioun, quherfor after many exhortatiouns I protestit that I could not declare my mynd publiclie to the Kirk. Therfor, upon Sunday, after I had declarit what they had done, and how they wald proceed whether we wold or not, I tooke heaven and earth to witness that I abhorrit and detestit that marriage, because it was odious and slanderous to the world ; and seeing the best part of the Realme did approve it, either by flatterie or by their silence, I desyrit the faithful to pray earnestlie that God wald turne it to the comfort of this Realm that thing whilk they intended against reason and good conscience. I, because I heard some persons gaingand against me, usit thir reasons for my defensis—First, I had broken no law by proclaiming of thir persons at their request ; secondlie, if their marriage was slanderous and hurtful, I

of the Nobility, or any of them ;¹ and on Monday, the 12th of May, her Majesty came into the Court of Session, and there made the following declaration.

“ *Edinburgh, 12th May 1567.*²—THE quhillk day our Soverane Lady compearand personalie in jugment, in presens of the Lords Chancellor, President, and haill Lords of Sessioun underwritten ; that is to say, George Erle of Huntlie, Lord Gordoun and Badzenoch, Chancellor, &c.; Reverend Faderis in God, Jhone Bishop of Ros, Alexander Bishop of Galloway, Adam Bishop of Orknay; Mr William Baillie,³ Lord Provand, President ; Mr Alexander Dunbar, Dene of Moray ; Mr Robert Maitland, Dene of Aberdene ; Mr David Chalmers, Chancellor of Ros ; Mr Erehbald Craufurd, Parson of Eglishame ; Gawyne, Commendator of Kilwining ; Sir James Balfour of Pittendrich, Knycht, Clerk of Register ; Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, John Bellenden of Auchnoull, Justice-Clerk, Knychtis ; William Maitland, younger of Lethingtoun, Secreter to our Soverane Lady ; Mr Henry Balnaves of Halhill, Jhone Gledstanes,⁴ and Mr Edward Hener-son, Licentiat in the Lawis ; and als in presens of Jhone Archbishop of Santandrois ; William Bishop of Dunblene ; David Erle of Craufurd, Lord Lindsey ; George Erle of Caitnes ; Jhone, Commendator of the Abbey of Abirbroith ; Alexander, Commendator of Culros ; Robert, Commendator of St Mary Ile, Thesaurer ; George Lord Sytoun ; Robert Lord Boyd ; and Symon Prestoun of Craigmiller, Knycht, Provost of Edinburt ; being informit of before, that the Lordis of Sessioun made sum doubt and stop to sit for administratioun of justice to the liegis of this Realme, in

did weill in forewarning all men of it in time ; thirdlie, as I had of duetic declareit to them the Prince's will, so did I faithfully teach them by word and example what God cravit of them.”—*Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Part I. p. 115, 116 ; *Anderson's Collections*, vol. ii. p. 278, 282.—E.]

¹ Pitmedden's Abstracts.—[The Abstracts by Sir Alexander Seton, Bart. of Pitmedden.—E.]

² Anderson's Collections, vol. i. p. 87.

³ [William Baillie of Provand was a son of Baillie of Lamington, and occupied the chair as Lord President of the Court of Session for a short time at the death of Bishop Sinclair of Brechin in 1566, but whether by seniority or election is not ascertained.—E.]

⁴ [John Gladstanes, LL.D. was probably a son of the ancient family of Gladstanes of that Ilk.—E.]

respect that hir Hienes was tane and haldin in Dunbar be James Erle of Bothwile, Lord Hallis and Creychtoun, and certene utheris his complices, contrar hir Majesties will and mynd: And now the Quenis Majestie, for declaratioun of hir mynd yairintill, hes allowit the foresaids Lordis of Sessioun, for doing of justice to hir Hienes' liegis sen the tyme forsaid; and further, hes in like manner declarit, and declaris, That albeit hir Hienes was commovit, for the present tyme of hir taking, at the said Erle Bothwile, and sensyn, be his gude behaving towart hir Hienes, and having sur knaledge of his thankfull service done be him in tyme bygane, and for mair thankfull service in tyme coming, that hir Hienes stands content with the said Erle, and hes forgivin,¹ and forgivis him, and all utheris his complices being with him in company at the tyme forsaid, all hatrent conceavit be hir Majestie for the taking and imprisoning of hir at the tyme forsaid. And als declaris hir Majestie to be at hir fredome and libertie, and is mindit to promove the said Erle to further honors, for his service forsaid. And Mr David Borthik, procurator for the said Erle, askit instrumentis herof."

To verify what her Majesty says she intended in the close of the foregoing declaration, she proceeded quickly to create the Earl of Bothwell Duke of Orkney,² and in the space of two or three days more to confer on him still a farther degree of honour, by assuming him publicly for her husband.

¹ Our historians take notice of a message sent to the Queen by some Noblemen at Stirling, to know whether her Majesty was taken and detained by the Earl of Bothwell against her will, because in such a case they would endeavour to liberate her: to which her Majesty should have returned for answer—That though indeed she had been taken against her will, yet now she was courteously enough entertained. Perhaps the declaration now made by the Queen in presence of the Chancellor, &c. may have given rise to that pretended message from Stirling: For if any such had been sent her Majesty, I can hardly think she would have taken the freedom to aver the direct contrary in her Instructions sent into France after her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, as we will see she does in most express terms. Or had any such message really been, it is much to be presumed that either Sir James Melvil or Crawford's MS. might have taken some notice thereof.

² Crawford's MS. adds, "and *Schotland*."—[Mary placed the ducal coronet with her own hands on Bothwell's head.—E.]

CHAPTER XII.

CONTAINING STATE AFFAIRS FROM THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL, ON THE 15TH OF MAY 1567, UNTIL THE EARL OF MORAY'S ACCEPTATION OF THE REGENCY IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST THE SAME YEAR.

ON Thursday the 15th day of May, in the year 1567, the Queen thought fit to have herself joined in matrimony with James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, now Duke of Orkney, at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, by Adam Bothwell, Bishop¹ of Orkney, within the great hall where the Council usually met, according to the *new Form*,² after sermon, and not at

¹ Mr Knox might have spared his childish remark concerning a *Bishop*. This Bishop was a man of no value, it is true ; but that author knew very well that he had before this time *renounced* his Episcopal order, and was become of *Knox's* party.—[Knox's "childish remark concerning a *Bishop*," is contrasted by him with the conduct of his colleague, Mr John Craig, in the matter of the proclamation of the banns between the Queen and Bothwell in St Giles' church at Edinburgh.—"And a Bishop," Knox ironically says, "must bless the marriage !—the guid Prelate was Bishop of Orkney. If there be a guid wark to be done a Bishop must do it ! Here mark the difference betwixt this worthy minister Maister Craig and this base Bishop."—*Historie*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 406.—E.]

² [The fact of the celebration of Queen Mary's marriage to Bothwell, according to the "*New Form*," by the apostate, unprincipled, and servile Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, is another proof of her infatuated degradation. As a conscientious member of the Roman Catholic Church, she must have detested this time-serving and truculent ex-Prelate, to say nothing of the *sacramental doctrine* of marriage held by that Church. The marriage ceremony was performed in the then Council-Hall in the Palace of Holyrood at the extraordinary early hour of *four in the morning*, after a sermon preached by the Bishop of Orkney from Gen. ii., in which he enlarged on Bothwell's penitence for his former evil life, and his resolution to amend and conform to the strict discipline of the Protestant preachers. John Craig, who had proclaimed the banns in St Giles' church, when he publicly intimated that he "took heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred and detested this marriage as odious and slanderous to the world," nevertheless was present. Five of the leading Nobility were in attendance. The event was unattended by the usual pageants and rejoicings on such occasions, and the people beheld it either with grief or in stern and gloomy silence. Although the ceremony is generally alleged to have been performed in the Great Hall of the Palace, a contemporary chronicler asserts that the marriage took place "within the auld chappel, not with the Mess, bot with preichings," and that the persons present were the

Mass in the Queen's Chapel, as her former marriage had been. As this unfortunate Princess might in a very particular manner be noted to have been born unto trouble,

Earls of Crawford, Huntly, and Sutherland, Lords Oliphant, Fleming, Livingstone, Glamis, and Boyd, Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane, Bishop Lesley of Ross, Lord John Hamilton, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, with "certane utheris small gentillmen quha awaitit upon the said Duke of Orkney."—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 111, 112. The statement that Mary was united to Bothwell "within the auld chapel," or Chapel-Royal, in which she was married to Lord Darnley, is a mistake. It was at the same time noticed that the Queen was attired in a mourning dress. The following passage is curious, as it is related by an eye-witness. "As for me," says Sir James Melville, "I tarried not at Court but now and then, yet I chanced to be there at the marriage. When I came that tyme to the Court, I fand my Lord Duc of Orkeney sitting at his supper. He said, I had been a gret stranger, desiring me to sit down and soup with him. The Erle of Huntly, the (Lord) Justice-Clerk, and dyvers uthers, were sitten at the table with him. I said that I had alreedy souped. Then he called for a cup of wyne, and drank to me, that I mycht plege him like a Dutchman. He bade me drink it out till (to) grow fatter—For,' said he, 'the zeall of the commonweall has eaten you up, and made you sa lean.' I answerit, that every little member suld serve to some use, but that the case of the commonweill appertenit maist to him and the rest of the Nobilitie, wha suld be as fatheris to the same. Then he said—'I wist weill he wald find a pin for every boir.' Then he fell in *purpose* of gentillwomen, speaking sic filthy language that (I) left him, and past up to the Quene, wha was very glad of my comming."—*Memoirs*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 178, and also the same "*Memoirs*," folio, 1683, p. 80. As this interview was probably on the eve of the marriage day, the conversation on "gentillwomen," and "filthy language" uttered by the so called Duke of Orkney, shews his immoral and profligate habits. Bothwell, in his own Narrative, says little of his marriage. He merely observes—"The marriage being accomplished, and every thing relating to it duly and regularly completed, I was presented with the government of the kingdom, to the end that I might establish good order therein."—*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 17. Bothwell, however, here asserts a notorious falsehood, as he never was "presented with the government of the kingdom." The authentic Contract of the marriage, which was duly registered, and is in existence, is printed by Goodall in his "*Examination of the Letters of Mary Queen of Scots to James Earl of Bothwell*," 12mo. Edin. 1754, vol. ii. p. 57-61. It is dated at Edinburgh, 13th May 1567, and is signed MARIE R., JAMES DUKE OF ORKNEY. The witnesses are John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, and Rothes, Alexander Gordon, ex-Bishop of Galloway, John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, Lords Fleming and Herries, Secretary Maitland of Lethington, the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, and Robert Crichton of Ellick, Lord Advocate, with "divers uthers." The Regent Moray produced two contracts at London, the one written in French and signed by the Queen,

the same having remarkably attended her from her cradle, so this bad and ill advised action, her marrying the very person who was but reputed (though he had not really been) the murderer of her former husband, may truly be said to have involved her in endless and remediless misfortunes—an action for which her well-wishers were sorry and grieved at the heart,¹ seeing by it she mightily increased the

and the other dated at Seton House on the 5th of April, signed by the Queen and Bothwell, but both are considered to be spurious. As for the ex-Bishop of Orkney's share in this unhappy marriage, the following proceedings were adopted against him by the Reformed preachers, which gave him little concern. In the General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 25th of December 1567, Adam Bothwell, called Bishop of Orkney, was "dilated," among other charges, "because he solemnized the marriage of the Queen and the Earl of Bothwell, which was altogether wicked, and contrair to God's laws and statutes of the Kirk.—Anent the marriage of the Queine with the Erle of Bothwell by Adam, called Bischop of Orkney, the haill Kirk finds that he transgressit the act of the Kirk in marrying the divorcit adulterer, and therfor deprives him fra all function of the ministrie, conform to the tenour of the Act made thereupon, ay and until the Kirk be satisfied of the slander committit by him."—Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Part I. p. 112, 114. In May 1569, Queen Mary granted a mandate for her divorce from Bothwell, dated at Wingfield, when she was a prisoner in England, and he an outlaw in Denmark. This curious document is among the Boyd Papers in the "Abbotsford Miscellany," printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1837, p. 23, 24, 25.—E.]

¹ Sir James Melvil tells how the Lord Herries came on purpose to Edinburgh sometime after the King's murder, and requested her Majesty on his knees not to marry the Earl of Bothwell, which thing he said came to be bruited in the country, and that the Queen appeared to be in a wonder how these reports could go abroad, seeing there was no such thing in her mind. Sir James himself had also a letter from a great friend of hers in England, one Thomas Bishop, a Scottishman, in which that person declared that the same report was run through England, which, howsoever, he said, he could not believe, by reason that he judged her Majesty to be of far greater knowledge than to commit such a gross oversight, and so prejudicial every way to her interest, seeing if she married the Earl of Bothwell, she would lose the favour of God, her own reputation, and the hearts of all England, Ireland, and Scotland. This letter Bishop adjured Mr Melvil to shew to the Queen, which he accordingly took the freedom to do; but he tells that her Majesty after reading it, said nothing to himself, but talking of it with Secretary Lethington, called it a "*device of his own tending to the wreck of the Earl of Bothwell.*" The English Secretary likewise, in a letter in the Cabala, 12th May 1567, says—"The Queen of Scots, I think, will be wooed to marry the Earl of Bothwell;" by all which we perceive that the suspicion of this marriage has indeed been everywhere spread about. Nay, we see by the already mentioned Instructions sent into England some time after this, that the Queen of

aversion already instilled into the people, and deprived her friends of all just apology in her behalf; but an action which her enemies rejoiced to see accomplished, since by it

England likewise had actually offered her advice to our Queen not to have any dealing with the Earl of Bothwell. But it seems she has been proof against all friendly remonstrances, and so it fared but ill with her ere long.—[The statements of Sir James Melville are in his “Memoires,” folio, London, 1683, p. 78, and in the same “Memoires,” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB from the original MS. p. 175. Queen Mary’s intention to marry Bothwell was repeatedly intimated to Queen Elizabeth’s ministers by Sir Robert Melville, Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, and their other correspondents in Scotland, in addition to the information transmitted by the informers in the pay of the English Government. On the 14th of May 1567, Sir Robert Melville, the brother of Sir James Melville of Halhill, wrote to Cecil from Cairnie in Fife, warning him that France was ready to join the Scottish Nobility against Bothwell; excusing, as far as he could, the insane conduct of Queen Mary, who continued with Bothwell after his seizure of her person; and declaring that his party would never consider their sovereign at liberty until she was taken from the intercourse of such a detestable traitor and murderer; adding, that Bothwell, as all thought, would soon complete the marriage, proceed to Stirling, and secure the infant Prince; and entreating Cecil to view Mary’s conduct as rather the effect of the evil advice of those about her than as proceeding from herself. On the following day Kirkaldy of Grange wrote to the Earl of Bedford describing the confederacy formed at a meeting of the Earls of Mar, Argyll, Morton, and Atholl, at Stirling against Bothwell, to procure the liberty of the Queen, who was “ravished and detained” by the said Bothwell, and “hath the strengths, munitions, and men of war at his commandment.” This was their first object. Their second was the preservation of the infant Prince, and their third was the punishment of the murderers of Darnley. “For the pursuit of these three heads,” says Kirkaldy, “they have promised to bestow their lives, lands, and goods.” He then anxiously entreats Bedford to secure Elizabeth’s aid against the “cruel murderer Bothwell,” whom he accuses of hiring persons to poison the infant Prince when he visited him at Stirling, before his seizure of the Queen at Almond Bridge; and he requests a “direct answer, and that with haste, or presently the foresaid Lords are suited unto by Monsieur de Croc, who offereth unto them in his master the King of France’s name, if they will follow his advice and counsel, that they shall have support to suppress the Earl Bothwell and his faction. Also he hath admonished her (Mary) to desist from the Earl Bothwell, and not to marry him, for if she do, he hath assured her that she shall neither have friendship nor favour out of France, if she shall have to do (resist her enemies), but his saying is, she will give no ear.” Kirkaldy farther informs Bedford that Marr, Argyll, Morton, and Atholl, were to be joined by the Earls of Glencairn, Cassillis, Eglinton, Montrose, and Caithness, Lords Boyd, Ochiltree, Ruthven, Drummond, Gray, Glamis, Innermeath, Lindsay, Home, and Herries, “with all the whole West, Merse and Teviotdale, the most part of Fife, Angus, and Mearns.” He adds that in the meantime the Queen had proceeded from Dunbar to

she laid the foundation, as it were, of her own ruin, and advanced their wicked designs faster than they themselves could have looked for.¹ And now, as a sad presage of what

Edinburgh Castle, conducted by Bothwell, and that she intended to levy a force of 500 footmen and 200 horsemen—"The money that she hath presently to do this, which is 5000 crowns, came from the font your Lordship brought unto the baptism (of James VI.), the rest is to be reft and borrowed of Edinburgh, or the men of Lothian." Kirkaldy desires Bedford to forward "these other letters" to the Earl of Moray, and "write unto him to come back again into Normandy, *that he be in readines against my Lords write unto him.*" These letters of Sir Robert Melville and Sir William Kirkaldy, extracts of which, from the originals in the State-Paper Office, are published by Mr Tytler, prove, as that writer states, that "the formidable coalition against the Queen, which our historians describe as arising *after* the marriage with Bothwell, was fully formed *nearly a month before* that event—that Sir Robert Melville, in whom the Scottish Queen reposed implicit confidence, had joined the confederacy in the hope of rescuing his royal mistress from what he represents as an unwilling servitude—that the plot was well known to Monsieur de Croc, the French ambassador, who, after having in vain remonstrated with Mary against her predilection for Bothwell, gave it his cordial support—and lastly, that it had been communicated to Elizabeth, whose assistance was earnestly solicited." But though the English Queen denounced the conduct of Mary, she affected to be angry at the scurrilous language of Kirkaldy in his correspondence, and she intimated this to Randolph in a conversation in her palace garden on the 10th of May, which is fortunately preserved. "Her Majesty," says Randolph, "also told me that she had seen a writing sent from (Kirkaldy of) Grange to my Lord of Bedford, disrespectfully written against that Queen (Mary) in such vile terms, as she could not abide the hearing of it, wherein he made her worse than any common woman. She would not that any subject, what cause soever there be proceeding from the Prince, or whatsoever her life and behaviour be, should discover that unto the world, and thereof so utterly misliketh of Grange's manner of writing and doing, that she condemns him for one of the worst in that Realm, seeming somewhat to warn me of my familiarity with him, and willing that I should admonish him of her misliking. In this manner of talk it pleased her Majesty to retain me almost an hour."—Tytler's History of Scotland vol. vii. p. 110-116.—E.]

¹ [Throughout the whole of the preliminaries of Mary's marriage to Bothwell, till its consummation, the unfortunate Queen was undeniably the victim of a conspiracy formed by Morton and his associates to accomplish her ruin. We have seen that they confederated in the Bond recommending the marriage, and we shall immediately find them taking advantage of the infamy it produced to raise the standard of revolt against him, and to effect her dethronement. In those days no standing army existed in Scotland to support the sovereign, who was consequently at the mercy of the Nobility—a body under the then existing feudal system most powerful, and on whose good will the sovereign solely relied for the exercise of the royal authority. We read, indeed, of the "Queen's

was to follow, this old Latin phrase of Ovid¹ was found affixed on the Palace gate the same night of the marriage²—

*“ Mens malas Majo nubere vulgus ait.”*³

The import of which is, that bad women only marry in the month of May.⁴

Guards,” of whom Arthur Erskine was the Captain, and this body was apparently the Queen’s “Archer Guards,” a roll of whose names, from their embodying on the 1st of April 1562 to Mary’s imprisonment in Lochleven Castle in 1567, is in Part First of the “Miscellany of the Maitland Club,” 4to. Edin. 1833, printed for the MAITLAND CLUB, from the original document preserved in the General Register House at Edinburgh ; but those “Archer Guards” consisted of only *seventy-five* persons, six of whom, as their names indicate, were foreigners, viz. Captain Bello, Corporal Jenat, Nicolas Manser, Bastian Fulmeir, and Dionysius and Charles La Brose. It is pretended that Mary had no inclination to marry Bothwell, and that, sinking under the indignity which the Nobility had too successfully conspired against her, she was induced, for the sake of her reputation as a woman, and to maintain her authority as the sovereign, to consent to the odious match with Bothwell. Much truth may be in the latter conjecture, but it is impossible to deny Mary’s partiality for Bothwell, which had been noticed and encouraged by Morton, Moray, and others of their party. It is also contended that because Bothwell was a Protestant the marriage must have been peculiarly objectionable to Mary on religious grounds ; but we have seen that most of her intimate advisers and companions were Protestants—that Lord Darnley himself often resorted to the sermons of the Reformed preachers—and that the Queen, though a zealous Roman Catholic, was obliged to submit to circumstances over which she had no controul. We ought to recollect, moreover, Bothwell’s position in the kingdom. “He was,” says Mr Tytler, “of high rank, possessed a daring and martial spirit, and his unshaken attachment to her interests at a time (in 1565) when the Queen had suffered from the desertion of almost every other servant, made him a favourite with a Princess who esteemed bravery and fidelity above all other virtues. But unfortunately for Mary he possessed other and more dangerous qualities. His ambition and audacity were unbounded.”—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 55.—E.]

¹ [It occurs in the *Fastorum*, Lib. V. l. 490. *Opera Ovidii*, 4to. 1689, tom. iii. p. 635.—E.]

² [It was found on the gates of the Palace of Holyrood on the following morning.—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 10.—E.]

³ [The entire stanzas in the fifth Book of Ovid’s *Fasti* is as follows—

“Nec viduæ tædis eadem, nec virginis apta
Tempora ; quæ nupsit, non diuturna fuit :
Hac quoque de causa, si te proverbia tangunt,
Mense malas Majo nubere vulgus ait.”—E.]

⁴ [A rooted prejudice long existed in Scotland among all ranks against marrying in the month of May, which still prevails among the lower

The Earl of Bothwell is universally acknowledged to have been a worthless man, and one that had squandered away a plentiful fortune.¹ And now seeing the Queen had stooped so low as to take him into her bed, who could ever imagine that this person would have been so ungrateful and brutish as to shew the least shadow of disrespect towards her who had really lost herself to raise him? Yet even this he was guilty of, and that too in a very great degree, he not suffering her to pass a day without shedding of tears, and teasing her to such a height, that out of anguish she had been heard to threaten her own destruction!²

classes, who practise it to the letter, and few marriages are celebrated during that month. Though May has ever been considered favourable to love, the ancients held the month as unlucky for marriage, and the original reason assigned or conjectured is, that the feast of the *Lemures* was held on the ninth of the month, which continued three nights, when the temples of the deities were closed, and no marriages were permitted, because it was believed that they would be unhappy or ill omened. The *Lemures*, *Lemuralia*, or *Lares*, were feasts held at Rome to appease the manes of the defunct, of *sprites* or hobgoblins, and the restless ghosts of the dead, who were supposed to terrify the living.—E.]

¹ [To resume the extract from Mr Tytler's History on Bothwell's character in the preceding page—"He was a man of notorious gallantry, and had spent a loose life on the Continent, from which it was said he had imported some of its worst vices. In attaining the objects of his ambition he was perfectly unscrupulous as to the means he employed, and he had generally about him a band of broken and desperate men with whom his office of Border Warden made him familiar—hardened and murderous villains, who were ready on the moment to obey every command of their master. In one respect Bothwell was certainly better than many of his brother Nobles. There seems to have been little craft or hypocrisy about him, and he made no attempt to conceal his vices or infirmities under the cloak of religion. It is not unlikely that for this reason Mary, who had experienced his fidelity to the Crown, was more disposed to trust him in any difficulty than those stern and fanatical leaders who, with religion on their lips, were often equally indifferent as to the means which they employed."—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 55, 56.—E.]

² Melville's Memoirs.—[Memoirs by Sir James Melville of Halhill, folio, p. 81, and the same, from the original MS. printed for the BASSATYNE CLUB, p. 280. Although Mary, after she married Bothwell, assumed a gay dress, and frequently rode out with him, and although he appeared anxious to treat her with respect, refusing to be covered in her presence, which she occasionally resented in a playful manner by snatching his bonnet and putting it on his head (MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, dated Berwick, 20th, 25th, and 27th May 1567, *apud* Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 123), yet "there were times," we are told, "when his passionate temper broke through all restraint, and to those old friends who were still at Court, and saw her in private, it was evident

Two days after the marriage, viz. on the 17th of May, we find marked the following Sederunt of Privy-Counsellors, viz. George Earl of Huntly, David Earl of Crawford, John Lord Fleming, John Lord Herries,¹ John Archbishop of

that, though she still seemed to love him, she was a changed and miserable woman." For a short period after the marriage Mary and Bothwell publicly acted as if they had no enemies, and when informed of the private meetings of their opponents the Queen spoke of them with contempt, observing on one occasion—"Atholl is but feeble; for Argyll, I know well how to stop his mouth; as for Morton, his boots are but new pulled off, and still soiled; he shall be sent back to his old quarters"—alluding to his recent banishment and return. Nevertheless Mary, as already observed, was privately suffering the most intense mental agony. Her feelings on the *very evening of the day of her marriage to Bothwell* are described by Le Croc, who visited her at her own request. "I perceived," says Le Croc, "a strange formality between her and her husband, which she begged me to excuse, saying that if I saw her sad, it was because she did not wish to be happy, as, she said, she never could be, *wishing only for death*. Yesterday, being all alone in a closet with the Earl of Bothwell, she called aloud for them to give her a knife to kill herself with. Those who were in the room adjoining the closet heard her." This occurred in the Palace of Holyrood, and is probably the same painful incident related by Sir James Melville, to which our Historian refers. Sir James, when he left the Palace after the marriage, proceeded to the Castle of Edinburgh to "deal with Sir James Balfour not to part with the Castell, whereby he might be an instrument to saif the Prince, to saif the Queen, wha was so disdainfully handlit, and with sic reproachfull language, that Arthour Arskin and I being present, heard her *ask a knife to stick herself*—"or *else*," said she, "*I shall drown myself*."—Melville's *Memoires*, BANNATYNE CLUB edition, p. 250. Mary now recollected with bitterness that she had neglected the arguments and entreaties of her best friends—of Lord Herries, who on his knees implored her not to marry Bothwell—of Le Croc, who urged the same request, and who spoke the sentiments of the Court of France—of Archbishop Beaton, her own ambassador at Paris—and of Sir James Melville, whose remonstrances against Bothwell nearly cost him his life.—*Memoirs* (BANNATYNE CLUB), p. 176, 177. "Nor are we to wonder," says Mr Tytler, "if men even looked with suspicion to the future conduct of the Queen herself. She had apparently surrendered her mind to the dominion of a passion which rendered her deaf to every suggestion of delicacy and prudence, almost of virtue.—In the face of all this she had precipitated her marriage with this daring and wicked man, and public rumour still accused her of being a party to the murder (of Darnley). Of this last atrocious imputation, indeed, no direct proof was yet brought or offered, but even if we dismiss it as absolutely false, was any mother who acted such a part worthy to be entrusted with the keeping and education of the heir to the throne?"—*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 120, 121.—E.]

¹ How this Lord has come so quickly into the favour of the Duke of Orkney, after what we have heard of him immediately from Sir James Melvil, I shall not pretend to account for.—[Sir James Melville states

St Andrews, Alexander Bishop of Galloway, Robert Lord Boyd, Mr Thomas Hepburn, Parson of Oldhamstocks, Master of Requests.¹ And on the 19th of May—"Sederunt

that Lord Herries—"a worthy Nobleman"—came to Edinburgh, and on his knees at an interview with Mary implored her not to marry Bothwell. The Queen appeared to wonder at the publicity of the rumour, declaring to Lord Herries that "*there was no such thing in her mind.*" His Lordship besought the Queen's pardon, and entreated her to "take his honest meaning in good part;" after which he bade her farewell, afraid that the Earl of Bothwell "should get notice thereof." He was accompanied by fifty mounted troopers, for each of whom a new spear was purchased at Edinburgh, and he rode home with them. Sir James Melville also relates his own escape from Bothwell's resentment when he shewed Thomas Bishop's letter addressed to him to the Queen, attended by Secretary Maitland. After he read the letter, Maitland said to Sir James—"As soon as the Earl Bothwell gets notice hereof, as I fear he will very shortly, he will cause you to be killed." "It is a sore matter," replied Sir James, "to see that good Princess run to utter wreck, and nobody be so far concerned in her as to forwarn her of her danger." "You have done more honestly than wisely," said Maitland, "and therefore, I pray you, retire diligently before the Earl of Bothwell comes up from his dinner." Mary told Bothwell the whole matter, after making him solemnly declare that he would do Sir James Melville no harm—"notwithstanding whereof," says Sir James, "I was inquired after, but was flown, and could not be found till his fury was slackened, for I was advertised there was nothing but slaughter in case I had been gotten."—Memoirs (BANK-ATYNE CLUB), p. 175, 176, 177. Our Historian says that he cannot account for Lord Herries "coming so quickly into favour with the Duke of Orkney," as he calls Bothwell, after what Sir James Melville relates of his opposition to that Nobleman's marriage with the Queen. But Lord Herries, although he warned her to avoid an alliance which would inevitably be her ruin, did not desert her after that fatal event, and it is subsequently noticed that he personally accompanied the Queen to Langside, and from that field, in her precipitate flight to England, first to Sanquhar, and thence to his seat of Terregles, where she was sheltered for a few days. In the "Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots and a portion of the Reign of James the Sixth," by Lord Herries himself, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1836, his Lordship has no allusion to the Privy Council "Sederunt" mentioned by our Historian in his text.—E.]

¹ This is according to Pitmedden's Abstracts; but Haddington has it thus, viz.—"16 May 1567.—The Archbishop of St Andrews and Lord Oliphant admitted and sworn upon the Privy-Council. *Item*, The Lord Boyd admitted the 17th day. Mr Thomas Hepburn admitted to be Master of Requests; which office the Abbot of Balmerino had before." But in neither copy of these Abstracts is there any business marked to have been done in Council. Mr Miln omits this *Sederunt* altogether.—[The "Abstracts" by Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, Bart., and the "Minutes of Parliament, Privy-Council, and Exchequer," folio, MS. in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, by Sir Thomas

Jacobus Dux Oreaden. Comes de Huntlie, Archiepiscopus Sti Andreæ, Episcopus Rossen.”¹ On which day there is a prohibition, under the pain of treason, to utter or receive false or counterfeit brass money, such as *babies*, *plucks*, *hardheads*, &c.²

“ *Apud Edinburgh, 22d May, Anno Dom. 1567.*

“ *SEDERUNT—Jacobus Dux Orchaden.; Georgius Comes de Huntlie; David Comes de Crawford; Joannes Episcopus Rossen.; Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ; Secretarius; Thesaurarius; Clericus Registri; Clericus Justiciaræ; Cancellarius Rossen.*³

“ THE Quenis Majestie, my Lord Duke’s Grace, hir Hienes husband,⁴ and Lordis of Secreit Counsall, considering, &c.”—Here follows a regulation for the attendance of the Privy-

Hamilton of Drumcairn, created Earl of Melrose in 1619—a Peerage he resigned in 1627, when he was created Earl of Haddington.—E.]

¹ This is according to Haddington, but Pitmedden here adjects—*Alexander Episcopus Candida Casa.*

² [Literally *bawbies*, or *half-pennies* sterling; *plucks* were small copper coins, each equal to four pennies Scots, or the third part of an English penny; and *hard-heads* were also small coins of mixed metal or copper. The *bawbie*, or *babie*, was introduced into Scotland, according to Sir James Balfour, in the reign of James V., and varied in its value. In the time of James V. it was worth three pennies, in the reign of James VI. it was worth six, and this continued its standard valuation while it was customary to recognize Scottish money. The English half-penny is still called in Scotland a *bawbie*. The *plack* was a coin struck in the reign of James III., when it was a mixture of copper and silver, but latterly it was of copper. It has been long an ideal coin, and is often mentioned to denote that any thing is of no value. The *hard-head*, supposed to be from the French *hardie*, so called from Philip le Hardi, who began his reign in 1270, and under whom it was first struck, is supposed to have been designated a *lion*, from the lion rampant on the reverse. The *hard-head*, bearing a lion, struck in 1559 under Queen Mary, was known as the *lion*. The Regent Morton enraged the people, and especially the citizens of Edinburgh, by depreciating the *hard-head* from *three-half-pence* to a penny, and the *plack* from *fourpence* to *twopence*.—Hume’s History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus, folio, Edin. 1644, p. 334; Cardonnel’s Numismata Scotica, or a Series of the Scottish Coinage from the Reign of William the Lion to the Union, 4to. Edin. 1786. Preface, p. xxxvii.; Jamieson’s Scottish Dictionary, 4to. Edin. 1808.—E.]

³ This was David Chalmers of Ormond, Chancellor of the Diocese of Ross.—[See the notes respecting Chalmers of Ormond, p. 372, 558, of the present volume.—E.]

⁴ [Bothwell, who had been created Duke of Orkney.—E.]

Counsellors, according to the plan appointed in the year 1562, and is the same which Archbishop Spottiswood sets down at this time, the following clause only excepted, which that Prelate has omitted).—" And for the uthir Nobillmen and Lordis of the Counsall admittit of auld, of quhom sum are presentlie furth of the Realme, sum agit, and not abill to endure travaill, and sum utherwayis occupyit in heich and weichtie matteris: how sone thair abilitie and commoditie permittis thame to repair to hir Hienes' presens, or sic utheris as hir Majestie sall pleis choise and nominat to be of hir Counsall heirefter, that thai be lykwyss appointit and warnit at quhilk tyme thai sall await and be admittit to the quarteris above rehearsit, as hir Hienes sall think gude. And the Clerk of Counsall to gif everie ane of the saidis Lordis at the end and outrunning of the tyme quhilk thai remaine, ane tikkit of the day of thair departing, and of the day that thai sould enter and returne againe to Counsall."—R. M.¹

Next day after this, 23d May, there is an Act of Council declaring the Queen's revocation of any writings that might have been purchased from her Majesty, for permitting any persons to use the old Form of religion, because she intends inviolably to maintain the Act published concerning religion² upon her first arrival from France.

Sometime in the course of this month of May, the Queen sent William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, into France with very large Instructions (already mentioned) concerning the motives that inclined her Majesty to take for husband the Earl of Bothwell.³ And some time after, proba-

¹ [The initials of Robert Miln, from whose Collections our Historian procured the document.—E.]

² [This Act is now lost, but its object was to sanction the Reformed doctrines as professed when Queen Mary arrived in Scotland.—E.]

³ Mr Buchanan has turned these Instructions into elegant Latin, as far as these words—" *Assuring thame that thai will find him reddie to do thame all the honour and service that can require.*" The famous historian De Thou and the great critic Le Clerk have both taken notice of these Instructions published by Buchanan, as couched with much art; but Le Clerc's criticism fails him when he judges them to have been originally drawn up in the French language.—[The words quoted by our Historian from the "Instructions" are in a subsequent page (p. 600 of the present edition), and Buchanan omits the concluding paragraphs.—*Historia Rerum Scotticarum*,

bly,¹ her Majesty likewise sent Mr Robert Melvil into England with Instructions of a like nature, but much shorter than the former. Both these have been lately published,² and yet since they contain such a full narrative of that whole affair, I thought this Work might seem a little imperfect without them, and therefore I have taken upon me to give them room here, desiring the pardon of my readers if they shall find fault with the repetition.

“ *Instructionis to oure trusty Counsallour the Bischope of Dunblane, to be declarit be him on oure behalfe to oure Bruther the maist Christin King of France, the Quene oure gude Moder, oure Uncle the Cardinall of Lorane, and utheris oure Friendis. At Edinburgh the —— day of May 1567.*³

“ FIRST, ze sall excuse ws to the King, the Quene oure modir, oure uncle, and utheris oure friendis, in that the consummation of oure mariage is brocht to thair earis be uther meanis, befor that ony message from oure self thai haif bene maid participant of oure intention thairin: quhilk excuse mon be chieffie groundit upoun the trew report of the Duke of Orkney, his behaviour and proceedingis towardis ws befor, and quhill (until) this tyme that we haif bene maid content to tak him to oure husband. The report as it is indeid swa sall ze mak it in this maner. Begynnand from his verie youth and first entres to this Realme immediatlie eftir the deceis of his fadir, quha wes ane of the first Erllis of the Realme, and his Hous the formest in reputatioun, be ressoun of the nobilnes and anciency of the samyne,⁴ and greit offices quhilk he hes heritabillie.

original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 217, 218, 219; Translation, Edin. 8vo, 1732, vol. ii. p. 334-340.—E.]

¹ I have said so, because Sir William Cecil in his letter 26th June, mentions Mr Melvil to be come lately hither from the Queen of Scots.—Cabala.

² Anderson's Collections.—[Edin. 4to. 1727, vol. i. p. 89-107.—E.]

³ Shatter'd MS.—[These “Instructions” sent from Queen Mary to France and Rome by Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane, may be considered an apology or special pleading for marrying Bothwell. They are drawn up with much ability, and contain a laboured though most unsatisfactory defence of the Queen's conduct.—E.]

⁴ This surely has been dictated by the Earl of Bothwell's friends, and is not precisely true. The Family of Hepburn was of English descent,

“ At quhilk tyme the Quene oure modir being yan Regent of oure Realme, he dedicate his hail service to hir in our name with sic devocion and earnistnes, that albeit sone thaireftir the maist part of the Nobilitie, almaist the hail burrowis, and swa consequentlie in a manner the hail substance of the Realme, maid a revolte from hir authoritie undir cullour of religioun, zit swarved he nevir from oure obedience, nor nevir micht be inducit owther be promeiss of gude deid, or threatnings of wrak of his leving and heretage, with baith quhilk he wes strangelic assaultit, to leif ony part of his dewtie undone ; bot rather to suffer his principall hous and riche moveables being thairin to be sakt, his hail leving to be destroyit, and at length himself destitute of oure protectioun, and assistance of ony his cuntremen, be compellit be force of oure rebellis, joynit with ane army of Ingland, brocht in the bowellis of oure Realme for thair support, having na uther but to schote at bot onlie oure said husband, being yan Erle Bothwell, to abandoun his landis and native cuntre, and retier him to France, quhair he continewit in oure service quhill (until) oure returning within

and had not come into Scotland in the reign of King David Bruce. Neither was the Earl of Bothwell the stock of the Family, but the Laird of Waughton in East Lothian. And according to Mr Crawford's Peerage, he was not made Earl until the year 1488, before which date there were several Earls whose successors are still subsisting.—[Crawford's Peerage, folio, Edin. 1716, p. 44. The Hepburns, Earls of Bothwell, were originally a Family of no great descent, and acquired all their importance and dignity within a century of Queen Mary's marriage to Bothwell. The first of them is said to have been an English soldier taken prisoner by Dunbar, Earl of March, who gave him lands in the county of Haddington, and his descendants contrived to raise themselves on the fortunes of those ancient Earls of March, until they acquired all their property and hereditary offices. The first of the Bothwell Hepburns mentioned in the Peerage lists is Adam, who lived in the reign of David II., who was the father of Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, the great-grandfather of Sir Patrick Hepburn, created Lord Hailes about 1456, and whose grand-son Patrick third Lord was created Earl of Bothwell in 1488. Previous to this the Earldom had been held by the Family of Moray. One of that Family, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, Regent of Scotland, was a distinguished warrior, and was in early life the companion of Sir William Wallace. Sir John Ramsay, who was spared at the celebrated revolt of the Nobility against James III. at Lauder in 1482, was created Lord Bothwell, but he was forfeited in the Parliament held at Edinburgh by James IV. in 1488, when the Earldom was conferred on Patrick Hepburn, third Lord Hailes.—E.]

Scotland. Ze sall not omit his service a lytill done afoir that tyme in the weiris againis Ingland, quhairin he gaif sie pruf of his vailzeantnes, courage, and gude conduct, that notwithstanding he wes yan of verie zoung aige, zit wes he ehosin out as maist fit of the haill Nobilitie to be oure Lieutenant-General upoun the Bordouris, having the haill charge alsweill to defend as to assaile. At quhilk tyme he maid mony nobill entirpryses, not unknowin to baith the Realmis, be the quhilk he acqeirit a singular reputatioun in bayth.

“ Eftir oure returning into Scotland he gaif his haill study to the furthsetting of oure authoritie, and to employ his persoun to suppres the insolence of the rebellious subjectis inhabiting the cuntreis lying ewest the Marches of Ingland; and within schort tyme brocht thame to a perfyte quietnes, with intentioun to pas furthwart in the lyke service in all uther partis of the Realme.

“ Bot as invy evir followis vertew, and this cuntre is of itself sumquhat subject to factionis, utheris began to mislyke his proceedingis, and sa far be reportis and misconstructings his doingis went about to put him out of oure gude grace, that at lenth, upoun cullouris inventit be his evill willaris, for satisfeing of thame that mycht not abyde his advancement, and avoiding of further contentioun, quhilk mycht have brocht the haill Realme in troubill, we wer compellit to put him in ward.¹

“ Out of the quhilk eschaping, to gif place to thair malice he past out of the Realme towart France, and yair remaint quhill about twa zeris syne,² yat the same persounis quha befor wer the instrumentis of his troubill began to forzett thair dewtie towartis oure self, putting thameselffis in armes, displayit plane baneris agains our persoun. At quhilk tyme be oure commandment being callit hame, and immediatlie restorit to his former charge of Lieutenant-Generall,³ our authoritie prospered sa weill in his handis, yat suddanlie oure haill rebellis wer constranit to depart the Realme, and remane in Ingland, quhill (until) sum of yame

¹ The readers will observe this part in our publick histories.—[See the notes respecting Bothwell's residence in France, and the causes of it, p. 372, 449, &c. of the present volume.—E.]

² Ago.

³ See Band in the Appendix, September 17th, 1565.

upoun submissioun and humill sute wer reconceylit to ws. How tressonabillie we were demanyit for hame bringing of the rest, be thame quhame we had advancit to mair honour than thai¹ wer worthie of it is not unknowan to oure uncle, quhilk makis ws to pas it ovir the mair sehortlie.

“ Zit it is worthie remembrance with quhat dexteritie he red himself of the handis of thame that at that tyme detenit oure persoun captive, and how suddanlie be his provydenge not onlie wer we deliverit out of the pressoun, bot alsua that haill cumpany of conspiratouris dissolvit,² and we recoverit oure formar obedience. Indeid we mon confess that service done at that tyme to haif bene sa acceptabill to ws that we could nevir to this hour forzet it, quhilk he hes evir sinsyne prosecutit with the lyke dilligence in all (which) mycht content ws, swa that we could not wyss mair fidelitie nor gude behaviour yan we haif alwayis fund in him; quhill of lait, sen the deceis of the King oure husband, yat as his pretensis began to be heichar, sa fand we his proceedingis sumquhat strange, albeit now sen we are sa far procedit with him we mon interpret all thingis to the best; zit haif we bene heichlie offendit, first with his presumption, yat thoct we could not sufficientlie reward him, onless we sould gif oure self to him for ye recompanss of his service; nixt for his practises and secreit meanis; and at lenth the plane attempting of force to haif ws in his puissance, for fear to be disappointit of his purpois.

“ His deportmentis in this behalf may serve for ane exempill, how cunninglie men can cover yair designeis quhen thai haif ony greit interpryis in heid,³ quhill yai haif brocht yair purpois to pas. We thoct his continewance in the awayting upoun ws, and reddines to fulfill all oure commandmentis, had procedit onelie upoun the acknowlegeing of his dewtie, being oure borne subject, without furder hid respect; quhilk movit ws to mak him the bettir visage, thinking nathing less yan that the same being bot ane ordinarie countenance to sic Nobillmen as we fand affectionate to oure service, sould encourage him, or gif him bauldnes to luke

¹ [The Queen evidently alludes to her illegitimate brother, whom she had successively created Earl of Mar and Earl of Moray.—E.]

² This respects the event of David Riccio's murder.—[Bothwell had no active concern in the murder of Riccio.—E.]

³ Until.

for any extraordinary favour at oure handis. Bot he, as weil hes apperit sensyne, making his proffeit of everie thing mycht serve his turne, nocht discovering to oure self his intent, or yat ye had ony sic purpois in heid, wes content to intertene oure favour be his gude outwart behaviour, and all meanis possibill; and in the mene tyme went about be practising with ye Nobillmen secretlie to make yame his friendis, and to procure yair consent to the furtherance of his intentis. And swa far procedit be meanis with yame, befor yat evir the same come to oure knowlege, that oure haill Estaittis being heir assemblit in Parliament, he obtenit ane writting subscrivit with all yair handis, quhairin thai nocht onelie grantit thair consentis to oure mariage with him, bot alswa obleist thameselfis to set him forwart thairto with thair lyvis and gudis, and to be inymeis to all (who) wald disturb or impede the samyn; quhilk lettre he purchest, geving thame to undirstand that we wer content thairwith.

“ And the samyn being once obteneit, he began afar of to discovir his intention to ws, and to assay gif he mycht be humill sute purches oure gude will: Bot finding oure answer nathing correspondent to his desyre, and casting befor his eyis all doubtis that custumabillie men use to revolve with thameselfis in semblabill interprysis, the outwardnes¹ of oure awin mynd, the persuasionis quhilk oure friendis or his unfriendis mycht cast out for his hinderence, the change of thair myndis quhais consent he had alreddie obtenit, with mony uther incidentis quhilk mycht occur to frustrat him of his expectatioun, he resolved with himself to follow furth his gude fortoun, and all respectis laid apart, ayther to tyne all in ane hour, or to bring to pas that thing he had takin in hand; and swa resolut quiklie to prosecute his deliberatioun, he sufferit nocht the mater lang to sleip, bot within four dayis thaireftir, findeing opportunitie, be ressoun we wer past secretlie towartis Striveling to visit the Prince our derrest sone, in oure returning he awayted ws be the way accumpaneit with a greit force, and led ws with all diligence to Dunbar.

“ In quhat part we tuke that maner of dealing, bot speciallie how strange we fand it of him, of quhome we

¹ Untowardness.

doubtit less than of ony subject we had, is easie to be imagined.

“ Being thair, we reprochit him, the honour he had to be sa estemit of ws, the favour we had alwayis schawin him, his ingratitude, with all uther remonstrances quhilk mycht serve to red ws out of his handis. Albeit we fand his doingis rude, zit wer his answer and wordis bot gentill, That he wald honour and serve ws, and nawayis offend ws ; askit pardoun of the bauldnes he had tane to convoy ws to ane of oure awin housis, quhairunto he wes drevin be force, alsweill as constrainit be lufe, the vehemencie quhair of had maid him to set apart the reverence quhilk naturallie as oure subject he bure to ws, as alswa for saiftie of his awin lyff. And thair began to mak ws a discours of his haill lyff, how unfortunate he had bene to find men his unfreindis quhome he had nevir offendit ; how thair malice nevir ceasit to assault him at all occasiounis, albeit onjustlie ; quhat calumpnyis had thai spred upoun him twiching the odious violence perpetrated in the persoun of the King oure lait husband ; how unabill he was to safe himself from conspiraceis of his innemeis, quhome he mycht not know, be ressoun everie man professed himself outwardlie to be his freind ; and zit he had sic malice, that he could not find himself in suirtie, without he wer assurit of oure favour to indure without alteratioun ; and uther assurance thair of could he not lippin in, without it wald pleis ws to do him that honour to tak him to husband, protesting alwayis that he wald seik na uther soveraintie bot, as befoir, to serve and obey ws all the dayis of our lyff, joyning thairunto all the honest language that could be usit in sic a cais.

“ And quhen he saw ws lyke to reject all his sute and offeris, in the end he schowed ws how far he was procedit with oure haill Nobilitie and principallis of our Estaittis, and quhat thai had promeist him undir thair handwrittis. Gif we had caus yan to be astoneist, we remit ws to the jugement of the King, the Quene, oure uncle, and utheris oure freindis. Seing oure self in his puissance, sequestrat from the cumpany of all oure servandis and utheris quhome of we mycht ask counsale ; zea, seing thame upoun quhais counsale and fidelitie we had befoir dependit, quhais force aucht and mon (must) manteine oure autoritie, without quhome

in a maner we ar nathing, (for quhat is a Prince without a peopill?) befoirhand alreddie zealdded to his apetyte, and swa we left allane as it wer a prey to him. Mony thingis we revolved with oure self, but nevir could find ane outgait. And zit gaif he ws lytill space to meditate with oure self, evir pressing ws with continewall and importune sute.

“ In the end, quhen we sa na esperance to be red of him, nevir man in Scotland anis makand ane mynt to procure our deliverance, for that it mycht appeir be thair hand writtis and silence at that tyme that he had won thame all, we wer compellit to mitigat oure displeasour, and began to think upoun that he propoundit; and yan wer content to lay befoir oure eyis the service he had done in tymes past, the offer of his continewance heireftir; how unwilling oure peopill ar to ressave a strangear unacquainted with thair lawis and custumis; that thai would not suffir ws lang to remane unmareit; that this Realme, being devidit in factionis as it is, cannot be contenit in ordour onles our autoritie be assistit and furthset be the fortificatioun of a man quha mon tak pane upoun his persoun in the executioun of justice, and suppressing of thair insolence that wald rebell, the travell quhairof we may na langar sustene in oure awin persoun, being alreddie weryit, and almaist brokin with the frequent uprores and rebellionis rasit aganis ws sen we come in Scotland; how we have bene compellit to mak four or fyve lieutenantis attanis¹ in divers partis of the Realme, of quhome the maist part, abusing oure autoritie, hes, under cullour of oure commissioun, raisit oure subjectis within thair charge aganis oure self: And seing force wald compell ws in the end, for preservatioun of oure awin Estait, to inelyne to sum mariage, and that the humour of oure peopill wald nocht weill degest a foreyn husband, and that of oure awin subjectis thair wes nane, cyther for the reputatioun of his hous, or for the worthines of himself alsweill in wisdome, valzeantnes, as in all uther gude qualities,² to be preferrit, or zit comparit to him quhome we have takin, we wer content to accomode oure self with the consent of oure haill Estaittis, quha, as is befoir said, had alreddie declarit thair contentationis.

¹ [At once.—E.]

² These topikks are commonly made use of, and are commonly as ill grounded as they were at this time.

“Eftir he had be thir meanis, and mony utheris, brocht ws agaitward to his intent, he partlie extorted and partlie obtenit oure promeis to tak him to oure husband: And zit not content thairwith, fearing evir sum alterationis, he wald nocht be satisfieit with all the just ressounis we could allege to have the consummation of the mariage delayit, as had bene maist ressounabill, quhill we mycht communicat the same to the King, the Quene, oure uncle, and utheris oure freindis; bot as be a bravade in the begynning he had win the fyrst point, sa ceased he nevir till be persuasionis and importune sute, accompaneit nottheles with force, he hes finalie drevin ws to end the work begun at sic tyme and in sic forme as he thoct mycht best serve his turne, quhairin we cannot dissembill that he hes usit ws utherways than we wald have wyssit, or zit have deservit at his hand, having mair respect to content thame by quhais consent grantit to him befor hand he thinkis he hes obtenit his purpois, althoch thairin he had bayth frustrate ws and thame, than regarding oure contentation, or zit weying quhat wes convenient for ws that hes bene norissed in our awin religioun, and nevir intendis to leif the samyne for him or ony man upoun earth.¹

“Indeid with this point we find fault in oure mynd, albeit we ar content that nowther the King, the Quene oure modir, oure uncle, nor ony uther, lay it to his charge; for now sen it is past, and cannocht be brocht bak agane, we will mak the best of it, and it mon be thoct, as it is in effect, that he is oure husband, quhome we will bayth luff and honour, swa that all that professis thameselfis to be oure freindis mon profess the lyke freindschip towartis him quha is inseparabilie joynit with ws. And albeit he hes in sum pointis or ceremoneis raklest himself,² quhilk we ar content to impute to his affectioun towartis ws, we will desyre the King, the Quene oure modir, oure uncle, and uthers oure freinds, to beir him na less gude will than (if) all had procedit to this hour with the avys of all our freindis, and in the best ordour that he could haif devysit, assuring

¹ The Queen here seems to apologize for her marriage with one that was of the new religion, and that it was solemnized after that Form.

² i. e. Deborded from decency.

thame that thai will find him reddie to do tham all the honour and service thai can requeir.¹

“*Item*, In cais it sall be objectit to zow be the King, the Quene oure modir, oure uncle, or any uther our freindis, that oure present mariage can nocht be lauchful, in respect that he quhome withall we ar presentlie joynit wes of befor couplit to a wyff, ze sall reply and answer according to the verie treuth, That albeit he wes befor marcit, zit befor oure mariage with him, the formar contract and band wes be the ordour of law, expressit in the canonis ressavit and practizit in oure Realme, for lauchful caus of consanguinitie and utheris relevant, dissolvit, and the proces of divorce ordourlie led; swa that we on the ane part, and he on the uther syde, being bayth fre, the mariage mycht lauchfullie and weill ancuch be accomplissit be the lawis of this Realme, as now at Goddis plessour it is, quhairby the foirsaid objectioun, or ony the lyke tending to this fyne (end), may be elydit and set by.²

“Furthermair, it may be that oure uncle the Cardinall sall object and find fault, that we maid not sic exact diligence in convoying hither of the Nunce Apostolice as the wecht of the mater cravit: in quhilk point ze sall answer and satisfie him be declaratioun and making of trew report, how this last zeir about Martimes we directit toward the said Nunce oure weilbelovit clerk and servitour Maister Stevin Wilsoun, instructit with oure mynd, quhairof the chief intent wes, how the Nunce mycht be maist suirle and convenientlie transportit toward oure Realme, and to oure presence, be the conduct of oure said servitour; and zit we se na apperance of his cumming, bot is partlie frustrat and put by (past) oure purpois for lak of that support quhilk anis we undirstude of his Halines liberalitie to have bene destinat for ws for the mantening of our Estait, and furthsetting of

¹ [See the third note, p. 591 of this edition.—E.]

² The case of this divorce was too scandalous a matter for the Queen to have ever any dealing in it. She ought to have rejected the greatest Prince in the world, if it behoved him to divorce another woman first, to render him capable to marry her. But to take her own subject after such a manner was by much too far below her royal birth and dignity, had she considered the same as it became her. I know very well that the matter of divorce was a chief reproach upon the practice and religion of the preceeding times, but I much doubt whether any divorce and subsequent marriage was ever so offensive and scandalous as this.

oure authoritie;¹ bot chieflie in default of his presence, counsale, and conference with him, quhilk joynit with the uthir thing befor said, in all apperance wes nocht onlie likelie to have furtherit and avaneit the mater verie heichlie, bot alsua mycht have red ws out of mony thrawart accidentis quhilk sensyne we have fallin into; ane of the principall occasionis quhairof we mon imput to the said Nunceis' absence, and nocht resorting to ws, quhilk hes procedit on his awin motioun, and sair aganis oure will, as ze sall mak oure uncle to undirstand be all the gude and honest persuasions ze can, tending to this end."

"Instruction to oure trusty servand Robert Malville,² to be declarit be him on oure behalf, to oure derrest sister the Quene of England.

"EFTIR that ze have presentit oure maist hartlie commendationis to oure said derrest sister, ze sall expone and declair

¹ I have put into the Appendix, Number XIX., two letters in the Latin tongue written by our Queen, one to the Pope, the other to —, concerning the Nuncio. These I have recovered from the Shattered MS., and I shall put likewise some other letters, &c. into the Appendix concerning this Nuncio, who was now Bishop of Mondovi, and afterwards Cardinal Laurea.

² [It was necessary that an envoy should be sent on a similar errand to Queen Elizabeth as that entrusted to Bishop Chisholm, the envoy to France and Rome. Mary, unfortunately for her own position, selected Sir Robert Melville, brother of Sir James Melville of Halhill. Sir Robert was secretly the determined enemy of Bothwell, and one of the principal associates in the confederacy against him and Mary herself. He is described as an honourable man for those times, but it is certain that he availed himself of the Queen's confidence reposed in him to reveal her purposes to his friends, and he contrived to act both for Mary and his own party in this mission, to perform which he left Edinburgh on the 5th of June. He was instructed, he says, to excuse the recent marriage of his mistress, and to persuade Elizabeth not to expose her to shame or declare herself an enemy; but he also carried letters from Morton and others to the English Queen and Cecil, accusing Mary of the murder of Darnley, and those letters were written by the very men who were now meditating her dethronement.—MS. Declaration of Sir Robert Melville, and MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, Maitland to Cecil, 21st and 25th June 1567; Morton and other Lords to Elizabeth, 26th June 1567, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 124, 125. Bothwell also sent a letter to Elizabeth by Melville, who was also the bearer of epistles from him to Cecil and Throgmorton, all dated on the 5th of June. Mr Tytler says of Bothwell's letter to Elizabeth—"It is expressed in a bold, almost a kingly tone; he was aware, he said, of the Queen's ill opinion of him, but he protested it

unto hir the verie occasionis quhilk hes movit ws to tak the Duke of Orkney to husband, and thairwithall mak our excuse for that we sa suddanlie procedit to the consummation of our mariage, not makand our derrest sister advertisement, nor askand hir advys and counsal thairin.

“ For the first, ze sall grund zow upon the condition and stait of ws and our Realme, declarand how we wer destitute of ane husband, our Realme not throughlie purgit of the factiounis and conspiraceis that of lang tyme hes continewit thairin, quhilk occurring sa frequentlie, had alreddie in a maner sa weryit and brokin ws, that be our self we wer not abill of ony lang continewance to sustene the panis and travell in our awin persoun, quhilkis wer requisite for repressing of the insolence and seditioun of our rebellious subjectis, being, as is knawin, a peopill als factious amangis thameselfis, and als fassious¹ for the Governour as any uther nation in Europe; and that for thair satisfactioun, quhilk could not suffer ws lang to continew in the stait of widoheid, movit be thair prayeris and requeist, it behuvit ws to zield unto ane mariage or uther.

“ Seeing na apperance of ony greit commoditie to follow be protracting of tyme, bot as on the ane part thai wer verie weill content, zea, and ernistlie urgit ws, yat we sould without delay proceed to our mariage, evin swa on the uther syde, be thair meaning we persavit how unwilling thai wer that we sould cheis ony foreyn husband, bot rather sa far humill ws to be content with sum borne subject of our awin for that place, that were acquainted with thair maneris, and the lawis and custum of our Realme; for indeid we our self hes had sum pruf and experience of thair sturring,

was undeserved; declared his resolution to preserve the amity between the two kingdoms, and professed his readiness to do her Majesty all honour and service. Men of greater birth, so he concluded, might have been preferred to the high station he now occupied; none, he boldly affirmed, could have been chosen more zealous for the preservation of her Majesty's friendship, of which she should have experience at any time it might be her pleasure to employ him. The style was different from the servility which so commonly ran through the addresses to this haughty Queen, and marked the proud character of mind which, as much as his crimes, distinguished this daring man.”—MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, Bothwell to Queen Elizabeth and Cecil, 5th June 1567, and Bothwell to Throgmorton, 5th June 1567, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 125, 126.—E.]

¹ [Troublesome.—E.]

quhen as be occasioun of oure foreyn mariage thai haif suspectit to be hardly handillit of strangearis. Quhen, thairfoir, in the eyis and opinioun of oure peopill, ane of oure awin subjectis wes jugeit maist meit bayth for ws and thame, oure haill Nobilitie being laitlie assemblit at oure Parliament, wer best content that the Duke of Orkney, yan Erle of Bothwile, sould be promovit to that place, gif sa wer oure plesour; and to that effect subseryvit a lettre with all thair handis befor, or evir we aggreit to tak him to oure husband, or that he oppynit his mynd to ws in that behalf, quhairby we wer movit to mak oure choyse of him, as ane quha is wisdom, valzeantnes, and utheris gude qualiteis, mycht be weill comparit, or rather preferrit, to ony uthir Nobillman in oure Realme, and his Hous honorabill and ancient. But indeid his faythfull and uprycht service, evir sen he come to manis state, spent and bestowit for ws and in our querrell, for furthsetting of oure authoritie, quha evir ganestude it, wes na small motive in oure consait in making of oure choyse, the rather becaus nane, or verie few, of all the Nobillmen ar abill in that point to debate with him, seing at sum tyme or uther the maist part of thame had leaft ws, he exceptit.

“Thir thingis being considerit maturelie, and having respect to the releif quhilk he sould mak ws in maniement of the publick effaris of oure Realme, and administratioun of justice, with the quhilk, throw frequent uproris and seditionis, as we have said, we wer fullie weryed, we resolvit to marie him how sone we mycht convenientlie. And for oure suddane proceeding in that behalf, not makand oure said derrest sister previe of oure intentioun, nor askand hir advyis and counsall thairin, quhilk we confess we aucht to haif done, the chief occasionis wer, as ze may bauldlie affirme, the difficultie of the tyme, divers advertisementis and bruittis that come to ws, alsweill fra France as utherways, and sic uther thingis as in the mene tyme intervenit, and zit verie wechtie and sufficient causis, tending to oure greit weill and suirtie, quhilkis are weill knawin to oure self, constrenit ws to mak sic haist as we have done, and not to delay the mater quhill (until) oure said derrest sister had bene adverteist of oure intentioun and purpois, and hir advyis

and counsall had bene knawin and reportit to ws, quhair-
anent ze sall pray and desyr hir hartlie to excuse ws; for
as we nevir meantit to joyne in mariage with ony that we
belevit scho wes not contentit with, sa for this quhilk is
present, we traist scho will not onelie continew hir accustumat
favour and mutuall intelligence with ws, bot als, for oure
respect, will extend hir friendschip to oure husband, with
quhome we ar inseparabillie joynit, and to beir him and ws
na les gude will than gif all had procedit to this hour with
the knowlege and avyis of oure said derrest sister, quhome
ze sall assuir to find him reddie to do hir all the honour and
service that scho can requier of him.

“*Item*, In cais the Quene oure gude sister sall mak hir to
think strange of oure mariage with the Duke of Orknay, be
ressoun he wes suspectit and calumpniat of the odious
violence committit in the persoun of the King oure lait
husband, and that scho had writtin to oure self sumquhat
in that behalf of befor: It is trew that scho wrate to ws,
and we send hir answer agane, the copy quhairof we have
deliverit zow heirwith, quhilk will instruct zow sufficientlie
quhat ze sall answer to this objectioun, in cais ze be burdynit
with it. In effect it is this, that seing he wes acquite be
oure lawis, and be the sensament of Parliament,¹ and had
further offerit him reddie to do all thing for tryall of his
innocencie that ony Nobillman in honour aucht,² we thoct

¹ Bishop Leslie mentions the same thing likewise, and yet there is no such matter to be seen in the Record of the Parliament in April 1567.—[Our Historian forgot that the acquittal of Bothwell at his mock trial could not come before the Parliament, as no accuser had appeared, and the proceedings were in the High Court of Justiciary; but the “sensament of Parliament,” as Queen Mary expresses it in the above document, is clearly implied in the “Ratification to James Erle Bothuill, Lord Hales, of the Captanerie of Dunbar,” &c. on the 19th of April 1567, by the Parliament.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 550, 551. See the note, p. 558 of the present volume.—E.]

² i. e. The Earl of Bothwell the same day after his acquittal, I think, offered the combat—a thing usual in those days to any that would dare to say he was guilty. Buchanan says the challenge was accepted on certain conditions, but then he tells us no more of the matter.—[Buchanan’s History, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 329. See the note on the acquittal of Bothwell, and his challenge of single combat to any one who accused him of the murder of Darnley, p. 563 of the present volume.—E.]

the formar (to be) calumpny and accusatioun, and that we mycht weill aneuch¹ tak him to husband.

“*Item*, It may be that oure gude sister sall allege oure

¹ *Well enough* is in our Scottish dialect to this day but a qualified sort of affirmation, and includes a kind of diffidence, and secret acknowledgment that the thing might be better, or better done. And, indeed, I must own that I am nowise surprized that the Queen had not courage to say more on the present head; for to me it seems but a poor apology for any woman, and much more a Queen, who is stationed, we may literally say, in the view of *all* the world, to alledge that, because the strongly surmised murderer of her former husband was cleared from that imputation by a *Jury*, therefore she could with a good grace take the same very person for her future husband. There is something very delicate in a point of this nature, and the smallest suspicion ought to determine the surviving party, especially the female, to abstain from such an enterprize. But if the Queen, in the present case, was conscious of any guilt in the Earl of Bothwell, or if she gave the least countenance in assoilzieing him, we must take the freedom to say that she has brought justly upon herself all the misfortunes which from this time did befall her, how unjustly soever these might be inflicted by her enemies. It was at least incumbent upon her Majesty, if she entertained any thought of marrying the Earl of Bothwell, to have sifted into the bottom of the accusation led against him, and to have allowed every reasonable scruple to be satisfied which the Earl of Lenox could propose; and particularly, though the day of the trial could not be adjourned by her authority, as that Earl required, yet she might have easily commanded the Lord-Justice to delay the business until another day, after the Court was once formed. Truly I cannot but deem it a piece of high imprudence in the Queen to have taken at any rate the Earl of Bothwell to her husband, even though he had been as innocent of the crime laid to his charge as the child that was yet unborn. And the imprudence was still heightened, when she could not be ignorant what a powerful faction she had to grapple with in the kingdom, and so might easily judge that such a marriage, notwithstanding all their hypocritical Bonds, &c. would be afterwards improved to the best advantage against her.—[Mary was now rapidly approaching the crisis of her fate by her marriage with Bothwell. “Not a spear,” says Sir Walter Scott, “was lifted, not a sword drawn, to rescue Mary from the power of that atrocious ruffian. She was suffered without either warning or opposition to unite herself with this worthless man, and it was not till her honour became inseparable from his that the same advisers changed their note, sounded an alarm to the nation, and called on all true subjects to rescue the Queen from the controul of Bothwell.” We have seen, however, in the course of the narrative, that Mary had many warnings not to marry Bothwell, as related in the note, p. 583, 584, 585, of the present volume; but Sir Walter Scott’s language, it is appropriately observed, “falls justly upon the men whose influence and admonitions, had they been united with those of Lord Herries and Sir James Melville, might have extricated Mary from her toils.”—*Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, his Lineage, Life, and Times*, by Mark Napier, Esq. 4to. Edin. 1834, p. 117.—E.]

present mariage not to be lauchfull, in sa far as the Duke oure husband wes couplit to a wyff of befoir, quha zit levis : Ze sall answer, That be the lawis ressavit within oure Realme, and often tymes practizit, as is notour aneuch, his formar mariage wes dissolvit, and the proces of divorce ordourlie led, for resolute causis of consanguinitie, and utheris, befoir oure mariage with him, and swa we mycht lauchfullie consummat the samyn, for it is na new thing nowther in Scotland nor England.

“*Item*, Ze sall put oure said gude sister in mynd of the Maistir of Marchellis¹ lang captivitie, throw refuis of ressonabill ransom that mony tymes hes bene offerit, and the matir verie oft motionat unto himself, sen thair is nathing to be had of thame in quhas handis he now remanis bot uttir rigour and extremitie ; that it will pleis oure said gude sister to appoint and gif commissioun to sum discreit men to meit with utheris of the lyke qualitie, to be send and appointit be ws, for making ane modificatioun of the said ransom, swa that the samyn being payit, the gentillman may be fre of his lang sumptuous captivitie.”

It was very much talked in the kingdom, that the Earl of Bothwell had a strong inclination to have the Prince in his keeping, and Sir James Melvil gives a pretty circumstance account how the Earl of Mar was enabled by his advice to divert the pursuit for a time.² This same author

¹ [William Lord Keith, eldest son of William fourth Earl Marischal by his Countess Margaret, daughter and co-heiress with her sister Elizabeth (who married Lord Forbes) of Sir William Keith of Inverugie in Banffshire. The Master of Marischal died in 1580 during the lifetime of his father, leaving by his wife, Lady Elizabeth Hay, eldest daughter of George sixth Earl of Erroll, eight children, the eldest of whom, named George, succeeded as fifth Earl Marischal, and was the founder of the Marischal College and University at Aberdeen.—E.]

² [Sir James Melville's Memoires, folio, p. 81, 82. In the “Memoirs of his own Life,” by Sir James Melville, from the original MS. in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB in 1827, Sir James relates his conversation with Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich in the Castle of Edinburgh, after he had heard the Queen in Holyroodhouse ask for a knife to “stick herself,” or else she would drown herself, as narrated in the note, p. 587, 588, of the present volume. “Now, said I to Sir James Balfour,” continues Sir James Melville, “that there was na surete for him to be out of suspition, but to keep the Castell of Edinburgh in his awin handis, and to be that gud instrument to saif

likewise makes us understand, in general, that on the other hand several of the Nobility had secret caballing to crown the young Prince and prosecute the murderers of his father. These different views of the Earl of Bothwell and his opposites came at last to terminate in Bonds and Associations for the support of the respective parties and leaders, and, no doubt, the destruction of their enemies. The principal Lords, say some, who met at Stirling, and associated for the Prince, were the Earls of Argyll, Atholl, Morton, Mar, Glencairn; the Lords Lindsay and Boyd:¹

baith Quen and Prince, in assisting the Nobilitie wha were about to croun the Prince, and to persew the Erle Bodowell for the Kingis (Darnley's) murthour. And without he tok part with them theruntill, he wald be halden as airt and part of the said murthour, by raisoun of his lang familiaritye with the Erle Bodowell; and that it was a happy thing for him that the said Erle was become in suspition of him, assuring him that I had intelligence by ane that was of the Erle Bodowell's conseil, to wit, the Laird of Whitlaw, for the tyme Capten of the Castell of Dunbar, that the Erle Bodowell was determinit to take the Castell of Edinbrough fra him, and mak the Laird of Benstoun (Beanston), Hebroun (Hepburn), Capten thereof, and then to put the Prince there in his keeping." The coolness of Sir James Balfour in this conversation is remarkable, when it is considered that he was deeply involved in the murder of Darnley, and actually concocted the whole plot. He promised, however, to act as Sir James Melville advised him, and to oppose his friend and fellow-conspirator Bothwell, if Kirkaldy of Grange would promise to protect him, "in case the Nobilitie mycht alter upon him, for he and many of them had run contrary courses before, so that he durst not credit them. The Erle of Mar," continues Sir James Melville, "being advertist hereof by his brother Alexander Arskin, wha was trew and cairfull for the Prince's saiftie, came secretely to me at midnycht, for the dayes were dangerous for all honest men. Now my L(ord) of Mar being continowally requyred and boasted to deliver the Prince out of his hands, at length granted, with condition only to dryve tyme, that ane honest responseable Nobleman suld be made Capten of the Castell of Edinbrough, because he saw na uther sure house to kepe him untill he suld delyver him unto the Quen his mother, quhilk he was not myndit to do sa lang as he mycht resist. Albeit he was not a gud discimilaire, but thocht it a meit answer to dryve a little tyme, and suage the present fury, untill the Nobilitie mycht convene to persew the mourther, and to crown the Prince, as they had alreidy concludit at a secreit meeting amang themselves. Quhilk was not sa secret but that ane of the said Lords made advertisement thereof to the Erle Bodowell, how that they were myndit to envyron the Palace of Hallirudhouse and tak him therein; whereupon he forgot the suttng of the Prince, and was only carefull how to saif himself."—*Memoirs (BANSATYNE CLUB)*, p. 180, 181.—E.]

¹ This is the list given by Knox and Buchanan; but Crawford's *Memoirs*, MS. gives for the "Chiefs of the faction, Morton, Mar; Lords Home, Sempil, and Lindsay; Barons Tillibardine and Grange, and Secretary

But as to the particular persons who combined with the Earl of Bothwell, we are left to guess without any particular mention of them by our historians.¹ One thing, however,

Lethington ; these disliking the Queen's marriage, and being out of countenance before, dealt secretly with others to make a faction, pretending thereby to set the Queen to liberty, and put Bothwell to a trial for the suspected murder ; although their intention was rather to seek their own liberty (authority) by uprore and rebellion, as in its own place you shall hear."—[Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 406.—Buchanan's *History*, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 342. The extract from Crawford's MS. *Memoirs*, given by our Historian, is considerably garbled ; and the following is the proper narrative :—"Certain of the Nobilitie mislyking of this marriage, and being out of countenance afore, delt secretly with uthirs of the best sort to make a faction, pretending therby to set the Quene at libertie, and to put Bothuell to a tryall of the suspectit murther, altho' ther intention was rather to seik their awin libertie by uprore and rebelloun, and to be exalted, as in the awin place ye sall heir ; for the cheif of this factioun were James Erle of Mortoun, the Erle of Marr, Lord Sempill, Lord Lyndsay, Secretary (Maitland of) Lethingtoun, the Baron of Tullybarden (Murray), and (Kirkaldy of) Graynge."—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, 4to. Edin. 1825, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 10.—E.]

¹ [Nevertheless Knox expressly asserts that the Earl of Argyll, "seduced by fair words," was persuaded to "fall off" from the confederacy against the Queen and Bothwell, and that "Boyd became a great factionary for Bothwell in all things."—*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 406. Buchanan says—"Argyll, out of the same levity of temper with which he came into them, discovered their designs to the Queen within a day or two following ; and Boyd was by large promises wrought over to the contrary party."—*History*, Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 342. Lord Herries also states—"Argyll the next day revealed all, and Boyd was afterwards drawn to the Queen's side."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, by John fifth Lord Herries, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1836, p. 91. Mr Tytler observes, that during the absence of Sir Robert Melville in England the confederated Nobility diligently arranged their plans and concentrated their forces. "It was judged time," says Mr Tytler, "to declare themselves, and the contrast between their former and present conduct was abundantly striking. They who had combined with Bothwell in the conspiracy of the King's murder, and had urged the Bond recommending him as a suitable husband for the Queen, were now the loudest in their execration of the deed, and their denunciations of the marriage. It was necessary for them, however, from this very circumstance, to act with that caution which accomplices in guilt must adopt when they attempt to expose and punish a companion. If Morton, Argyll, Huntly, (Maitland of) Lethington, and Balfour, possessed evidence to convict Bothwell and his servants of the murder of the King, it was not to be forgotten that Bothwell could reeriminate, and prove by the production of the Bond, that they had consented to the same crime. We know, too, that he had shewn this Bond to some of the actual murderers, and unless that they were slain in hot blood, or made away with before they had an

both Buchanan, and Knox,¹ and after them Archbishop Spottiswood,² take care to inform the world of, that when the Queen had invited many of the Nobility to Court, and had desired them to sign a Bond for the defence of herself and her now husband, the Earl of Moray alone had the courage and generosity to decline doing it, telling for his reason, that since he had formerly entered into friendship with Bothwell he would keep his promise ; but to subscribe any Bond for the Queen, this he judged to be unnecessary, seeing he was bound to obey her as his Sovereign in all lawful and just things. Mr Buchanan, according to his fine talent, makes a noble discourse and panegyrick here in favour of his *worthy* patron ; and yet when all this fine story is told with all its agreeable circumstances, it is certain the Earl of Moray was not then nor had been within this kingdom for upwards of a month at least before the Queen's marriage.³ If one or all of these authors have

opportunity of speaking out, the whole dark story might be revealed. These apprehensions, which seem to me not to have been sufficiently kept in mind, account for the extraordinary circumstances which soon after occurred."—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 126, 127.—E.]

¹ [Historia Rerum Scotticarum, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 219, 220 ; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 340, 341 ; Knox's Historie, folio, Edin. 1732, p. 407.—E.]

² [History of the Church and State of Scotland, folio, London, 1655, p. 204.—E.]

³ [Bishop Keith misunderstood Buchanan and Knox, who obviously relate this incident in the life of the Earl of Moray as having occurred *before* he left Scotland, though they apparently mention it as if he had been in the kingdom at the time. Lord Herries, in his contemporary narrative, notices the extraordinary expedients adopted by the Queen and Bothwell immediately after their marriage. One of these was a "Mutual Band," which, Lord Herries says, was subscribed by most of the Nobility, from different "respects and ends," and the tenor of the Band was—"That they were bound to defend and assist the Queen and her husband the Duke of Orkney in all their enterprizes, and that the Queen and her husband were bound to protect and maintain them." Lord Herries states that the Earl of Moray was "only absent of the great men." It appears that this Band, or something similar to it, had been projected before the Queen married Bothwell, and that Mary when at Seton House sent for Moray, and asked him to subscribe. "He pretended," says Lord Herries, "to give all the assistance that lay in his power for the Queen and her (intended) husband, but refused to enter in any band of confederacie. At length Bothwell endeavored, in a privat conference, to move him to joyne, but finding him still resolut, he told him publicklie that he expected his concurrence as much as any, and withall said that

jumbled different times together, let themselves bear the blame; for I suppose they may have an eye to somewhat of this kind, which the Earl of Moray, in his answer to the Declaration of the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, mentions to have fallen out after the murder indeed of the King, but most certainly before the Queen's marriage with Bothwell.¹

On the 28th of May the two following Proclamations are inserted in the Registers of Privy-Council, and though there is no *Sederunt* of Counsellors marked, yet we see their advice is mentioned in the body of the Proclamations.

“*Edinburgh, 28 May 1567. Proclamation against Liddisdail.*

“THE Quenis Majestie, considdering the greit skayth and detriment quhilk the trew and gude subjectis of this Realme, dwelland in the cuntries awest the Bordouris, sustein be the opin reiffis, thiftis, and oppressioun of the rebellious

what he had done and committed was not upon his own private interest onlie, but was done by advice and consult of himselfe (Moray). Dyvers days were spent in this purpose, which Moray did not spend idle, for here he took occasion to meet with his friends, and consult upon that which was to follow. And even here they conclude to ryse in arms, for which their quarrell was pretended to be to persecute the murtherers of the late King, and to take upon them the protection of the Prince, whom they said Bothwell had a mynd to seaze upon, and by appearance had a mynd to cutt him off by some secret way, wherby his own children might succeed to the Croune, if any shold be procreat with the Queen. The Earl of Moray, in the mean tyme, followed his project, and pretended business in France, as out of discontent. He procured a pass from the Queen to go either through England, or any other way he pleased. This course was concluded amongst them, that he, not being ingadged in the troubles to follow, might be reserved free, and so, being neutrall, he might be the fittest for the government of the kingdom; and lykewayes, in the mean tyme, if they should be put to need assistance from England, he might be free to agitate their affairs. Whereupon he takes leave, and leaves the Earle of Mortoune head to the faction, who knew well enuff how to manadge the business, for he was Moray's second selfe. Whereupon a new Band of Confederacie was drawn up amongst themselves, into which at first subseryved the Earles of Argyll, Mortoune, Marr, Atholl, and Glencairne, Patrick Lord Lyndsay, and the Lord Boyd.” This is the “Band” which the Earl of Argyll revealed to the Queen on the following day.—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, by Lord Herries, printed for the Abbotsford Club, p. 90, 91.—E.]

¹ See this paper in the Appendix.—[No. XVI. It is the document entitled—“*An Answer by the Earl of Moray, Regent, to the foresaid Protestation (of the Earls of Argyll and Huntly) pasted on the back thereof, 19th January 1568-9.*”—E.]

and disobedient persounis inhabitantis of Liddisdaill, quhilk, attour the odious crymes above specifiet, daylie murtheris and slayis the trew legeis in the defence of thair awn gudis in sic sort, that divers gude and profitabill landis are laid waist, and mony honest houshaldaris constrenit to skail thair housis: That the invasioun of the saidis rebellis is almaist in na less hurtfull to the commoun weill nor gif it wer opin weir with forayn innemyis; and seing the said rebellis owrlukit and winkit at be sic as duellis maist ewest to tham, hir Majestie is constrenit to use the force of the in-cuntries, for suppressing of the insolence of the saidis rebellious peopill; and thairfoir, with avys of her derrest spous, James Duke of Orknay, Erle of Bothwell, Lord Hails, Creichtoun and Liddisdaill, Greit Admirall of this Realme, and Lordis of Secreit-Counsall, ordanis lettris to be direct, chargeing all and sundrie Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, frehaldaris, landitmen and substantious gemen, dwelland within the boundis of the schireffdomes of Forfar, Perth; stewartries of Strathern and Monteith beneth the Hielands; the schireffdomes of Strivling, Lanark, Clakmanan, Kynros, and Fyffe; that thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of weir, with fifteen dayis victuall and provisioun, address thame to convene and meit our Soverane Lady hir Majestie's derrest husband foirsaid, or Lieutemant, at Melros, upon the fifteenth day of June next to cume; and swa to pas furthwart as thai sall be comandit, for invasioun of the saidis rebellis during the said space of fifteen dayis, undir the pain of tynsall of lyff, landis, and gudis."

" SICKLYKE.

" THE Quenis Majestie, considdering the greit skayth and detriment quhilk the trew subjectis of this Realme dwelland in the cuntreis ewest the Bourdouris sustenis be the opin reiffis, thift, and oppressioun of the rebellious and disobedient personis inhabitants of Liddisdaill, quhilk, attour and besydes the odious crymes above specifiet, daylie murtheris and slayis the trew legeis in the defence of thair awn gudis, in sic sort, that divers gude and profitabill landis are laid waist, and mony honest houshalderis constrenit to skail thair housis: That the invasioune of the saidis rebellis is almaist na les hurtfull to the commoun weill nor gif it wer

opin weir with forayn innemeis; and seing the said rebellis owrlukit and winkit at be sic as dwellis maist cwest to thame, hir Majestie is constrenit to use the force of the in-cuntreis, for suppressing of the insolence of the said rebellious peopill; and thairfoir, with advyis of her derrest spous, James Duke of Orknay, Erle Bothwell, Lord Hailis, Chrichtoun and Liddisdaill, Greit Admirall of oure Realme, and Lordis of Secreit-Counsall, ordainis lettris to be direct, charging all and sundrie Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, frehalderis, landitmen, and substantious gemen, dwelland within the boundis of the schireffdomes of Linlythgow and Edinburgh, principall, and within the constabularie of Haddingtoun and Berwick, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, prepaire thameselfis and be in reddiness with sex dayis victualls and provisioun, to meit her Majestie, hir said husband, or Leutennant, at tyme and plesour as thai sall be adverteist, weill bodin in feir of weir, upon sex houris warning, to pas furthwart and attend as thai sall be comandit, for invasoun of the saidis rebellis durring the said space of sex dayis, undir the pain of tynsall of lyff, landis and gudis." R. M.¹

These Proclamations having occasioned several rumours in the country, disseminated industriously, no doubt, by the Queen's and Bothwell's enemies, her Majesty found herself under a necessity to endeavour the quieting the minds of the people, and securing them against any bad designs, by the following Declaration:—

*"Edinburgh, 1st June 1567. The Quenis Declaration upoun the Bruitis."*²

"THE Quenis Majestie considdering and thinking upoun hir awn estait, and the government of this hir Hienes' Realme, owir the quhilk the Almichtie God hes placeit hir supreme heid and lauchfull inheritour; and, with that, calling to mynd quhat greit alteratiouns and strange accidentis hes fra tyme to tyme occurrit during hir Majestie's reigne, bot maist speciallie sen hir Hienes' arryvall and returning in this Realme, and taking of the management and government of the effairis thairof on hir awn persoun, quhilkis all, praisit

¹ [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

² [Rumours.—E.]

be God, are happilie quietit and set down be hir Majestie, God sa weill prospering the work in hir handis, alsweill to hir awn honor as to the satisfactioun and contentment of all hir gude subjectis, that in all this tyme of her Majestie's awn presence sen hir said arryvall thai have nevir felt the force of forayne inemyes, bot levit in gude peace, nor zit bein overthrowne be the auctors of ony domestick seditionis that hes not bene spedelie dantonit and punissit for thair demeritis : and swa thai may justlie compair thair stait in this hir Majestie's reigne to the maist happie tyme that hes occurrit in man's memory. But as invy is enemy to vertew, and that seditious and unquiet spiritis evir seikis to interteyn troubill and unquietnes, sa can hir Majestie nevir meane sa sincerelie and uprychtlie, nor nevir direct hir doings sa perfytlie, bot insted of thankfull hartis and gude obedience, hir Hienes' clemency is comounly abusit, and recompansit with thrawartnes and ingratitude ; and quhen scho thinkis least of ony novatioun, evir sum inventioun or uthir is brocht in, and the people perswadit to beleif it, as, that hir Majestie's cair of this comounweill were tint ; that hir Majestie menit to subvert the lawis, to reject the counsall and assistance of hir Nobilitie, and to handill all thingis without ony discretioun, contrair the ancient custum ; bot last is, that is maist grevous and offensive of all, that the helth, preservatioun, suir custody and government, of hir maist derre and onelie sone the Prince, now in his infancy, were neglectit be hir Hienes, and na sic attendence had thairto as appertentit : And besydes this, the malice of sum hes bene sa greit, that quhairas hir Hienes with avyis of hir Counsall laitlie set out Proclamatiounis, comand-ing hir subjectis in certane countries of the Realme to be in reddines and convene for pursute of the rebellious and disobedient subjectis in Liddisdaill, be quhome the trew legeis are havelie oppressit ; it hes bene murmurit and put in the heids of the people that thai forceis were to be convenit for uthir purposis that nevir enterit in hir Hienes' mynd ; for in making of the saids Proclamatiouns hir Majestie had no cullorat meaning, nor no uthir purpois in heid nor is planelie mentionat in the same, as the success will weill declair : Quhilks untrew reportis and opprobrious calumnies sa neirlie twicheis hir Majestie, that constrainitlie

it behuvis hir to gif plane declaratioun of her mynd and hart to all hir gude subjectis, to the effect that thai, being certifiit of the veritie be resolvit of all doubt and secludand error, may stay themselffis on the trewth. For first, as God knawis hir mynd, scho nevir meanit the subversiou of the lawis in na jote, bot rather hes mentenit thame: Quhat is abill to be objectit, that evir hir Majestie tuk on hand inconsultat be the Nobillmen hir Counsall, or in quhat point hes hir Hienes handillit ony maner of thing in the publict effaires, by¹ the custum of hir maist nobill progenitouris, men that are godlie and hes discretioun may judge, and tyme will manifest it to the haill warld. And for hir derrest sone, of quhome sall hir Majestie be cairfull, gif scho neglect him that is sa deir to hir, on quhais gude success hir speciall joy consistis, and without quhome hir Majestie could nevir think himself in gude estait, bot comfortles all the dayis of hir lyff? And zit seing men now thus bussy in his infancy to ground the occasioun of thair particularities on his persoun, it may be thoct quhat thai wald pretend gif he wer of mair mature aige. Bot as God hes hard hir prayeris, and the prayeris of hir people, in granting sic happie issue and successioun of hir body eftir hir lyff to posses and enjoy this kingdom, sa sall hir Majestie's moderlie affectioun towartis him appeir evidentlie, that nathing requisite for his nutriture, custody, intertainment, and preservatioun, salbe forzet, and with that he committit to sic governance as utheris Princes of his Realme in thair infancy hes bene accustomat in tyme bygane: that in proes of tyme the auctoris of sic false reportis owther in previe or patent sall worthilie accuse thameselffis of untrewth, and find thameselffis frustrat of thair inventionis; and hir Majestie's cair towart hir Realme, and naturall luff and entire affectioun towart hir said derrest sone, sall manifest the same, as it is in effect, to the haill warld. And that lettres be direct for publicatioun heirof in dew form, as effeiris."

R. M.²

The discontented Lords, and other heads of that faction, were in the mean time very active in gathering together an

¹ i. e. Contrary to.

² [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

army before the day appointed by the Queen for convening the lieges to march into Lidsdale,¹ &c. and whatever *private* views they might have for their taking up arms at this time, as the author of the forecited *Memoirs* gives us ground enough to conclude they had, they were surely much fortified in their intentions by the letters of the French King mentioned by Sir James Melvil:² So that had it not

¹ [Or Liddesdale. Mary had summoned her Nobility to attend her with their feudal followers into that mountainous district of Roxburghshire, now the parish of Castleton, but most of them had left the Court, and neglected the order. Lord Herries writes as if this intended military gathering had been the result of Argyll's disclosure of the new "Bond of Confederacie" to the Queen. "This being detected," says his Lordship, "the Queen and Bothwell sent to the North to acquaint their friends there, and desyre them to come to Lothian with what power they could make, and in the mean tyme Bothwell resolves to go to the Border, and make a raid against those Border men who were broke loose."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, by Lord Herries, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 91. Meanwhile the Earl of Huntly betrayed the Queen's confidence by corresponding with her enemies; and Secretary Maitland, whom Bothwell had carried a prisoner to Dunbar when he seized the Queen at Almond Bridge, though pretending the utmost devotedness to her interests, duly informed the confederated Nobility of all her purposes, and at last suddenly left the Court. It was also reported that the Earl of Moray had arrived in England to take an active part against the Queen, and Lord Home, one of the powerful Border Chiefs, was most zealous in his opposition to her. "No army, therefore, could be collected; so detested, indeed, was Bothwell, that even the soldiers whom he had in pay incurred his suspicion, and it was reported he only trusted one company commanded by Captain Cullen, a man suspected to be deeply implicated in the King's murder."—MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, 17th, 20th, 25th, 31st May, and 7th June 1567, cited in Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 127.—E.]

² [Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, folio, p. 82, and *Memoirs of his own Life*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 181, 182. Sir James states—"Among other Princes the King of France sent here to his ambassador Monsieur de Crok, a grave and discret gentelman advancit by the House of Guise, a wreting mervelen that, in a foull mourthour being committed in the persone of a King (Darnley), sa few honest subjectis were found apparently to find falt with the same, far less to suit any sure tryall, and to see the same punissit; whereupon the Lords that had the enterprize in their heads were haisted forward to take arms, and in the mean tyme they obligit themselves by their handis wretis, quihilk they delyverit unto the said Monsieur de Crok, to send unto the King his master, that they suld do their uttermaist diligence to try out the authours of that foull mourther of their King." The effrontery of this is extraordinary, when it is recollected that most of them were implicated in the murder of Darnley, and knew well the whole circumstances of that plot.—E.]

been for the advertisement of one of the conspirators¹ to the Earl of Bothwell, they had undoubtedly surprized her Majesty and him in Holyroodhouse before they had been aware of the design;² whereupon the Queen and he removed immediately from that Palace to the Castle of Borthwick³ on the 6th of June.

¹ Probably either the Lord Boyd or Earl of Argyll, for Buchanan and Knox do both take notice that the former shifted sides, and the Earl of Argyll, these writers observe, deserted the faction, and came over to the Queen.—[According to Lord Herries, the Earl of Argyll was the Queen's informant.—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 91.—E.]

² [The confederated Nobility intended to seize Mary and Bothwell in the Palace of Holyrood, but this achievement was prevented by their abrupt retreat to Borthwick Castle when informed of the plot against them. Bothwell was too cautious to leave Mary at liberty, and he seems to have considered her as a person who required to be watched, that he might successfully work out his purposes. His treatment of Mary was probably one cause of the indignation of his former associates against him. Sir James Melville prominently mentions Bothwell's "mishandling of her, and many indignities that he hath baith said and done unto her sen their marriage was made. He was," continues Sir James, "sae beastly and suspitious, that he sufferit her not to pass over a day in patience, or making her cause to shed abundance of tears."—*Memoirs* printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 182.—E.]

³ It is eight miles south-east of Edinburgh, now ruinous. Calderwood's MS. says the Queen and Bothwell went thither on the 6th June; and Cecil's Diary on the 7th. But this last adds that "the Earl of Bothwell rayd against the Lord Howme and Erneherst, and so past to Melros, and she to Borthwick."—[Borthwick Castle, in the parish of its name, beyond Dalkeith, is *twelve* English miles from Edinburgh. This ancient Castle, still a massive ruin, and much admired for the excellence of its masonry, was erected by Sir William Borthwick, created Lord Borthwick before 1430. It is conspicuous in the vale of Borthwick, near the junction of the South and North Middleton streamlets, which form the Gore, and enter the South Esk at the romantic locality of Shank Point. Borthwick Castle is nearly a square tower, measuring 74 by 68 feet without the walls, which are 13 feet thick near the base, of hewn stone within and without, strongly cemented, and are gradually contracted to about six feet thick at the top. The height from the area to the battlement, without including the sunk storey, is 90 feet, and including the arched flagstone roof, is probably 110 feet. On the west side is a large opening, apparently intended to light the principal apartments, and on the first storey are the state-rooms, which were accessible by a draw-bridge. The great hall is 40 feet in length, and so high in the roof that a man on horseback, it is quaintly said, "could turn a spear in it with all the ease imaginable." The Castle is surrounded on three sides by steep ground and water, and at equal distances from the base are square and round towers. This interesting pile of building is tolerably entire and of great strength. John eighth Lord Borthwick held out the Castle against Cromwell, after the victory of the

But though the associated Lords had missed of this attempt, they did not therefore throw up their general enterprize, but resolved to obtain by force what they had lost by stratagem. Having therefore 2000 horse secretly in readiness to march whithersoever they should find proper, with these they intended to besiege the Castle of Borthwick, and the Lord Hume with a part of them, to the number of

latter near Dunbar, and though he was compelled to surrender, he obtained honourable terms, was allowed to leave his stronghold unmolested, and fifteen days to remove his effects. His great-grandfather John fifth Lord was the proprietor in the reign of Queen Mary, and was one of her zealous adherents. A small apartment in Borthwick Castle is shewn as *Queen Mary's room*, and was evidently hung with tapestry during her occupation of a baronial residence which she occasionally visited. On the occasion mentioned by our Historian, Morton, Mar, Home, Lindsay, and other leaders of the confederacy, suddenly surrounded Borthwick Castle, in which were the Queen and Bothwell. The latter, who had such early intelligence that he was able to escape through a postern in a back wall, rode off with a few attendants to Dunbar. Lord Herries says that Bothwell disguised himself in a "woman's habit," and "the Queen in a man's, and in the night they deceived the guards, and went straight to Dunbar Castle."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 92. It appears, however, that an interval of nearly two days occurred betwixt the escape of Bothwell and the flight of Mary in disguise to Dunbar Castle. If during that brief space the Queen had determined to separate her fortunes from Bothwell her fate might have been different. Mary and Bothwell had few attendants at Borthwick, for the messenger who announced to her the occupation of Edinburgh by the Confederated Nobility found the Queen "so quiet, that there were none with her passing six or seven persons." When Bothwell's escape was known the blockade of Borthwick Castle was raised, and the Confederates retired to Dalkeith, from which town they marched to Edinburgh. Bothwell returned to escort her, for we are told that "her Majesty, in men's clothes, booted and spurred, departed that same night from Borthwick to Dunbar, whereof no man knew save my Lord Duke (Bothwell) and some of his servants, who met her Majesty a mile from Borthwick, and conveyed her to Dunbar." It is not unlikely, from these particulars, that though the dethronement of the Queen had been decided, the imprisonment of her person had not been determined, or at least was not publicly declared as part of the projects of the Confederates. As to our Historian's reference to Calderwood's MS., it is distinctly stated that "the Queen and Bothwell went to Borthwick Castle, which is distant from Edinburgh seven (Scottish) miles, upon the 6th of June, with artillerie and men of warre."—*Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WEDROW SOCIETY, 8vo. Edin. 1842, vol. ii. p. 360. If Cecil's Diary, mentioned by our Historian, is to be received as genuine (Anderson's Collections, 4to. vol. ii. p. 276), Bothwell's expedition on the 7th of June was against Lord Home and Ker of Fernihirst, and he went first to Melrose, leaving the Queen in Borthwick Castle ;

800,¹ came actually to the place before that the Queen had got any notice of their being in arms. But as this Lord had not men enough in his company to surround all the avenues of the Castle, and that the Earl of Atholl and other conspirators from Stirling had not punctually kept touches to be at the place (the place of meeting should have been at Liberton, two miles south of Edinburgh),² it so fell out, that both the Queen and Bothwell escaped from thence to the stronger fortification of Dunbar, where they were in absolute security from any sudden attack.

The Lords Associators finding themselves frustrate likewise of this second project for seizing the Earl of Bothwell, as they commonly gave it out, took the resolution to push their fortune and try the city of Edinburgh, wherein they knew most part of the people were of their side, and the Castle possessed by a man³ who, though formerly a creature of the Earl of Bothwell, yet now, upon some disgust, not thinking himself perhaps sufficiently rewarded, was tampering with the adverse party for delivering it into their hands. With the strength therefore of 3000 men the Lords drew

but his stay must have been short, as he had returned, and escaped from Borthwick to Dunbar on the 11th. Birrel in his Diary says that the Confederates suddenly on that day "beset the Castle in arms very well provided," and the chief leaders were the Earls of Atholl, Glencairn, Morton, and Mar, Lords Home, Lindsay, Sempill, Ruthven, and Sanquhar, accompanied by the Lairds of Tullibardine, Drumlanrig, Cessford, Drumquhaisil, Coldenknowes, Lochleven, Faldonsyde, Grange, the Tutor of Pitcur, with "divers uthers." They demanded Bothwell to be delivered to them, and were informed that he had fled to Dunbar. They then requested the Queen to join them in "perscute of her husband's murther, and she altogether refusit."—Diary of Robert Birrel, in *Fragments of Scottish History*, edited by Sir John Graham Dalyell, Bart. 4to. Edin. 1798.—E.]

¹ *Ibid.*—[Neither Calderwood nor Cecil's Diary mentions the number of the forces of the Confederates who marched to Borthwick Castle, and our Historian's reference, or "*Ibid.*," is not clear. Lord Herries alleges that they consisted of 2000 men, and that they were induced to the decisive measure by a rumour that the Queen was to receive immediate assistance from Stirling.—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 92.—E.]

² [The parish of Libberton extends immediately south of the city, and is about seven miles in length and four in breadth. If our Historian means that the Confederates were to assemble at the *Kirk-town*, or Upper Libberton, that village is nearly *three* English miles south of Edinburgh.—E.]

³ [Sir James Balfour of Pittendrie, repeatedly mentioned in preceding notes.—E.]

near to the city, and how soon the Earl of Huntly, the Lord Boyd, Archbishop of St Andrews, Bishop of Ross, and Abbot of Kilwinning,¹ who had been left in the city by the Queen, heard of the approach of the confederated Lords, they offered to assist the citizens in the defence of the town; but they quickly found that the minds of the people were more turned towards the other Lords, and all they could obtain from the Magistrates was to have the ports of the town shut against the Confederates. But this proved to be, as perhaps it was intended, a very slender resistance; for the associated Lords, without much difficulty, forced open St Mary's Port,² and entered the Canongate,³ where

¹ When these Noble persons perceived the temper of the citizens they retired into the Castle, and were sent away in safety by Sir James Balfour, the deputy under Bothwell; for as yet he had not finished his treachery, and so was willing to have friends which way soever the matter should go.—[“The Earle of Huntlie and Mr John Hammiltoune, Archbishop of St Andrews, and dyvers others, the Queen's friends, were come to Edinburgh, who, not daring to byd in the tounne for the number of their unfriends that daylie increas'd, they slipt themselves into the Castle, which was then commanded by Sir James Balfour. He willingly received them, but in this verie tyme he was treating with the Confederate Lords for a revolt, and as soon as ever he had closed his conditions, he put them, and the rest of the Queen's friends that were within, out at the postern gate safe, and then declared himself for the Confederates.”—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots* by Lord Herries, p. 92.—E.]

² There is at present no port or gate that goes under this name, but there was of late years such a port, adjoining to and standing at right angles with the Cowgate Port. This gate was taken down in the year 1715, when the Highlanders, who had come over the River Forth by order of the Earl of Mar, threatened to enter the city, since which time that port has not been repaired. The Magistrates, it seems, intended at that time to secure the ports of the city only.—[This “port” or gate was at the south end of St Mary's Wynd, entering from that street to the then suburbs of the Plesance, which was in the direction of one of the principal roads to the South of Scotland from the city. The date assigned for the removal of St Mary's Port by our Historian refers to the celebrated enterprize of John, eleventh Earl of Mar of the surname of Erskine, in favour of the Stuart Family, known as the “Rebellion of 1715.”]

³ [The suburb of Edinburgh so called, extending from the High Street eastward to the Palace of Holyrood, and, though a burgh of regality governed by a Baron Bailie nominated by the Corporation of Edinburgh, and two resident Bailies elected by the qualified inhabitants, is a continuous part of the old city. The Canongate consists of the main street, and numbers of diverging alleys to the south and north. This ancient part of Edinburgh is now one of the most repulsive districts of the city, but it is at all times interesting on account of its connection with the Palace of

they formed themselves into a sort of regular Council, and there emitted a Proclamation to this effect, viz.—

“ *Canongate, 11th June 1567.*

“ THAT whereas the Queen’s Majesty, being detained in captivity, was neither able to govern her Realm, nor try the murder of her husband, we of the Nobility and Council command all the subjects, specially the burghers of Edinburgh, to assist the said Noblemen and Council in delivering the Queen and preserving the Prince, and in trying and punishing the King’s murderers. And we command the Lords of Session, Commissaries, and all other Judges, to sit and do justice, according to the laws of this Realm, notwithstanding any tumult that may arise in the time of this enterprize: With certification to all who shall be found acting contrary to these proceedings, that they shall be reputed as fautors of the foresaid murder, and punished as traitors.”¹

And next day, being admitted within the city of Edinburgh,² they there gave forth a proclamation at Edinburgh,

Holyrood, and its numerous antique old tenements in the principal street and alleys.—E.]

¹ See the Proclamation at length in Anderson’s Collection, vol. i. p. 128. —[“ This same 11th of June the said Lords with their assistants came to Edinburghe, being Thursday, at four houres in the afternoon, where there was Proclamation at the Crosse, that all trew subjects vuld assist to persew the murther of the King.”—Birrel’s Diary, p. 9.—E.]

² “ So the Lords being frustrate of that Enterprize (at Borthwick), addressed themselves to Edinburgh, intending to fortify themselves there. But it was supposed that neither the Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh should have suffered them to approach the town, neither should the Provost of the town permit them to enter.” Both these officers had been put in by the Queen and Bathwell.—“ But when the hearts of the people are alienated from their lawful Prince, rebellious persons have liberty to do what they list without contradiction, as became (fell out) in this purpose; for the greatest part of the inhabitants were suborned to make no resistance, and the Captain of the Castle was so dealt withal that the matter came to talking, whereby he was suddenly corrupted with money, and rendered the Castle into their hands to the prejudice of the Prince and his Master who placed him there. So that how soon town and Castle were in their possession they divulgated their pretence to the people, that they were convened with no other intent but to search (for) those who murdered King Henry; and because they understood that some of them were quietly kept in Edinburgh, they would see them punished, whereby the minds

12th June 1567, to this purpose, viz.—“ That the Earl of Bothwell having put violent hands in the Queen’s person, and shut her up in the Castle of Dunbar, having proceeded to a dishonest marriage with her Majesty after obtaining a divorce from his former wife,¹ having already murdered the

of the most part were inclined their way.”—Crawford’s MS. —[This extract from Crawford’s so called *MS.* differs in some particulars from the genuine narrative in the “*Historie and Life of King James the Sext,*” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 11. The substance of the latter account is, that after Mary’s flight to Dunbar from Borthwick Castle the Confederated Nobility intended to fortify themselves in Edinburgh, but it was supposed that Sir James Balfour would fire upon them from the Castle, and prevent their approach towards the city, in which he would be assisted by the Lord Provost, who was Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar. The citizens, however, were so completely under the influence of the Reformed preachers that they would offer no resistance, and Sir James Balfour, who had been liberally bribed, placed the Castle at the disposal of the Confederates, to the injury of the Queen and his master Bothwell, who had appointed him to the command of the Fortress. It is farther stated that the sole object, as announced by the Confederates, was to revenge the murder of Darnley, some of the perpetrators of which, they alleged, were in quiet concealment in Edinburgh. Thus far the contemporary writer of the “*Historie of King James the Sext.*” It is certain that the Confederates had friends in the city who declared for them in defiance of Mary’s adherents, and the Lord Provost and Trained Bands, to whom the defence of the city was committed, did not actually open the gates to the Confederates, but they saw them forced without offering any resistance. This turn of affairs increased the difficulties of the Queen. Another contemporary diarist records that the Confederates came on the 11th of June from Dalkeith to the Boroughmuir, the then extensive common on the south side of Edinburgh, and thence proceeded to the Cowgate Port, which they broke open, and entered the city by Niddry’s Wynd—an alley which occupied the site of the present Niddry Street. They forced all the other gates “without any impediment made either by the Castell or the inhabitants of the toun,” and they next went to the Cross, and publicly announced that their object was to search for and punish the murderers of Darnley. On the same day a proclamation was made at the Cross in the Queen’s name, enjoining all “sensabill personis betuix sextie and sextene” to proceed to Borthwick “to relieve her and her spouse under the pane of deid.” Another royal proclamation on the same day ordered all such “sensabill personis” to meet in Edinburgh, and hold themselves in readiness to march wherever they were required; and a third was intended to be announced at seven o’clock in the evening, commanding the parties in the city to depart to their respective homes, but the Confederates prevented the heralds from announcing it by taking them into custody. This was on the day the Queen fled to Dunbar disguised in male attire.—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 112, 113.—E.]

¹ [Bothwell is accused of having *two wives living*, exclusive of Lady Jane Gordon by whom he was divorced. This is asserted by Buchanan

late King, and now attempting, by his gathering together of forces, to murder the young Prince also : Therefore they command all the lieges to be ready on three hours' warning to pass forward with them to deliver the Queen's person, and take revenge on the Earl of Bothwell for ravishing and detaining her Majesty ; and charge all those who will not assist them to depart the town of Edinburgh within four hours, with certification, in case of disobedience, they shall be holden as enemies, and punished in body and goods."¹

in his severe attack on Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, for celebrating the marriage of his namesake in title to Mary. One, says Buchanan, the Bishop of Orkney, was found who preferred the smiles of a Court to the light of truth, while others declined the task, and pointed out the unhallowed nature of nuptials with him who had already *two spouses alive*, and had lately obtained himself to be repudiated by a *third* on the ground of his own adultery.—*Historia Rerum Scotticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 217 ; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 333 ; *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston*, by Mark Napier, Esq. p. 116. If this statement of Bothwell's three wives is true, it must refer, as it respects two of them, to clandestine alliances probably when he was on the Continent, for it can scarcely be assumed that the powerful Earl of Huntly would have allowed his sister to form a matrimonial union with such a profligate, if the fact had been known in Scotland.—E.]

¹ *Ibid.*—[Notwithstanding the above extract by our Historian in his text, and though Mary's affairs were daily becoming more desperate, the position of the Confederates was by no means favourable. This is subsequently noticed by Bishop Keith, and is proved by the testimony of Lord Herries. Meanwhile their great object was to excite the people, denouncing their former associate and, in the case of some of them, fellow-conspirator Bothwell as the murderer of Darnley, on whom they had determined to be avenged. This was done on the 12th of June at a meeting in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in which they ordered maces and officers of arms to proceed to the market cross of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, St Andrews, Stirling, Glasgow, and other towns, and by "open proclamation" to "command and charge all and sundrie lieges in this Realme, as weil to burgh as to land, that they be in readiness, upon three hours warning, to pass fordwads with the saids Lords of Secret Counsell and Nobilitie, to deliver the Queen's Majestie's most noble persoun furth of captivitie and prisoun ; and upon the said Erle Bothwell, and all his complices that sall assist him, to bring them to underly the lawes of this Realme."—The "Act that the Lords of Secret Counsell made in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh the 12th day of June 1567, declaring James Erle Bothwell to be the principall author and murtherer of the King's Grace, of good memorie, and ravishing of the Queen's Majestie," is in Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 576, 577, 578, the original of which was "imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lickprevick, 1567." By the proclamation of this Act the said "Lords of the Privy Council" virtually disowned the royal authority, and usurped the government.—E.]

That the first of these Proclamations is dated at Canon-gate, and the other at Edinburgh, is most certain—which would therefore seem to verify that the Associators had not received entrance into the city of Edinburgh sooner than the 12th of the month; and yet these two following Acts of the Town-Council give us sufficient ground to affirm that the Confederated Lords had entered the city even on the 10th day of the month.

“ *Undecimo Junij, 1567.*

“ The quhilk day the Provost, Baillies, Councill and Deacons, names Edward Litel, Baillie, William Fouller of the Councill, and Michael Gilbert, Goldsmith, to pass to Dunbar to our Soverane, quha was there for the tyme with James Hepburn, Duke of Orkney, Lord Bothwell, Admiral, &c. to excuse the Gude Toun and Councill their part anent the entering and continuing in this toun of my Lords Athole, Montrose, Morton, Mar, Glencarn, Home, Lyndesay, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Semple, Tullibardyn, and Grange, &c. quha had convenit themselves in arms for punesing King Hary Stewart’s murther, putting of our Soverane to Linlythgow, dissolving of the marriage betwixt our Soverane and the said Duke, and fortification of James Stewart, Prince of Scotland, and sone to the said umquhill Hary.

“ The samen day, the Baillies and Councill ordainis John Harwood, Thesaurar, to content and pay to Jaques and his peple ten shillings, quha playit afoir the toun the 10th day of June instant, the tyme of the incomeing of the Lords above writen.”

Meantime both parties make vigorous preparations for assaulting each other, and forces came very quickly into the assistance of the Queen.¹ But it seems to be acknowledged by

¹ [Lord Herries states that as soon as it was known that the Queen and Bothwell were in Dunbar Castle “ their friends came presentlie to them in troupis.” His Lordship mentions Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, the Lairds of Waughton, Bass, Ormiston, Cockburn, Wedderburn, Blacadder, and Langton—“ all men of good following, and by their examples numbers of cuntrie people willinglie offered their service. There were two hundred hyred soldyers, and some feild pieces of ordnance. The Noblemen and gentlemen put their men in the best order they could, and with these

all, as well the Queen's enemies as her friends, that she committed one very great oversight in not remaining some space longer in the Castle of Dunbar, a fort which the Associators could not have taken without munition and warlike engines,¹ of which they were not provided, and for want whereof they were upon the point of giving over the enterprize, and each man shifting for himself, especially since the country did not flock so fast into them as they had looked for,² whereas the Queen's army was every moment on the increase; and had it not been for the supply of armed men which was afforded the Lords by the City of Edinburgh, they could not have remained together for one night.³ On the other hand, the Queen and Duke of Orkney,

forces the Queen resolved to march to Leith."—*Histories of the Reign of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 92.—E.]

¹ [Dunbar Castle, long a massive and dilapidated ruin on a cluster of rocks, round which the sea beats with tremendous fury, was a very secure fortress, and before the invention of gunpowder was deemed impregnable. It was popularly known as *Earl Patrick's Stronghold*, and was considered the key of the east coast of Scotland from Edinburgh to Berwick-upon-Tweed. We have seen that it was the retreat of Queen Mary after the murder of Riccio, and on subsequent occasions, and that Bothwell obtained possession of it by an Act of the Parliament passed on the 19th of April 1567. The fortress was surrendered to the Regent Moray, who reduced it to ruins, and sent the artillery it then contained to Edinburgh Castle. The dilapidated and mouldering towers are about 200 yards west of the town of Dunbar, and some remaining mounds indicate the great extent of the Castle in its entire state.—E.]

² [Lord Herries says—"The Confederate Lords in this tyme were at Edinburgh not in a verie strong posture, for their careless suffering the Queen and her husband to escape from Borthwick Castle had discouraged the common people, and their fyrie furie being cooled a little, they slung away everie man home to his house. And it is noted in the historie that if the Queen had but spun out a little more tyme, she might without great trouble have been master of the field within few dayes, for people came in dayly to her assistance; and upon the other syde the partie of the Confederates still decessed, and the Lords themselves were beginning to think upon dissolving."—*Histories of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 93.—E.]

³ It is reported that the town of Edinburgh not only afforded the associators plenty of refreshments, but likewise 200 harquebusiers.—[In addition to the assistance rendered to the Confederates by the citizens of Edinburgh, sundry compositions both in prose and rhyme were published to "move the hearts of the haill subjects," says Sir James Melville, "to assist and take part with so gude a cause."—*Memoirs* printed for the BANSATYNE CLUB, p. 182. Some of these "lybells," Sir James says, were "pityful and perswasive," and they were chiefly directed against Bothwell.

being ignorant of the bad situation of the Associators, were afraid of protracting the time, lest their own forces should decrease and those of their enemies increase, and there-upon took the resolution of advancing towards Leith with those forces they already had, in hopes that from that

The following is a specimen of those pasquinades, in doggrel rhyme, preserved, with another, in Calderwood's Large History, and printed in the Wodrow SOCIETY's edition of that writer's "Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 350." It refers to Bothwell's mock trial and acquittal.

" I hold it best ye give him assize
Of them that wrought the interprize,
And consented to that foule band,
And did subscribe it with their hand ;
And other sillie simple Lords,
Who feare their hanging into cords.
God is not glee'd thogh ye him clenge ;
Believe me, weill He will revenge
The slaughter of that innocent lamb,
Metu vindictam, et ego retribuam.
Ye wold faine clenge ; I love it the war (worse) ;
It makes it the more suspect by farre.
The farther in filth ye stampe but doubt
The fouller sall your shoes come out.
Ye, being chieftain of that tryst,
Ye braid of (resembled) him that speired at Christ.
' *An sum ego, Jesu Christe ?*
Who answered—' *Juda, tu dixiste.*'
Here I advertise yow in time,
If that ye clenge him of that crime
Ather for love, or yitt for terrour,
I sall protest for wilful errour."

Other circumstances occurred to excite the people against the Queen and Bothwell, as the latter was considered capable of perpetrating any villany. The Proclamations of the Queen against Liddesdale (see *supra*, p. 610, 611), commanding her subjects in the more southern shires to meet her and Bothwell her Lieutenant at Melrose on the 15th of June, were misunderstood or wilfully perverted. Instead of an expedition against the rebellious Borderers, it was rumoured and believed that it was intended to assemble a large force, march to Stirling Castle, and compel the Earl of Mar to resign the charge of the infant Prince. This widely circulated allegation, when told to the Queen, elicited her "Declaratioun upoun the Bruitis," or reports, inserted by our Historian from Mr Robert Miln's collections, in which, as Chalmers observes, "she avowed her affection for her people, disclaimed any wish to innovate upon the established laws, and hoped that she had placed her son in such safe hands that the security of his person and the cultivation of his mind need not be doubted, to whom those charges are committed, according to the ancient practice ; but such declarations were not much regarded."—Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 223, 224.—E.]

place and from Edinburgh their army might receive a considerable augmentation; which resolution of theirs presented to the confederated Lords the very opportunity they could have wished for. But we mortals are blind as to future events, and that which proves unsuccessful is always branded as a bad choice.

On Saturday, 14th of June, the Queen and Duke of Orkney marched out of Dunbar,¹ and came that night the length of Seton,² where they lodged, and the army was quartered in the town of Preston.³ When they were at Gladsmoor,⁴ a proclamation by the Queen was read at the head of the army, bearing—"That a number of conspirators having discovered their latent malice borne to her and the Duke of Orkney her husband, after they had failed in apprehending their persons at Borthwick, had made a seditious proclamation, to make people believe that they did seek the revenge of the murder of the King her late husband, and the relieving of herself out of bondage and captivity,

¹ [Lord Herries says—"Their first remove was to Haddington, from whence, upon the 14th day of June 1567 she came to Seatone, where the armie was quartered in towns about."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 92, 93. Haddington is eleven miles from Dunbar.—E.]

² [Seton House, near the village of Port-Seton, on the shore of the Firth of Forth, in the parish of Tranent, upwards of a mile east of Prestonpans, and at least seven miles from Haddington. It is repeatedly mentioned that Seton House, a stately edifice now removed, was the family residence of the Lords Seton and their descendants the Earls of Winton.—E.]

³ [The now decayed hamlet of Preston, nearly half a mile inland from the long and straggling coast village—a burgh of barony—of Prestonpans, or Salt-Preston, so called from its former Salt Pans. Preston still retains its ancient Cross, but the town is now reduced to a few mean houses and some old family mansions, the latter of which attest its former importance—the locality pleasantly rural and retired. Near it is the old tower of Preston, a massive edifice of several storeys, and, though a ruin, tolerably entire, in the middle of an extensive garden. It was greatly dilapidated in 1544 by the Earl of Hertford, and in 1650 by Cromwell.—E.]

⁴ [Gladsmuir, a district constituted a parish in 1692 by annexations from the adjacent parishes of Haddington, Tranent, and Aberlady, was long a bleak uncultivated tract, literally a *muir*, but it is now in the finest and most improved state of agriculture. Dr Robertson was several years minister of Gladsmuir, and wrote the greater part of his "*History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI.*" in the old manse. The Battle of Prestonpans, at which the royal troops were defeated by the Highlanders in 1745, is sometimes designated the Battle of Gladsmuir.—E.]

pretending that the Duke her husband was minded to invade the Prince her sonne; all which were false and forged inventions, none having better cause to revenge the King's death than herself, if she could know the authors thereof. And for the Duke her present husband, he had used all means to clear his innocency, the ordinary justice had absolved him, and the Estates of Parliament approved their proceedings, which they themselves that made the present insurrection had likewise allowed. As also he had offered to maintain that quarrell against any gentleman on earth undefamed, than which nothing more could be required. And as to her alleged captivity, the contrary was known to the whole subjects, her marriage with him being publickly contracted, and solemnized with their own consents, as their hand-writs could testify. Albeit, to give their treason a fair shew, they made now a buckler of the Prince her sonne, being an infant and in their hands, whereas their intention only was to overthrow her and her posterity, that they might rule all things at their pleasure, and without controlment. Seeing, therefore, no wilfulnesse, nor particularity, but very necessity has forced her to take armes for defence of her life, as her hope was to have the assistance of all her faithful subjects against those unnatural rebels, so she doubted not but such as were already assembled would with good hearts stand to her defence, considering especially the goodness of her cause, promising them, in recompence of their valorous service, the lands and possessions of the rebels, which should be distributed according to the merit of every man."¹

¹ This is taken from Archbishop Spottiswood, because I see no where an authentick copy of the Proclamation. Crawford's MS. says only in general, that "the Queen caused Proclamations to be made to animate the people on her side, that if any man should slay any Earl of the adversaries he should have a forty pound land; for the slaughter of a Lord, a twenty pound land; and for slaughter of a Baron, a ten pound land." And Calderwood's MS. adds, "for the slaughter of a zeaman, the escheat of a zeaman."—[Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, folio, London, 1677, p. 206; *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 12; Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WOBROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 362. This offered reward is also mentioned in the "*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 115.—E.]

The news of the Queen's march having reached Edinburgh about midnight, the Lords Associators departed from that city early next morning,¹ being Sunday, and both

¹ [The "Associators" had been joined in Edinburgh by the Earl of Atholl and Maitland of Lethington—the latter "a man," it is truly observed by Mr Tytler, "who had belonged to all parties, and had deserted all, yet whose vigour of mind and great capacity for State affairs made him still welcome wherever he turned himself." Liberal pay was offered by the Confederators to volunteers, and they prepared the banner afterwards mentioned, that the cause for which they were in arms might obtain greater publicity. The sight of it, and their Proclamation, had a strong effect on the common people; the Magistrates of Edinburgh warmly supported them; and Sir James Balfour, the confidant of Bothwell—the man deeply implicated with the said Bothwell in the murder of Darnley—was ready to place the Castle of Edinburgh at their disposal. As Mr Tytler observes—"his anticipated defection, therefore, gave new spirit to the party." Yet Calderwood states—"The Lords found not such concurrence out of all quarters as they expected, and such worthie enterprize required, for manie favoured the other partie, or suspended their aide, till they saw farther. They wanted likewise artillerie and munitioun necessarie for the siege. When they began to deliberate upon dissolving their armie, the Queen cometh forward with her forces."—*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 362. Birrel asserts that the Confederates marched first to Restalrig when they left Edinburgh, which was indeed on their way, and they rested there till the following morning—Sunday, the 15th of June.—*Diary*, p. 10. Lord Herries says—"But getting sudden intelligence in the night of the Queen's approach, and that she was advanced alreddie to Seantoune, they were forced to take courage, and presentlie beat up drums. The force, as is said, was not many, but because they had the affections of the toune of Edinburgh, they appeared in the morning a considerable number. With these they marched out betymes in the morning, and lay doune at Musselburgh. They made the greater haste that they might be master of the toune and the bridge, which was a strong pass, and then sent out parties to view the countenance of the Queen's armie. In the mean tyme they refreshed their men."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 93. The bridge here mentioned at Musselburgh is the old narrow bridge of three arches over the Esk, a river which enters the Frith of Forth after the junction of the North and South Esk in the pleasure grounds of the Duke of Buccleuch near Dalkeith. The old bridge of Musselburgh has long been the reverse of a "strong pass," but it is interesting on account of the historical associations connected with it and its antiquity, as occupying the site of a Roman structure leading to the Roman station on the adjoining elevated ground called the Hill of Inveresk, on which is the parish church of Inveresk or Musselburgh, surrounded by the churchyard. The sea has receded so far during the lapse of centuries, that the beach at the debouch of the Esk is remarkably shallow, but in Queen Mary's time vessels of war could approach within cannon-shot of the old

armies came in view of each other about mid-day at Carberry Hill, about six miles east from Edinburgh,¹ which her Majesty had already possessed, together with the trench cast up by the English army when it was last in these parts. The Queen had also brought with her some field pieces² from the Castle of Dunbar. Spottiswood says³ the Queen had, very soon after her going to the Castle of Dunbar, an army of 4000 men. Knox tells,⁴ the Queen came forward with an army between 4000 or 5000. And Calderwood's large MS.⁵ reckons her Majesty not to have had above 2500—of this number, he says, were 200 harquebusiers under the command of Captain Anstruther—but he observes the whole army consisted of the common sort⁶ only; those of better rank in that army being, according to him, the Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick;⁷ the Lairds of Bass, Waughton, Ormiston, Wedderburn, Langton, Blavernie, Cumledge, Hirsell, and Ormiston of that Ilk in Teviotdale.⁸ Crawford's MS.

bridge, and Robert Lord Graham, also designated the Master of Montrose, eldest son of William second Earl of Montrose, was killed on this bridge by a ball from one of the English ships of war at the mouth of the Esk, while the Scottish army was marching across it to the fatal battle-field of Pinkie in the immediate neighbourhood, in 1547.—E.]

¹ [Carberry Hill, in the parish of Inveresk, beyond Musselburgh, is nearly eight English miles from Edinburgh.—E.]

² [Birrel states that the Queen had six field pieces of brass.—Diary, p. 10.—E.]

³ [Archbishop Spottiswoode's History of Church and State in Scotland, folio, London, 1677, p. 205.—E.]

⁴ [Historie of the Reformatioun in Scotland, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 408.—E.]

⁵ [Also Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 362.—E.]

⁶ [Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 362. Birrel says that the Queen's forces, when drawn up on Carberry Hill, consisted of "four regiments of souldiers" (Diary, p. 10), exclusive of the six brass field pieces. Mr Tytler states that Mary's forces amounted to "about 2000 men."—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 130.—E.]

⁷ [Already mentioned as George fifth Lord Seton, father of the first Earl of Winton and of the first Earl of Dunfermline; William fifth Lord Hay of Yester, an ancestor of the Earls and Marquises of Tweeddale; and William sixth Lord Borthwick. Lords Seton and Yester were neighbours of Bothwell in the county of Haddington, of which he was the hereditary High Sheriff.—E.]

⁸ [Three of these Lairds were gentlemen of the county of Haddington, and the others appear to have been allies of Bothwell as Border Warden. Hepburn of Waughton was the chief of Bothwell's Family, Lauder of the

says¹—"The Queen understanding credibly of such convocation (of the Lords) tending to rebellion, she on the other part assembled as many as she could obtain in so short a time, and (desperately *i. e.* unluckily or unadvisedly) came from Dunbar to Seaton. There, after she had staid but a night, was resolute (did resolve) by the unwise advice of those that were with her at that time, to come forward with that small company to invade her adversaries before her whole army were assembled, and came to a place called Carberry Hill.² The Lords, "this author adds," sorted from Edinburgh to places of advantage, and to have the sun in their backs, for the day was very hot.—The party of the Lords was much stronger than the Queen's,³ and many people of

Bass, and Cockburn of Ormiston, were the two other East Lothian Lairds. The Laird of Wedderburn was David Home, a Berwickshire gentleman, and Calderwood designates the Laird of Hersel as Sir Andrew Ker. Blavernie, properly Blannerne, Cumledge, and Langton, are properties in Berwickshire, in the neighbourhood of Dunse. Ormiston of that Ilk was one of Bothwell's associates in the murder of Darnley.—E.]

¹ [The correct passage, of which the extract from Crawford's MS. is garbled, is in the "Historie and Life of King James the Sext," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 12.—E.]

² [Mary entrenched herself on Carberry Hill, within the works thrown up twenty years before by the Duke of Somerset, previous to the battle of Pinkie. Carberry Hill is a beautifully elevated ridge upwards of a mile south-east of Musselburgh in the parish of Inveresk, immediately above the field of Pinkie. A part of the Hill is planted, and the stone on which Mary sat when she held the interview with Kirkaldy of Grange, subsequently narrated, is still known as the *Queen's Seat*.—E.]

³ [Lord Herries mentions that the Confederates formed two divisions,—the first commanded by the Earl of Morton and Lord Home, and the others by the Earls of Glencairn, Atholl, and Mar (Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 93). Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Grahame, and Sanquhar, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, Douglas of Drumlanrig and his son, Ker of Cessford, Kirkaldy of Grange, and others, were among the prominent leaders. It appears that the march of the Confederates to Musselburgh was caused by the Queen herself, who issued a proclamation to her subjects to meet her in that town on the 15th of June at eight in the morning, when she had resolved, if she was in life, to enter Edinburgh or Leith in defiance of all opposition. The Confederates first recognised the Queen's forces occupying the rising ground east of Musselburgh when they reached the Magdalene Bridge—a bridge nearly a mile west of that town over a rivulet which enters the Frith of Forth. They were there informed that the Queen's forces had arrived at a certain *brae*, or sloping ground, near Carberry Hill, which must be either Edgebuckling Brae or Fawside Brae, both of which form the rising grounds on the road to Tranent. The

Edinburgh were come forth to assist them. Besides all this, they were supported with store of drink, which was a great relief in such exceeding heat of the year."

The French ambassador Le Croc was with the Queen, and that gentleman, perceiving what was like to ensue, wisely resolved to interpose his good offices to bring matters to an amicable accommodation. For this purpose he went to the Lords, and assured them their sovereign had good inclinations to peace, and would be ready to forgive what they might have hitherto done amiss.¹ As this message or declaration by the ambassador consisted of two parts, the Earl of Morton made a reply to the *first* after this sort—

Confederates crossed the old bridge of Musselburgh, and marched a few miles up the east side of the Esk into the interior, until they reached Cousland, a village in the parish of Cranston three miles north-east of Dalkeith, and nearly two miles south-east of Carberry Hill, which continued to be occupied by the Queen and Bothwell. The contending parties were in sight of each other the whole day, and the movements of the Confederates from five in the morning till twelve o'clock noon were planned to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun, or, as the contemporary diarist expresses it—"to have the pre-eminence and advantage of the sun," while the Queen and her forces were stationary on Carberry Hill till eight in the evening.—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 114.—E.]

¹ [Lord Herries states that Monsieur Le Croc, who we have seen disapproved of the Queen's marriage to Bothwell, and had even encouraged the Confederates with the view of having the infant Prince sent to France, obtained Mary's leave to treat for an accommodation without bloodshed. As soon as he approached the Confederates, to whom he was well known, Le Croc declared his message by an interpreter, that "his business," says Lord Herries, "was to see if there was a possibilitie to pack up things without blood for both their goods—that it was lamentable that the Queen and her subjects should be at such distance, that nothing could satisfie their displeasures but blood and slaughter, and whomsoever should get the better, yet the loss fell to the cuntrie. He showed them that the Queen was inclyned to peace—that she wold willinglie grant an oblivion, and take it upon oath that no man should ever be called in question for what was done in opposing her authoritie."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 93, 94. According to Sir James Melville, considerable distrust existed among the Queen's forces. "Albeit," he says, "her Majestie was there, I cannot name it to be her army, for many of them that were with her had opinion that she had intelligence with the Lords." After mentioning the odium in which Bothwell was held for his bad treatment of the Queen, Sir James Melville adds—"So part of his awin company detested him, (and) uther part believed that her Majestie wald fayne have been quite of him, but thoct shame to be the doer thereof directly herself."—*Memoirs*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 182, 183.—E.]

“ That they had not taken arms against the Queen, but against the murderer of the late King ; and if her Majesty would either give him up to be punished, or remove him from her company, she should find in them a continewation of all dutiful obedience, and that they could admit of peace on no other condition.” And next, to the *other* part of the message, the Earl of Glencairn answered—“ We are not come here to ask pardon for any offence we have done, but rather to give pardon to those that have offended.” The ambassador observing by these haughty replies that his mediation would prove altogether fruitless, took his leave of the Queen, and rode straight to Edinburgh.¹

And now the Associators finding the access to her Majesty’s camp to be very difficult, sent Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange with 200 horse round the Hill towards the east side, with a double purpose, namely, both to get between the Queen’s camp and the Castle of Dunbar, and so intercept the Earl of Bothwell’s escape thither;² and likewise to make an attack from the opposite side which was more level, at the same time that the foot of the army

¹ [Le Croc’s abrupt departure, after he informed the Queen of the failure of his attempt at a conciliation, is mentioned by Lord Herries (Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots, p. 94), and by Calderwood (Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the WEDGWOOD SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 363). It was evident, from the reply of Morton and Glencairn, that no hope of an agreement existed, and the Confederates were the more determined to persevere, by observing that an indisposition to fight was apparent among the Queen’s forces, some of whom were at the time actually deserting their opponents.—Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 131. —E.]

² [Kirkaldy of Grange was accompanied by Douglas of Drumlanrig, Ker of Cessford, and Home of Cowdenknowes, and though their object was to cut off Bothwell’s retreat to Dunbar, which they could have easily done, they were more anxious to bring matters to a crisis. The Queen saw that her defeat was almost certain in a battle. Desertion was rapidly spreading in her army, her remonstrances had no effect, and she in vain implored her soldiers to advance by assuring them of victory and branding them with cowardice. When Kirkaldy at the head of his horsemen began to wheel round Carberry Hill on the east to turn the flank of the Queen’s forces, and prepare for the commencement of action on the more level ascent, the panic of Mary’s troops became general, and she and Bothwell were left with only sixty gentlemen and the band of hackbutters. — MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Scrope to Cecil, 17th June 1567, cited in Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 133 ; Sir James Melville’s Memoirs, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 183. — E.]

should advance up the hill on the side they then stood, and where the ascent was more steep, and so less accessible by the horse. The Queen being informed that Grange commanded this brigade, sent Ormiston (but which of the Ormistons I cannot say)¹ to desire him to speak with her. Grange first acquainted the Lords of the Queen's message, and having obtained their permission to talk with the Queen, he told her Majesty how well their Lordships were inclined towards her, provided she would remove from her the murderer of the King.² The Duke of Orkney overhearing this, offered the combat to any that would maintain he had murdered the King. The Laird of Grange first, and next the Laird of Tullibardin, offered to fight with his Grace; but he rejected them both, as being of quality inferior to him. Then the Lord Lindsay made the same offer, but, as some affirm, the Duke's heart failed him; others, that the Queen interposed, and would not allow of any such trial.³ And it is added, that her Majesty

¹ [Cockburn of Ormiston.—Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 183.—E.]

² [Sir James Melville states that while Kirkaldy was conversing with the Queen, Bothwell, who heard his language, appointed a soldier to shoot him, at which the Queen "gave a cry, and said that he suld not do her that shame wha had promised that he suld come and return safely."—*Memoirs*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 183. Kirkaldy, who was in his heart devoted to Mary, lost no time in obeying the summons of his sovereign. "All in this field, madam," said the gallant Knight of Grange, "will love, honour, and serve you, if you will only abandon the murderer of your husband." While he was uttering these words, Bothwell had ordered a soldier to raise his harquebuss and take deliberate aim at Kirkaldy, but the Queen shrieked, and exclaimed—"Shame me not with so foul a murder;" and Bothwell endeavoured to disguise his confusion by a vaunting offer of the combat to any man who would decide the day singly with himself. "You shall have an answer speedily," said Kirkaldy, as he spurred his horse to join his comrades.—E.]

³ [The real narrative of Bothwell's challenge is differently related. According to one account, when he heard Kirkaldy's language, and the accusation of murdering Darnley, he challenged to single combat any one who so charged him. Kirkaldy told him that he would soon send him an answer, and leaving Mary sitting on Carberry Hill he galloped down to the Confederates. He proposed to the Lords that he might be allowed to accept Bothwell's challenge, to which they consented, and due notice was sent to the so called Duke of Orkney, who replied that he would not fight with Kirkaldy, or enter the lists with any one who was not a Nobleman.—Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 183. Another statement is, that when Bothwell saw his forces deserting, he rode forward, and by a herald offered to decide the day by single combat.

perceiving that few, even of those in her army that wished well to herself, shewed any inclination to enter into an engagement with the other army, called upon the Laird of Grange, and told him she would agree to the terms proposed by the Lords. And the Lords on their part giving commission to that gentleman to assure her Majesty of their willingness to perform what had been offered at first, Grange rode up again to the Queen, and saw the Earl of Bothwell take his leave and part from her Majesty.¹ This

The challenge was accepted by James Murray of Tullibardine, and refused by Bothwell for the reason assigned in the case of Kirkaldy. This James Murray was the person who had affixed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh an answer to one of Bothwell's assertions of his innocence. "Then," exclaimed his elder brother, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, "I at least am his Peer; my estate is better than his, and my blood is nobler." This was intimated to Bothwell, who refused on the pretence that Tullibardine "was not his equal in degree of honour," and singled out his old associate and fellow-conspirator Morton, who readily answered that he would fight him instantly on foot with a two-handed sword. But Lord Lindsay of the Byres interfered, and asserted that the combat belonged of right to him as the relative of the murdered Darnley, and implored the Lords, by the services he had done and still hoped to do, to grant him in courtesy to meet Bothwell. Morton yielded to Lindsay, whom it was considered proper to humour, and presented him with his own sword, a weapon he highly valued as once wielded by his renowned ancestor the great Earl of Angus, surnamed *Bell-the-Cut*. Lindsay then armed himself, and kneeling down before the ranks, implored the Divine punishment on the guilty, and protection to the innocent. Bothwell appeared eager to fight, but the Queen interfered. She said "he was her husband; he shall not fight with any of them."—Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 363, 364; MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, cited in Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 132.—E.]

¹ [This was the last time Mary ever saw Bothwell. She held a moment's conversation with him weeping, and he appeared to waver and remonstrate, but when she gave her hand he took farewell, and turning his horse's head he rode from Carberry Hill to Dunbar, none of the Confederates attempting the slightest opposition. Le Croc says in a letter to Catherine de Medici—"Bothwell became greatly alarmed, and at last asked the Queen whether she would keep the oath of fidelity which she had made to him. She answered, Yes; and gave him her hand upon it. He then mounted his horse, and fled with a few attendants." Le Croc probably obtained this information in Edinburgh, but all that passed between the Queen and Bothwell at their final separation can only be conjecture. Such were the extraordinary scenes which led to the escape of Bothwell and the surrender of Mary, rendering Carberry Hill at all times an object of interest. The inconsistency of the Confederates deserves notice. Their avowed object in taking arms was to bring the murderer of Darnley

having been declared by Grange to the Lords, they then desired him to go up the Hill again, and receive the Queen in their name ; whereupon her Majesty went towards him,

to justice, and yet, when he was in their power, he was permitted to escape. But Morton, Argyll, Huntly, and Maitland of Lethington, knew well that if driven to his defence Bothwell could convict them as accomplices, and they considered that they could more easily deal with him as a fugitive than as a prisoner. Two accounts of Bothwell's flight from Carberry Hill are interesting. The Queen "perswaded him," says Calderwood, "to withdraw himself secretlie out of the field, for she had tried that few except his own friends and dependers would fight ; at least, were anxious the battle might be delayed till the next day, that Huntlie and the Bishop of Sanct Andrews come with new forces, if Bothwell in the mean time would not decide the questioun by single combat.—While the Queen was conferring with Grange, Bothwell conveyed himself secretlie from the armie, and hasted with speed to Dunbar, himself alone, because he would trust none ; yet others report with seven or eight. After he had taken the flight, sindrie shrinked away by hundreths, fourties, and thretties. One was sent from the Queen's armie with a long picke, and cast it down before the horsemen of the other armie, in token the victorie was theirs."—Calderwood's *Historie*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 364. Lord Herries, on the other hand, says that when Kirkaldy was sent to treat with the Queen, he "had a secret commission underhand, and a token from the Earle of Mortoune to Bothwell, to advyse him to retire himself from the furie of the people to some part out of the kingdom for a small time, until he wrought business in a right posture ; but that the people are now so hote, that if he do stay, it was not possible to keep them from destruction on both sides, and gave assurance that if he wold slip himself asyde, he may go frielie whether he pleased in securitie, for none shall be suffered to follow. Bothwell gave trust to these conditions, and reteared privately out of the armie with onlie two men, and went to Dunbar Castle. The other partie said he reteared by command of the Queen ; but, however it was, he left the field without trouble or danger."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 94. If this account is true, it proves the consummate hypocrisy and villany of Morton, who contrived to make even Kirkaldy of Grange a tool in the negotiation at Carberry Hill, though it is farther said of Kirkaldy that "he took Bothwell by the hand, and desired him to depart, promising that no one should oppose or follow him, and thus by their own consent Bothwell passed away."—Chalmers' *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 229. The statement of Lord Herries respecting the "secret commission" conveyed by the Knight of Grange to Bothwell is supported by Camden, who says—"They who absolved Bothwell of that crime (the murder of Darnley), and gave consent to this marriage, tooke up armes as if they would have seyzed on his person ; but, in effect, underhand they privily admonished him speedily to withdraw himselfe, for feare lest being taken he might have revealed the whole complot, and that from his flight they might draw argument and subject whereof to accuse the Queen for the murder of the King."—

and said—"Laird of Grange, I render myself unto you upon the conditions you rehearsed unto me in the name of the Lords." Then she gave him her hand, which he kissed,

Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 4to. 1625, p. 148. Such are the conflicting accounts of the flight of Bothwell. His own "Narrative" affords no information of the events at Carberry Hill, and is chiefly curious for its falsehood, and deliberate perversion of facts; but as already observed—"It is not to be supposed that in pleading his cause to a foreign Prince, Bothwell could have been altogether guided by truth in his relation of these remarkable events. It was, indeed, only by representing Mary and himself as equally innocent of the crimes so generally imputed to them by posterity, that he could expect her cousin of Denmark to interfere in her behalf, or lend his aid in rescuing her from the captivity of Lochleven, and the designs of her turbulent Nobles."—See the notes on "*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, in p. 551, 552, of this volume. It is unnecessary to give a summary of Bothwell's own story respecting the events from the investment of Borthwick Castle to the surrender of the Queen on Carberry Hill, including the charges which the Confederates preferred against him by their agent Kirkaldy of forcibly detaining Mary and of murdering Darnley, his challenge to single combat, its acceptance by Lord Lindsay, his willingness to fight, and other incidents, on which he is more prolix than in other parts of his "Narrative." He pretends that the Queen and the gentlemen with her opposed his combat with Lord Lindsay, because, he says—"Lord Lindsay was not of such parentage as to be comparable to me, nor of such an ancestry or house, and that, moreover, I was a husband worthy of the Queen. Nevertheless I so persuaded the Queen and all of them by the many reasons I urged, that they eventually consented that the combat should take place." He then scruples not to record most deliberate falsehoods. "Shortly afterwards," he says, "I repaired to the field of action to await the arrival of my antagonist, where I remained till very late in the evening. He did not, however, make his appearance, as I will prove, when necessary, by the testimony of *one thousand gentlemen (!) — (ung mille gentils hommes)*—upon pain of forfeiting my life. As night approached, I prepared to give battle to the enemy, by putting my troops in marching order, they also doing the like on their side." Bothwell then details, with the same disregard to truth, the Queen's answer denying her alleged captivity; her conference with Kirkaldy *among the forces of the Confederates* to prevent the effusion of blood; the advice he gave her not to rely upon their fair promises, but to retire with him to Dunbar, and allow him to defend her "just cause," when he knew well his own retreat to Dunbar had been cut off; her refusal, his advice to her to obtain a guarantee for her safety, and the false assurances given to her. "When every thing was agreed upon," he continues, "under a promise of inviolable adherence to the terms stipulated by the two armies in presence of the Nobles and others then assembled, the Queen requested me to return with my troops to Dunbar, where she would speedily join me, or at all events I should hear from her. Wherefore I departed from her, according to her desire, upon the solemn promise which had been given, as well orally as in writing."—*Les Affaires du*

leading her Majesty's horse by the bridle down the Hill unto the Lords Associators, who came forward and met her,¹ and to whom she spoke in this manner—"My Lords, I come to you, not out of any fear I had of my life, nor yet doubting of the victory, if matters had gone to the worst ; but I abhor the shedding of Christian blood, especially of those that are my own subjects, and therefore I yield to you, and will be ruled hereafter by your counsels, trusting you will respect me as your born Princess and Queen." The Lords received her at first with all due respect, but some of the meaner sort uttered reproachful words against her, which the Laird of Grange and some others resented by striking them with their naked swords, and were well allowed of by the Nobility.²

Conte de Boduel, 4to. p. 18, 19, 20. It is curious that Buchanan, Knox, and Spottiswoode, suppress Bothwell's challenge to Morton, and all their accounts are most imperfect. "The proper battle," Chalmers observes, "had been between Bothwell and Morton, two of the convicted murderers of the King, and the best consummation had been if they had killed one another, as two of the most guilty men on earth."—*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 228.—E.]

¹ Mr Buchanan, who wants always to throw some dirt on the Queen, says, her Majesty "came to the Lords clothed with a single tunicle only, threed-bare, and so short that it reached but a little below her knees." What probability is in this, I cannot discern, nor I suppose can any other person. This author had consulted his own reputation better had he launched less forth into extravagancies. By saying too much he shipwrecks all his credit.—[This statement of Buchanan as to the dress of Mary when she surrendered, occurs in his *History of Scotland*, Translation, vol. ii. p. 347. Bishop Keith is indignant at Buchanan, and insinuates that it is one of his malicious assertions ; but the fact is corroborated by Lord Herries, who says—"They would not suffer to change apparell that she might enter the toune, though a prisoner, yet in comlie habit, but in a coate little syder than the knee (which was made for the fields), all spoyled with clay and dirt."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 95. "The Queen" says Calderwood (vol. ii. p. 364, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY), "cometh with (Kirkaldy of) Grange to the Lords in a short petticoate little syder than her knees."—E.]

² [Encouraged by their first appearances of respect, Mary intimated that she wished to communicate with the Hamiltons, who had advanced during the previous night in considerable strength to Linlithgow. This was sternly and peremptorily refused, and she reproached the Confederates for daring to treat her as a prisoner, but her threatenings and arguments were disregarded. Enraged at the indignities she was now doomed to suffer, she summoned Lord Lindsay to her presence, and bade him give her his hand. He obeyed, and she exclaimed in a paroxysm of passion—

About seven a clock in the evening¹ the Queen entered the city of Edinburgh;² but as her Majesty went along the streets to the Provost's house,³ where she was to be lodged,

"By the hand which is now in yours, I'll have your head for this!" Mary was soon to discover that this threat was utterly impotent, and that the unrelenting hand of that fierce Baron, stained with Riccio's blood, was soon to fall heavier upon herself.—MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, 18th June 1567, and also 16th June, anonymous, to Cecil, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 135.—E.]

¹ [It must have been at least two hours later, if a contemporary diarist is correct in his statement, that the Queen and her forces occupied Carberry Hill till *eight o'clock* in the evening.—Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 114. Calderwood states that the Queen was brought to Edinburgh about *ten o'clock* at night.—Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 365.—E.]

² [Mary rode between the Earls of Morton and Atholl. It is traditionally said that the Confederates brought her into the city from Carberry Hill, crossing the old bridge at Musselburgh, and proceeding along the road from Fisherrow, on the north of Craigmillar Castle to the south of Edinburgh, by which route she was compelled to pass the melancholy ruins of the Kirk-of-Field house, to her the most fatal and harrowing of all localities. The captive Queen presented a sad spectacle when she entered her own capital. Her hair was dishevelled, she was covered with dust, and she had endured the scorching heat of a long summer day without scarcely any refreshment to support her feeble frame, already weakened by most intense mental agony. Calderwood says that Mary's face was "disfigured with dust and tears"—that she could "scarce be holden upon horseback for grief and faintness"—and that "all the way she lingered, looking for some help." Her sufferings were increased by the display of the large banner mentioned by our Historian, which was carried before her by two men "stented betwixt two spears."—Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 365. This banner, on which was painted a representation of the murder of Darnley, was of white taffety, and was prepared by a certain Captain Andrew Lammie.—Birrel's Diary, p. 10. What a scene had she witnessed on that eventful day from her occupation of Carberry Hill in the morning, till her surrender to the Confederates in the evening! She had parted for ever from Bothwell, the chief cause of all her calamities, and she was in the power of Morton, who eventually was beheaded for Darnley's murder, yet on this occasion the leader of an insurrection to punish the perpetrators of that crime.—E.]

³ [A contemporary diarist states that when Mary was brought to Edinburgh she was "lugeit in James Henderson's house of Fordell, being then the Provost of Edinburgh's house, wherein he remained."—Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 115. The Provost of Edinburgh was the Queen's former host, Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, and the preceding notice intimates that he was a tenant of James Henderson of Fordel, the proprietor of the tenement. The house stood at the head of Peebles Wynd—an alley leading from

she was insulted by the common people with many indecent expressions from the windows and stairs,¹ such as, Sir James Melvil says, "it was a pity to hear :² And her Majesty

the High Street to the Cowgate, which occupied the site of the present Blair Street and part of Hunter Square, close to the Tron Church. The tenement was known as the *Black Turnpike*, and tradition assigned to it the most extraordinary antiquity, affirming that it was erected by no less a personage than Kenneth, King of Scotland, the extirpator of the Picts, and that it had been at one time occupied by King Robert Bruce ; but according to Maitland (*History of Edinburgh*, folio, Edin. 1753, p. 187, 188), it was built by George Robertson, burgess of Edinburgh, and it is mentioned in a deed, dated 1461, as the property of the son of that person. Maitland describes the Black Turnpike as a "magnificent edifice, which, were it not partly defaced by a false wooden front, would appear to be the most sumptuous building perhaps in Edinburgh." It was of great height and extent, with one front to the High Street, and the other to Peebles Wynd, which contained three common stairs, leading to the different storeys of the tenement. The room in which Queen Mary was confined for one night on this occasion is alleged to have been only thirteen feet square and eight feet high, the window looking to the street. She was lodged in it under a strong guard, without even one female attendant to wait upon her, and locked up to pass the night in a state of mind which can be better imagined than described. The Black Turnpike was demolished in 1788 to complete the plans of South Bridge Street, and it was probably at the time the most ancient house in Edinburgh.—E.]

¹ [The High Street of Edinburgh then abounded with *outside stairs* leading to the several storeys of the huge tenements, from which the populace railed against the Queen in the most spiteful language.—E.]

² [Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, folio, p. 83, 84 ; and the same "*Memoirs*," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 184, 185. The passage quoted by our Historian in his text is not, however, from Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, but from *Crawford's MS.*, to which he frequently refers, and the authentic narrative of that garbled MS. is in the "*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 13, 14. Sir James Melville's statement of the atrocious language with which the unfortunate and hapless Queen was assailed is corroborated by Lord Herries, who notices that "she was used in the most opprobrious way they could imagine." Mary might have expected such cruel treatment from her reception by the forces of the Confederates after her surrender at Carberry. Calderwood says—"When she came to the rere-guard, all cried out to burn the whore and murderer of her husband."—*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, p. 365. Lord Herries writes—"In her passing through the armie they used her with great contempt. They had the King's picture, as he was murdered, painted upon their ensigns, and in one of the corners the young Prince drawn, new borne, crying to Heaven for vengeance against the murderers of his father. These ensigns at all the corners of the camp were spread abroad as she went through, and the soldiers, in a barbarous manner, cryed out—'Burn the whore !'

cried out to all gentlemen and others who passed up and down the streets, declaring how that she was their native Princess, and that she doubted not but all honest subjects would respect her as they ought to do, and not suffer her to be abused. Next morning some people evidenced still their malice by setting up a white banner,¹ on which was painted the effigies of the late King lying dead at the root of a green tree, and the young Prince upon his knees uttering these words—“*Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!*” At this sight the Queen was greatly grieved, and burst forth into many tears and exclamations against those Lords who detained her a captive,² crying to the people, for God’s cause to relieve her from the hands of these tyrants.³ The people of the town hereupon convened to her in great numbers, and perceiving her so afflicted in mind, had pity and compassion upon her estate. Which, when the Lords perceived, they came to her with dissimulate countenances,

The Queen was mightily overtaken with griefe and anger at these contemptible words and spectacle. She could not contain herself from tears.” After Mary was lodged in the Provost’s house of the Black Turnpike—“within a little she was observed to look out at a window upon the street, and the people flocked to see, many pitying her sad calamitie ; but presentlie the ensigne spoken of was brought out and spread before her eyes.”—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, by Lord Herries, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 95.—E.]

¹ [This was evidently the banner prepared by the unfeeling Captain Lammie, mentioned by Birrel in his Diary, p. 10.—E.]

² “She now considering and perceiving to what end these matters tended, most pitifully cried and called upon them to remember their late promise ; or at the least, that she might be brought before the Council, offering to stand to the order and direction of the States of the Realm. But, God knoweth, all in vain ; for now had they the prey whereon they intended to whet their bloody teeth.”—Leslie’s Defence.

³ [Mary is reported to have exclaimed from the window to the people who were gazing at her in the streets—“Good people, either satisfy your cruelty and hatred by taking away my miserable life, or release me from the hands of such inhuman tyrants.” The first object which was presented to the Queen in the morning was the dreadful banner, which the populace had cruelly displayed directly opposite the window of the apartment she occupied in the *Black Turnpike*. The sight threw her into an agony of despair, in the midst of which she tore the dress from her person, forgetting that she was almost naked, and made the above appeal to the crowd.—John Beaton to his brother, 17th June 1567. This induced some of them to relent, and they were about to take arms in defence of the Queen, when the Confederates removed her to the Palace of Holyrood, appeasing the citizens by promising her liberty, though they had determined to immure her next day in Lochleven Castle.—E.]

with reverend and fair speeches, and said that their intentions were nowise to thrav her, and therefore would immediately repone her with freedom to her own Palace of Holyroodhouse to do as she list; whereby she was so pacified, that the people willingly departed. And so the next evening, to colour their pretensions, they conveyed her to the Palace,¹ and then assembled themselves to Council, to advise what was best to be done; and immediately it was decerned that she should be transported to the fortalice of Lochleven,² there to remain in captivity during her life, to

¹ It was no doubt much easier for the Lords to convey the Queen away privately from the Palace of Holyroodhouse, than openly from the city of Edinburgh, where the people of the best fashion seemed to commiserate her; and had her Majesty been aware of their sinister designs, she would certainly have made choice to be kept within the city.—[Our Historian seems to forget that the choice or preference on the part of the Queen to be kept within the city would have been utterly disregarded.—E.]

² It is needless to observe how proper a place this was for the design of the rebels, the house being surrounded with water on all sides for the space at shortest of half a mile, and the proprietors of it being so nearly related to some principal persons among them, and in whom, therefore, they could the more securely confide. And indeed it has been said that the Lady Lochleven answered the expectation of the Lords to the full, having basely insulted the captive Queen's misfortune, and bragged, besides, that she herself was King James V's. lawful wife, and her son the Earl of Moray his legitimate issue, and true heir of the Crown. The Lady Lochleven was not only mother to the Earl of Moray, but likewise to the Lord Lindsay's lady by her husband, Robert Douglas of Lochleven. The Family of Lochleven was, moreover, heirs-apparent to that of Morton, and to that Family they did actually succeed some time after. The Lord Ruthven also had to wife a natural daughter of the Earl of Angus. All which considerations, centering together in one, made the House of Lochleven, humanly speaking, a most sure and close prison for the royal captive. But we will afterwards see how uncertain the best laid projects of men are.—[As to the pretension of Lady Margaret Erskine or Douglas, otherwise "Lady Lochleven," that she had been married to James V., and that her son the Earl of Moray was the lawful heir to the Crown, see the remarks in the fourth note, p. 310 of the present volume. The "Lady of Lochleven" could not have been serious in such a statement, and must have so expressed herself to annoy her royal prisoner. The character of this imperious dame is finely delineated by Sir Walter Scott in his story of "The Abbot, a Sequel to the Monastery." Euphemia, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Douglas and "Lady Lochleven," and uterine sister of the Earl of Moray, married Patrick sixth Lord Lindsay, who is conspicuous in this History, and was the great-grandfather of John tenth Lord, created in 1633 Earl of Lindsay, who was the father of William second Earl of Lindsay, and sixteenth Earl of Crawford. Patrick third Lord Ruthven, deeply

the end they might rule as they list without any controulment of lawful authority.”¹ And accordingly the same day,

implicated in the murder of Riccio, married as his first wife Janet Douglas, illegitimate daughter of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, and by her had two sons and two daughters. William, the second son, succeeded him as fourth Lord Ruthven, and is the Nobleman mentioned in the text—created Earl of Gowrie in 1581. As to Lochleven Castle, it is already mentioned as occupying an island near the western shore of Lochleven at Kinross; and between it and the promontory on which Kinross House is built, near the site of the old castle of Kinross, a causeway of large stones is laid beneath the water, which in this part is so shallow that in dry seasons, when the surface is low, a person can wade along it to the island. Lochleven Castle and its court-yard comprized a considerable portion of the island, which is called the Castle-Island, and now contains, since the last draining of Lochleven in 1840, five acres; but in Queen Mary's time the island was much more limited. The remaining part was chiefly cultivated as a garden, which has been long a waste, though it still displays a few fruit trees in a wild and decayed state. The great tower, or keep, of the Castle is on the north-west corner of the court-yard, on the side of the island next Kinross. It is a square tower four storys high, with round projecting turrets at the corners, the walls upwards of six feet thick. The entrance is on the second story, which must have been ascended by an outside stair, with probably a draw-bridge at the top, but every vestige of this stair has disappeared. The door opened directly into the great hall, which includes the whole of the second story, having a square passage into the vaults below, and the two upper storys appear to have been bed-rooms. The court-yard, which, when entire, was of considerable extent, was surrounded by high walls flanked at the corners by towers, and contained a variety of buildings for the accommodation of the family and the garrison. The entrance to the court-yard is by an arched doorway in the north wall immediately adjoining the great tower, by which it was entirely commanded. The chapel stood west of the great tower, on the west side of the court-yard. According to tradition, the round tower on the south-east corner, flanking and defending the south and east walls, was the part of the Castle in which Queen Mary was imprisoned, and if such be the fact, her accommodation was most wretched. This tradition is probably authentic, as we know that “Lady Lochleven” treated Mary with great severity, and insulted her on every possible occasion. The Castle and the other buildings have been long in ruins, but they will always be objects of interest as connected with Queen Mary. The surface of the lake having been considerably reduced by drainings, it was at one time feared that the island would be joined to the mainland by the subsiding of the water, and become a suburb of Kinross. This, however, is not the case, and the appearance of the island, raised higher out of the lake than formerly, is much improved, and the dark and massive ruins of the Castle are conspicuous amid the delightful scenery of Kinross, surveying the lake, reduced from a circumference of fifteen to twelve miles, and from a medium depth of nineteen feet to a medium depth of fourteen feet.—E.]

¹ Crawford's MS.—[*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 14.—E.]

16th June, an order was signed by the Earls of Morton, Atholl, Mar, and Glencairn, the Lords Ruthven, Home, Lindsay, Sempil, and divers others barons and gentlemen of the faction,¹ giving command to William Douglas of Lochleven² to “receive and retain within his Fortalice and Place the person of the Queen, ay and quhile,”³ &c.

The Queen coming to the knowledge of this rebellious and most treacherous resolution exclaimed bitterly against it, as being contrary to the promises given her;⁴ which the

¹ [The warrant of the commitment of Queen Mary to Lochleven Castle was also signed by Lords Ochiltree and Graham, the latter the successor of his grandfather as third Earl of Montrose in 1571. He was Chancellor of the Jury on the trial of the Earl of Morton for the murder of Darnley in 1581, and filled several high places previous to his death in 1608. At the time Lord Graham signed the warrant to imprison Queen Mary, he was a minor.—E.]

² [Principal Robertson, in his *History of Scotland* (London, 4to. 1759, vol. i. p. 370), erroneously alleges that William Douglas of Lochleven was “a near relation of Morton, and had married the Earl of Moray’s mother”—already mentioned as one of the mistresses of James V. We have seen that Lady Margaret Erskine, daughter of John fifth Earl of Mar, after giving birth to the future Earl of Moray, married Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, and the above named William Douglas was the eldest son by that alliance. He became Laird of Lochleven at the death of his father, who fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547. Instead of the “near relationship” of William Douglas to the Earl of Morton, it was very distant, for it was only a collateral descent from Sir Henry Douglas of Lugton and Lochleven, third son of Sir John Douglas of Dalkeith, who flourished in the reign of David II., and who was an ancestor of James first Earl of Morton, so created in 1458. Morton, however, in virtue of their common descent, placed William Douglas of Lochleven second in the entail of his Earldom which he obtained from Queen Mary on the 17th of October 1564, and by the death of Morton’s nephew, Archibald eighth Earl of Angus, the honours and estates devolved to him, and he succeeded as sixth Earl of Morton. The relationship to the Earl of Moray of William Douglas of Lochleven, Morton’s presumptive heir after the Earl of Angus, is a different matter. He was Moray’s uterine brother.—E.]

³ See printed Acts of Parliament, December 1567.—[See Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 28. The Act is entitled “The Declaratioun of Parliament made to the Laird of Lochleven anent the keeping of the Kingis Mother in the house and fortalice of Lochleven,” in answer to a “Supplication” by William Douglas of Lochleven, shewing that he had acted in obedience to the warrant signed by Morton, Mar, Atholl, Glencairn, and others, to imprison Mary, and requesting the approval of the Parliament, which was granted.—E.]

⁴ [The imprisonment of Mary in Lochleven Castle was not a new project. It was the revival of a plot concerted in 1565 under the auspices of the Earl of Moray. See the third note, p. 312 of the present volume.—E.]

rebels,¹ however (for so they may deservedly now be termed), undertook to justify, by an intercepted letter written by her the night before to Bothwell,² wherein they said she declared to that Nobleman her intention never to abandon him, though she was at present under a necessity to be absent from him for a time. And truly though her Majesty had even written such a letter, yet the wonder will cease when the rude treatment is considered which these Lords had both given, and suffered to be given, her within so short a space, after she had voluntarily put herself into their hands. And the Laird of Grange, who was a man of more honour than the rest, was so sensible of this bad usage that he expostulated the matter with the Lords,³ and excused the Queen for what she might perhaps have done, “alleging that it was no wonder that she gave the Earl of Bothwell a few fair words *yet* ;” but added that he “doubted not if she were discreetly handled and humbly admonished what inconveniencies that man had brought upon her, she would by degrees be brought not only to leave him, but ere long to detest him ; and therefore his advice was to deal gently by her.” But to this they answered and said—“That it

¹ Though there had been no promises in the matter this was surely an action of the highest rebellion that ever can be perpetrated, seeing, at the same time that they made her their prisoner, they acknowledged her to be their lawful sovereign ; nor had they as yet laid any crime to her charge. And how came they, who were but a handful, to assume a power to dispose of their sovereign without the consent of the other peers and people of the land ?

² [Sir James Melville says that on the night Mary was brought from Carberry Hill to Edinburgh—“it was allegit that hir Maiestie wrot a lettre unto the Erle of Bodowell, and promysed a reward to ane of hir kepers to see it surely convoyed to Dunbar unto the said Erle, calling him hir dear hart, whom she suld never forget nor abandon for absens, and that she sent him away only for his safetie, willing him to be comforted and to be upon his guard, quhilk writing the loon delivered unto the Lords, after he had promised to do the contraire ; upon the quhilk lettre the Lords took occasion to send her to Lochleven to be kept, against promise as she allegit, and they again affirming that by her awin hand writ she had declared that she had not, nor would not, leave nor abandon the Earl Bodowell.”—Memoirs of his own Life, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 185. Whether such an intercepted letter was written by Mary to Bothwell it is impossible to say, but if it was, it cannot be doubted that it was made a *pretext* for committing the Queen to Lochleven. Her imprisonment there had been previously determined.—E.]

³ [Kirkaldy of Grange argued that the Queen had *in effect* left the Earl.—Melville’s Memoirs, p. 185.—E.]

stood them upon their lives and lands,¹ and that therefore in the mean time it behooved them to secure her ; and when that time came that she should be known to abandon and detest the Earl of Bothwell, it would be then time to reason upon the matter." Yet Grange was still so angry, that, Sir James Melvil says,² had it not been for the letter he had instantly left the Lords ; and therefore this author adds, that, " for the next best, he used all possible diligence to make her and them both quit of the said Earl. In the mean time the Queen sent a letter to the Laird of Grange, lamenting her hard usage, and shewing him that promises had been broken to her : Whereunto he answered, That he had already reproached the Lords for the same, who shewed unto him a letter sent by her to the Earl of Bothwell, promising, among many other fair and comfortable words, never to abandon or forget him, which, he said, had stopped his mouth, marvelling that her Majesty considered not that the said Earl could never be her lawful husband, being so lately before married with another woman, whom he had deserted without any just ground, although he had not been so hated for the murder of the King her husband. And, therefore, he requested her Majesty to put him clean out of mind, seeing otherwise she could never get the love or respect of her subjects, nor have that obedience paid her which otherwise she might expect." Grange's letter contained many other loving and humble admonitions, which, Sir James says,³ made the Queen bitterly to weep ; for she could not do that so hastily which process of time might have accomplished. But had the Lords acted so discreet a part

¹ This was a very fair and plain confession indeed, and that they were resolved to add *iniquity* unto *iniquity*. They knew that what they had already done was illegal, and they had no mind to let the Queen be at freedom to call them to an account. The resolution was surely *wise enough*, provided it had been *just enough*.

² [The whole of this part of our Historian's narrative is taken from Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 84. This is the interpolated edition by George Scott of Pitlochrie, a younger son of Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet and Margaret Melville, a daughter of Sir James. This was the work to which Bishop Keith had access, but the genuine account is in Sir James Melville's Memoirs of his own Life, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 185.—E.]

³ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs of his own Life, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 185.—E.]

as the Laird of Grange here proposed to the Queen, it may be reasonably supposed she would have followed the good advice; and, as Sir James Melvil very wisely subjoins, process of time might have wrought in her a better mind. And, no doubt, gentle treatment might have contributed much to the same purpose. But this was not the thing, as the consequence will shew, that these Lords, at least the designing part of them, wanted to fall out. But they had another point in view, for speedily, without any the smallest delay, the Queen was delivered over into the hands of the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay,¹ to be by them conducted to Lochleven,² though it is said they very narrowly escaped the

¹ [Lords Ruthven and Lindsay are justly described by Mr Tytler as "men of savage manners even in that age, and who were esteemed peculiarly fitted for the task."—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 137. MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, 18th June 1567. The cruelty which Ruthven inflicted on Queen Mary was retaliated on himself and his Family. In 1582, the year after he was created Earl of Gowrie, he was the conspicuous actor in the *Raid of Ruthven*, or the seizure of the person of James VI. in his own Castle of Ruthven. He was tried for high treason, and beheaded at Stirling in May 1584, and his two sons William third Earl and Alexander Ruthven, perished in the celebrated Gowrie Conspiracy on the 5th of August 1600, their name, memory, and dignity ordered to be extinguished, their estates, real and personal, forfeited and annexed to the Crown, and their dead bodies hanged, drawn, and quartered at the Cross of Edinburgh.—E.]

² "In the night privily she was conveyed, and with haste, in disguised apparel, to the strong fort of Lochleven; and after a few dayes, being stripped out and spoyled of all her princely attirement, was clothed with a coarse broune cassoke." Leslie's Defence.—[Mary, a few hours after her removal from the Black Turnpike to the Palace of Holyrood, which she never again saw, was hastily conveyed to Lochleven Castle during the night of the 16th of June, leaving the Palace at ten o'clock. With such studied indignity was she treated, that she was not allowed to select one single dress for her personal comfort, and those guilty men actually compelled their sovereign—the Queen of Scotland—the mother of that infant Prince for whose safety they pretended the utmost solicitude—to ride to Lochleven Castle, a distance then of nearly thirty miles, mounted on a miserable horse, wretchedly attired, and without any of those common necessities to which any female was entitled, and especially one who was a Princess, their lawful sovereign, and the descendant of their ancient Kings. It is impossible to reflect on the barbarous conduct of the Confederates without expressing the most unqualified detestation of their infamous cruelty. Most truly does Mr Tytler designate Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, the two unprincipled personages who had the charge of the Queen to Lochleven, as "men of savage manners." Mr Napier justly designates Lord Lindsay, in connection with Morton—"a ruffian like himself."—Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, p. 118. An English writer could

being intercepted by the Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, the Barons of Waughton, Bass, Ormiston, Wedderburn, Blackadder, and Langton,¹ who had gathered some men together on a sudden to attempt the Queen's relief.

Besides the resolve of incarcerating her Majesty in the fortalice of Lochleven,² the rebels did moreover on the same 16th day of June frame a Confederacy, or *Concurrence*, as it was termed by some persons, the tenor whereof under the

not allude to their behaviour to the Queen without disgust:—"They entreated her so ignominiously and disgracefully, that although she had nothing on but a very homely night-gown, yet they so clapt her up in prison at Lake-Leven, under the custody of (the) Earle of Moray's mother, who was James V's. concubine, who further persecuted her with most shameless malice during her restraint, boasting how she was lawful wife to James V., and her son lawfully descended from him."—Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, 4to. 1625, p. 148.—E.]

¹ The surnames of these gentlemen were Hepburn, Lauder, Ormiston, Home, Blackader, Cockburn, all of them now extinct, except the last.

² [The "Act for sequestrating the Quenis Majestie's person, and detening the same in the house and place of Lochleven," signed on the 16th of June, is printed in "Laing's Dissertation on the Murder of Darnley." Calderwood notices a discord which arose between two men on the 16th of June in Edinburgh, one of whom cried a *Home*, which brought Lord Home and his retainers to the street, and they allowed no one to pass for three hours. The bell of St Giles' was tolled, which caused the greatest excitement in the city as no one knew the purport, but it was afterwards conjectured that it was an attempt to induce a riot that the Queen might escape.—*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 355. If Mary had not been most unpopular among her subjects at the time, the Confederates would not have dared to imprison their sovereign. The public feeling against her is strongly expressed in a letter from Sir Nicolas Throgmorton to Queen Elizabeth, dated July 18, 1567, upwards of a month after Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven, preserved in the State-Paper Office.—"And though these Lordes and Councillors," writes Throgmorton, "speake reverently, myldly, and charitably, of theyre Quene, so as I cannot gather by theyre speeche any intention to cruelty or vyolence, yet I do fynde by intellygence that the Quene is in very great perill of her lyfe, by reason that the people assembled at this convention do mynde vehemently the destruction of her. It is a publyke speeche amongst all the people, and amongst all the Estates (saving the Councillors), that theyre Quene hath no more liberty nor pryviledge to commyt murder nor adulterye than any other private person, neyther by God's law nor by the laws of the Realme." Throgmorton also writes to the Earl of Bedford, dated Edinburgh, 20th July, only two days afterwards—"The Queen is in great danger, by reason of the great rage and fury of the people against her." Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters," vol. i. p. 258.—E.]

following title in the Register of Privy Council, I have thought not amiss to insert here.

“FIRST BAND.¹—Quhairas the richt nobill and excellent Prince, umquhile King Henrie, the Quenis Majestie’s our Soveran’s lait husband, being in his ludgeing schamefullie and treasonabillie murtherit, the fame thairof wes in sic sort blawin abrode and dispersit in all realmes, and amangis all Christian nationis, that this cuntrie wes abhorrit and vili- pendit, the Nobilitie and haill people na utherwayis estemit bot as thai had bein all participant of sa unworthie and horribill a murthour, that nane of ony of the Scotis natioun, though he wer nevir so innocent, wes abill for schame in ony forayne cuntrie to schaw his face; and that nocht without occasioun, seing na maner of just tryall tane, nor meant to be tane for the cryme, albeit, in all this tyme, the murthouris wer weill enouch knawin: For quha suld be ignorant thairof, and not cleirly sie it, behalding the proceeding of the Erle Bothwell the tyme of the attempting of that odious fact, and continewallie sensyne? That wer sufficient, althocht thare were na uther pruiß. Wes not the tryall be him impedit and delayit?² And the speciall authoris of the murthour being requyrit to be wardit quhill (until) the tryall of thair cause; howbeit the petitioun wes maist ressonabill, and nocht repugnant to the lawis, zit could na pairt thairof be grantit, because the chief murtherour, being present, maid the stay. And then quhat an inordinat proces wes deducit, to cleange and acquite him of that horribill deid, all men persavit, quhen nowther the accustumat circumstance in causis of tressoun nor the ordinar forme of justice wes observit;³ bot quhatsoever the fader and freindis of the innocent Prince sakleslie murtherit justlie desyrit, the

¹ [This “First Band” is a recapitulation of all the events from the murder of Darnley in February to the 16th of June, when the warrant was signed by the Confederates to immure the Queen in Lochleven Castle. That Morton, Atholl, Argyll, Huntly, and others could have the effrontery to be parties to this detail of grievances, after their connection with that murder, and their “Bond” recommending Bothwell as a suitable husband to the Queen, is a melancholy instance of the atrocious villany of that time.—E.]

² It does not appear so by the Queen’s and Earl of Lenox’s Letters.

³ Neither does any thing of this appear to have been fact.

contrair wes always done : The said Erle, the day that he choisit to thole (*undergo*) law, being accompanyit with a greit power, alsweill of waigit men of weir as of utheris,¹ that nane sould compeir to persew him. Quhensua this cruell murthour wes committit, and justice smorit (*smothered*) and planlie abusit ; nevir ceasit he of his wickit and inordinat pretenses, bot eikand mischief to mischief, tressonable, without feir of God, or reverence of his native Prince, quhill on a foirthocht conspiracie, he ambeset hir Majestie's way, tuke and reveist hir maist nobill persoun, and led the samyne with him to Dunbar Castell, thair deteining hir presonar and captive ; and in the meantyme procurit dowbill sentences of divorce to be pronuncit betwix him and his lauchfull wyff, groundit upon the cause of his awin turpitude : And to mak his pretendit mariage, quhilk schortlie followit, the mair valiabill, usit the ordour of divorce, as weill be the ordinar commissaris, as in forme and maner of the Roman Kirk, declarand that he was of na kynd of religioun, as the same unlauchfull mariage, suddanlie thairaftir accomplishit on baith the fashionis, did manifest and testifie ; albeit nocht-theles of Goddis law, nor na law maid be men, of quhatsum-evir religioun, might the same mariage leisumlie have bein contractit. Quhilk being endit, and he still proceeding from a kynd of iniquitie to ane uthir, his cruell and ambitious nature being knawin, and how na Nobillman, nor uthir, durst resort to hir Majestie to speik with hir, or procure thair lesum busines, without suspitioun, bot be him and in his audience, hir chalmer-duris being continewallie watchit with men of weir : We (although too laite) begouth (*began*) to consider the estait, and to tak heid to ourselffis, bot speciallie to the preservatioun of the lyff of the faderles Prince, the onlie sone and rycheous air-apparent of our Soverane, hir Hienes' schamefull thraldome and bondage with the said Erle, and with that foirsaw the greit danger quhilk the Prince stude in, quhenas the murtherour of his fader, the ravischer of the Quenis Majestie his moder, wes cled with the principall strenthis of the Realme, and garnishit with a guard of wagit men of weir, and how in all appearance he

¹ This, for what we know, may be as far from the truth as the former asseverations.

mycht unproviditly oppress and destroy that innocent infant, as he had done his fader ; and swa, by tyrrannie and cruell deids, at last to usurp the royal crown and supreme government of this Realme. At last, in the feir and name of God, and in the lauchfull obedience of our Soverane,¹ movit and constrenit be the just occasiouns above writtin, we have takin armes to revenge the said horribill and cruell murthour upoun the said Erle Bothwell, and utheris authoris and devysaris thairof, to delyver our said soverane furth of his² handis, and of the ignominy, schame, and sklender, quhilk, being in thraldome with him, scho hes sustenit, under pretence of the said unlauchfull mariage;³ to preserve the lyff of our native Prince, and finallie to sie justice equallie ministrat to all the liegis of this realme. QUHAIRFOIR we, the Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Commissionaris of Burrowis, and utheris undersubseriyvand, be thir presentis bindis and obleissis ws, and everie ane of ws to utheris, that we sall tak plane, trew, and upright part, togidder with our kin, friendis, servandis, and all that will do for ws, in the advancement, furthsetting, and persute of the said querrell, with our lyffis, landis, and gudis, at our uttermaist, and sall nevyr schrink thairfra, nor leif the samyne for ony maner of occasioun that can or is abill to occur, quhill the authouris of the said cruell murthour and ravisching be condignlie punisit, the said unlauchful mariage dissolvit and annullit,⁴ our soverane relevit of the thraldome, bondage⁵ and ignominie, quhilk scho hes sustenit and underlyis be the said

¹ God's great name has been often taken in vain and blasphemed by wicked men, but to what earthly sovereign they were *now* paying obedience is no easy matter to see.

² This is a complete banter on the common sense of mankind, since the poor Queen was not now in *his* but in *their* own hands. By all this Bond they visibly declare the Queen innocent of any bad practices with the Earl of Bothwell. It was not *yet* time to discover their whole purpose, it would seem.

³ Yet afterwards these *good* men changed their note, and the Queen was directly guilty of all the bad things now *only* laid to the door of the Earl of Bothwell.

⁴ What sincerity was in this solemn profession the readers will have occasion to perceive some two years after. And why did they not proceed just now to dissolve it by law, as well as to dissolve it by taking the Earl of Bothwell's life ? For they had it in their power to do any thing.

⁵ Her immediate thraldom was surely owing to themselves. It is easy to give *names* when men want to confound *things*.

Erlis occasioun, the persoun of the innocent Prince reposit in full suirtie, and relevit of the eminent danger quhilk now he standis in; and finallie, justice restorit and uprichtlie ministrat to all the liegis and subjectis of this Realme. The quhilk to do, and faythfullie perform, we promitt, as we will answer to Almightie God, upon our honour, trewth, and fidelitie, as we are Nobillmen, and lufis the honour of our native cuntrie, quhairin, as God forbid, gif we failzie in ony point, we are content to sustein the spott of perjurie, infamie, and perpetuall untrewth, and to be comptit culpabill of the above namit crymes, and enemeis and betrayeris of oure native cuntrie for evir.¹ In witness of the quhilk thing we have subscrivit thir presentis with our handis, as followis, at Edinburgh, the 16 day of Junij, the yeir of God 1567 yeiris."

The very same night of the Queen's transportation we are told² that the Lords Associators caused a diligent search be made through the city of Edinburgh for persons suspected of the late King's murder; and that they had the good fortune to seize only two persons, viz. Sebastian a

¹ See the same or worse imprecations in the end of their Bond in favour of the Earl of Bothwell, 19th or 20th April last, already set down. With what face could the principal person here concerned, viz. the Earl of Morton, subscribe or frame this solemn oath and obligation, seeing he himself was in knowledge at least of the intended murder of the King? But the true answer is, he was a man of no conscience, and there might have been others here in his condemnation.

² Crawford's MS.—[It is stated in the genuine narrative—"That same verie nycht of hir transporting twa men were tane as suspect of the King's murther. The anc was callit Sebastian de Villour, a Frenchman of (by) nation; the uthir was Captain William Blackater. This Captain shortlie efter was put to the knowledge of a jurie, and was convict, but at his death wald noways confess himself gilty of the Kingis murther. The uthir escapit."—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 15. "Upoun the samen saxtene day (of June) Sebastiane, Frenchman, suspectit for the art and part of the slaughter of unquhile the King foirsaid, was taken and put in captivitie within the Tolbuith of Edinburgh. Upon the sevintene day of the said moneth William Blacader, Capitane, suspectit in lykewise for the said slaughter, was taken by Capitane John Clerk, servand to the King of Denmark, quha came heir to raise men of weir upoun the sey, when he was fleand away, and brocht to the burgh of Edinburgh, and put in the Tolbuyth thairof."—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 115.—E.]

Frenchman, who chanced afterwards to make his escape,¹ and Captain William Blackader. However, by the following Record of Privy-Council, we come to know that they had, soon after, some other persons in custody upon the same account.

Edinburgh, 27 June 1567.

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Comes de Mortoun ; Joannes Comes de Athole ; Alexander Comes de Glencarne ; Joannes Comes de Mar ; Alexander Dominus Hume ; Willielmus Dominus Ruthven ; Robertus Dominus Sempil ; Eduardus Dominus Sanquhair ; Andreas Dominus Ochiltrie.*²

“ FORSAMEKILL as William Blackater, James Edmondstoun, Johne Blackater, and Mynart Fraser, all suspectit of the King’s murthour, are takin and apprehendit, the Lordis of Secreit Counsall thairfoir ordanis the saidis personis to be put in the irins and tormentis,³ for furthering of the tryall

¹ This being one of the persons named in the tickets that were set on the Tolbooth, and whom the Earl of Lenox desired should be put in prison, may we not suspect that he has even been allowed to slip out of their fingers, lest his deposition should not prove agreeable enough to some of the Lords? A stranger lyes under many disadvantages either to make an escape, or to conceal himself when escaped. He must take wing and fly. There is art we say in the smallest matters.

² The same *Sederunt* is marked on the 21st of June, which is the first time the rebels assume to themselves the title of *Lords of Secret-Council*, though by whose authority they convened as a Council be a difficult point to resolve. Their act of that day commands all the Lords of Session, Advocates, Writers, and all other persons pertaining to the Court of Session, to repair to Edinburgh, and proceed in the administration of justice to the lieges, with assurance of safety to them; and certification, that if they absent themselves, they shall be esteemed as partakers with the authors of the King’s murder, and punished accordingly. And likewise intimation to be made to all the lieges, that they may repair to Edinburgh in all safety for the prosecution of their affairs before the Court of Session. Probably the rebels have taken this step, in order to obtain to themselves credit, and the appearance of authority from the people. Archbishop Spottiswood’s MS. in mentioning the rebels, adds—“for so they were stiled till they prevailed.” So we see *success* confers *right*.—[This MS. of Archbishop Spottiswoode’s “History of the Church and State in Scotland” is in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. It appears from our Historian’s statement in his note, that the so called *Lords of the Privy Council* administered the government of the kingdom after imprisoning the Queen in Lochleven Castle.—E.]

³ [Ordering them to be put to the torture.—E.]

of the veritie; providing that this cause, being for the trying of a Prince's murthour, induce na preparative to utheris personis suspectit of utheris crymes."

All these persons, it seems, were put to death,¹ and probably denied their accession to the King's murder as well as Captain Blackater;² otherwise no doubt we should have seen their trial and confession in print before this time of day, in conjunction with some others.³

Shortly after the Queen's commitment the Lords took up an inventory of all the plate, jewels, and other moveables within the Palace of Holyroodhouse.⁴ And yet this was not all; for we are likewise informed, "that they spared not to put violent hands on her Majesty's cupboard, melted the species thereof, and converted all into coin, thereby to forge a staff to break her own head of the weight of sixteen stones."⁵ And much about the same time the Earl of

¹ Calderwood's MS.—[Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 366.—E.]

² Crawford's MS.—[Calderwood's *Historie*, vol. ii. p. 366. We have seen that Captain Blackadder was apprehended at sea on the 17th of June, and was tried, convicted, and executed on the 24th. Birrell records in his *Diary*, (p. 10, 11)—"The 24 day of Junii, Capitane William Blacketer wes drawin backward in ane cairt from the Tolbuith to the Crosse (of Edinburgh), and there was hangit and quarterit for being on the King's murther." He solemnly denied any participation in the murder of Darnley, "as he wald answer to the eternall God on the day of judgement;" but the unfortunate Captain, whether innocent or not, had no chance of escape from a jury of "gentlemen of Lennox," who were "for the maist pairt vassals and servandis to the Erle thereof," Darnley's father.—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 116; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. p. 490, in which the date of Captain Blackadder's trial is most erroneously stated to have been the *fourteenth of June*, instead of the *twenty-fourth* of that month, and which misled the Editor in a preceding note, p. 550 of the present volume. The execution of "James Edmonstoun, Johne Blacketer, and Mynart Fraser," is not mentioned.—E.]

³ [Such as the two depositions of William Powrie, and those of George Dalgleish, who was Bothwell's chamberlain, John Hay, younger of Tallo, John Hepburn of Bowton, Nicolas Hubert alias French Paris, and Ormiston of that Ilk, in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. p. 491-513.—E.]

⁴ Calderwood's MS.—[Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 366.—E.]

⁵ i. e. The Queen's cup board amounted to sixteen stone weight. Crawford's MS.—[*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for

Glencairn went to the Palace, accompanied by his own servants only, and demolished the Chapel,¹ with all its

the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 16. The author of this genuine narrative adds—"Whereby they forgit a staff to brek hir heid with her awin geir," or property. Towards the end of the year the Confederates obtained possession of more of Queen Mary's valuables, as appears from the following document:—"We, James Erl of Moray, Lord Abernethy, and Regent of Scotland, grants me to haif ressairt be the handis of Maister Robert Richartson, Tresurer, fra the handes of Maister Archibald Crawford, Parson of Eglesham, this sylver work under quhilk he had in keiping of the Queen's Majeste:—Item, imprimis, ane sylver chaless with the patery (border) gylt. Item, twa sylver chandelaris gylt. Item, ane watter fat (vase) with ane watter stik (spout) gylt. Item, ane sylver bell gylt. Item, ane purse with ane boist gylt. Item, ane cowp (cup) with ane cower (cover) and ane sayer (salver) gylt. Item, ane crowat (cruet) with ane lid gylt. Item, ane flakkon (flaggon) with ane charger gylt. Item, twa hall crowats: And discharges the said Maister Archibald hereof be this our acceptance, subscribit with our hand at Edinbroch, the thirteenth day of November in the zier of God 1567 ziers.—JAMES REGENT."—Robertson's *Topographical Description of Ayrshire*, 4to. 1820, Appendix, p. 431, 432. Archibald Crawford, Parson of Eaglesham, was Almoner to Queen Mary.—E.]

¹ [This sacrilegious attack on the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood by Glencairn and his retainers occurred on the 24th of June (Calderwood's *Historie*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 366), the day on which Captain Blackadder was tried and executed for the murder of Darnley. This was not the first outrage of the kind by the "Reforming" Earl of Glencairn in the Abbey and Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. Our Historian writes as if that fierce zealot had literally demolished the fabric of the Chapel-Royal, but such was not the case, though the mischief he committed is disgraceful to his memory. Glencairn confined his ravages to the interior, destroying the altar, tearing down the pictures, and defacing the ornaments. In the "Inventar of the Quenis Grace Chapell-Royall geir and ornaments now heir in the Paleiss of Halyruidhouss deliverit by Sir James Paterson, sacristane, at the Quenis command to Serves de Conde, Frenchman, and varloit of our Soverin Ladeis Chalmer, by Maister Archd. Craufurd, his general Maister Almoner, to be kept in the Wardrop of Edinburgh," dated 11th January 1561-2, neither crucifixes nor images of any kind are mentioned, from which it may be inferred that if such had been in the Chapel-Royal, the Reforming zeal would have involved the destruction of the edifice. No allusion also occurs to the sacred vessels, some of which were probably in the coffer. The "Inventor" chiefly enumerates two blue damask caps striped with gold, two red velvet caps or coverings intermixed with gold, a fine cap or cloth of gold on blue velvet, three black velvet carpets studded with gold for the "mort," two small coats or vests with "ane chesabill for the mort-stand with three albis annitts stoles and sarmonis and purse; item, twa auld altar towalls; item, ane frontole, and ane pendikill (tassels) of black velvet studit with gold; item, four tunikillis, twa chesabillis, of fyne clayth of gold, with three albis stoles sarmonis annitts and purse; item, ane mess-buik (missal) of parchment with ane nobt artiphenate of parchment; item,

ornaments and furniture, which action was highly extolled by Mr Knox¹ and other hot men, but the other Nobles, his own partisans, were not a little offended because he had done this thing of his own accord, without their direction and concurrence. But he could the more easily obtain their forgiveness for that piece of forwardness, that though the faction had now entertained hopes that no farther let was likely to thwart their designs, yet to their mortification they began to find an alteration in the minds even in the meaner sort of the people, and that most part of the Nobles of the kingdom, and these, too, of greatest power, did by no means favour their late actions. “Various and profound,” says Mr Buchanan,² “were the speculations of the Nobles; those who were revenging the bloody deed hoped that as soon as ever their intentions should take air, and be publicly known, the greater part, if not all, would yield them their approbation, and even concur with them in so famous and glorious an undertaking. But it fell out far otherwise; for popular envy being abated, partly by space of time, and partly by the consideration of the uncertainty of human affairs, was turned into commiseration. Nay, some of the Nobility did then no less bewail the Queen’s calamity than they had before execrated her cruelty.—Their faction was thought to be strongest who either consented to the murder, or else in obsequiousness to the Queen subscribed to the impious deed after it was committed.”³

ane coffer with lok and key within the quhilk part of this forsaid garniture; item, ane pendakill of silk, ane frontoil of claith of gold and purpoure velvat.”—Appendix to Robertson’s Topographical Description of Ayrshire, p. 431.—E.]

¹ [Knox says that Glencairn “brake down the altars and images” in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood—“which fact, as it did content the zealous Protestants, so it did highly offend the Popishly affected.”—*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 410. Lord Herries states that Glencairn’s sacrilegious outrage in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood was “much commended by the ministers for an act of pietie and zeale, but the Nobilitie did not approve of it, for they reprehended him for acting without a public order.”—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 97.—E.]

² [*Historia Rerum Seoticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 222; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 349, 350.—E.]

³ [Although the popular feeling was at the time strong against Queen Mary, and the Confederates were encouraged by Le Croc, the French ambassador, who, while pretending great regard for her, nevertheless

A great many of the Nobles that favoured the Queen, and condemned her imprisonment as a crime of the highest treason that could be committed, had convened at Hamilton,¹

advised them to keep her securely now that she was in their hands (MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, 20th June 1567, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 139), yet they could not agree among themselves how to dispose of her. Maitland of Lethington and others contended that the Queen ought to be re-established in her authority, the murderers of Darnley punished, the safety of the infant Prince carefully secured, the Queen herself separated from Bothwell by a "firm divorce," and the Protestant religion completely established. Others suggested the perpetual banishment of the Queen either to France or England, if the King of France or Queen of England would give pledge that the royal authority should be transferred to the infant Prince and a Council of Regency. Others of them wanted a peremptory trial of Mary, by which they hoped to obtain a conviction, condemn her to imprisonment for life, and to crown her son; and some of them were even for putting her to death. This last project, we are told, was "usually preached and divulged by Knox and some other ministers in the open pulpit."—Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 1625, p. 149.—E.]

¹ [The harsh treatment of Mary soon produced a re-action in her favour, and a meeting was held at Hamilton, where many joined the party who were organizing to defend her. When the Confederates were informed of this movement they mustered their forces on Leith Sands, and wrote to their opponents at Hamilton, requesting their presence in Edinburgh to "consult together what was fitting to be done for the good of the commonwealth."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, by Lord Herries, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 96, 97. Meanwhile they lost no time in despatching letters to Elizabeth and the King of France. To the English Queen they declared that their only motive in taking up arms was to punish the murderers of Darnley, and that as soon as this was accomplished they would restore Mary to liberty, assuring Elizabeth that they never contemplated the coronation of the infant Prince. They also represented their want of money, and earnestly hoped that the English Queen would send them three or four thousand crowns to hire soldiers, in return for which they would submit to be guided solely by England. Their letters to France were more guarded, though full of anxiety, and the Confederates made fair promises to Le Croc, while they determined not to commit themselves till they heard from England. They at the same time corresponded with the Earls of Moray and Lennox, both of whom were absent, but whose presence they required in Scotland.—MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 138, 139. At the head of the Queen's party was nominally the Duke of Chatellherault, then in France, the next heir to the Crown failing Mary and her son; but the real head of this opposition to the Confederates was the Duke's illegitimate brother, Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews. The Duke of Chatellherault's advisers penetrated the designs of Morton and his party. They saw that the continued imprisonment of the Queen must lead to the coronation of the infant Prince, and the appointment of a Regency in

to concert what measures should be deemed proper in the present occurrence; and the Associators being sensible of their own decaying applause, and how needful it would be to bring over the other Nobles, if possible, to take part with them, determined to send letters to them, entreating their concurrence for establishing the State by a common harmony; but the Nobles at Hamilton would neither admit the messenger nor receive the letters. The Associators hereupon willing to leave no stone unturned to compass what so nearly concerned them, employed Mr John Knox,¹ and three of his brethren, to carry letters from the Assembly of the Kirk,²

which Moray, Lennox, or Morton, would engross the whole power of the State. As they had been “generally opposed to Mary and her marriage,” says Mr Tytler, “her captivity was not in itself a matter which gave them much concern, but in weighing the two evils—its continuance and a Regency, or her restoration and a third marriage, they chose what they thought the least, and determined to make an effort for her restoration.”—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 142, 143. Mr Tytler ought to have written a *fourth marriage*, as Bothwell was Mary’s *third husband*, but they probably refused to acknowledge that deplorable alliance. To follow out their designs, a convention of the Nobility was held at Dunbarton on the 29th of June, and a proclamation was issued to all good subjects to be ready to take arms for the rescue of the Queen on nine hours’ warning. They were joined at Edinburgh by the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, who had deserted the Confederates, the Earl of Crawford, Lords Herries, Seton, and Fleming, and they were guided by Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews and Bishop Lesley of Ross.—E.]

¹ [John Knox had fled from Edinburgh after the assassination of Riccio, and considered his return hazardous till Mary was imprisoned in Lochleven. He took refuge first in Ayrshire, but little is known of his history during this interval. Mr Tytler conjectures that he may have resided chiefly with his relatives near Berwick, and he was certainly in England at the time of Darnley’s murder, for about a month after that event he entered into a correspondence with Bedford and Cecil.—MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, 11th March 1566-7, in Tytler’s History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 145.—E.]

² [This General Assembly was held on the 25th of June, and the proceedings are given by our Historian in the sixth Chapter of his Third Book, forming Vol. III. of the present edition. The “Tenour of the Letters-Missives to the Erles, Lords, Barrons, and Commendators of Abbeys,” and a list of the persons to whom they were sent, are there inserted. See also Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Part I. p. 94, 95, 96; and Calderwood’s Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 368, 369, 370. Knox states that he, accompanied by the preachers John Douglas, John Row, and John Craig, proceeded to the West, and had a conference with the opposing Nobility, to induce them to meet the Confederates at

which then was sitting, to the other Lords who were either neuters or opposers of their late proceedings, inviting them to come to Edinburgh the 20th of July next, in order to regulate what might be needful and wanting in the polity of the Church; hoping, no doubt, by that means, if they could once draw them to Edinburgh, either to persuade them to join issue with their late proceedings in the State, or intending to force them into compliance with their measures. But these other Lords¹ were not so easily decoyed as the former imagined; for they all excused themselves from coming to the Assembly, alledging that they could not repair to Edinburgh with freedom and security of their

Edinburgh, but their mission was in vain. "They excused," says Knox, "that they could not repair to Edinburgh with freedom, where there were so many armed men, and a garrison so strong; but for the Church affairs, they would not be anyways wanting to do what lay in them."—*Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 410. As the Confederates were chiefly, if not all, Protestants, they now considered it necessary to form a strict alliance with Knox and the preachers, that the force of popular opinion should be directed and kept in continual excitement by their sermons and addresses. Knox stipulated that the Parliament held at Edinburgh in 1560, which overthrew the Papal Hierarchy, should be recognized, and its Acts declared to be the laws of the Realm. Mary had never ratified or consented to those Acts, but Morton and the other Confederates at once concurred with the proposal. The Confederates also agreed to restore the ecclesiastical patrimony which had been appropriated to civil uses, to place the Universities and public schools under the exclusive controul of the Reformed preachers, to put down "idolatry," as they designated the Roman Catholic religion, by force if necessary, to commit the education of the infant Prince to the care of "four wise and godly men," and to punish to the uttermost the murderers of Darnley.—Knox's *Historie*, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 410, 411. All this was arranged on the 20th of July, and the articles were sanctioned in an adjourned meeting of their General Assembly, held on the 21st of that month (Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Part I. p. 106-110; Calderwood's *Historie*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 378-382). The document with all the signatures is also inserted by our Historian in the Sixth Chapter of his Third Book, forming Vol. III. of this edition. In return Knox was to promote the cause of the Confederates, and his brethren were to be equally zealous; "but," adds Knox bitterly, "how they performed their promises, God knows always."—E.]

¹ These Nobles were the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Caithness, Rothes, Crawford, and Menteith; the Lords Boyd, Drummond, Herries, Cathcart, Yester, Fleming, Livingston, Seton, Glamis, Ogilvie, (so it is right in Spottiswood's MS. instead of *Ochiltree* in Knox, &c.) Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Innermeth, and Somervil; the Commendators of Arbroath, Kilwinning, Dunfermling, Newbottle, Holyroodhouse, and St Colm.

lives, where there were so many men gathered together in arms.¹

On the 26th of June the pretended Lords of Council ordain “ letters to be directed in the Queen’s name² to Heralds, &c. to pass and charge the keeper of the Castle of Dunbar to surrender the same to the executer of the saids letters within six hours, because the Earl of Bothwell was reset and received within the said Castle.” And the same day³ a proclamation was likewise emitted for “ apprehending the Earl of Bothwell, with the promise of 1000 crowns to whosoever shall bring him to Edinburgh, to be punished for the late murder of the King,” &c. Now since these people were fully convinced in their minds that the Earl of Bothwell was really the person principally concerned in the murder of the King, and for which reason especially they justified their taking up of arms, may not their delay to make some public act against him for no less than ten days after he left the army at Carberry Hill afford too much suspicion that the Associators had something else in view, and which lay nearer their hearts in their late proceedings, than the bringing of that Nobleman to justice? Several authors, who wrote in the times these things were adoining, have not only taken notice that the Earl of Bothwell was by consent allowed to depart from Carberry Hill, but have likewise objected this dilatory management with respect to the Earl, and these Acts seem to confirm their complaints not a little. For it may be said that the charge to the keepers of the Castle of Dunbar might have been much more speedy, unless the Associators were willing that the Earl of Bothwell should first be gone before they sent such a charge, lest the keepers within had disagreed among themselves, and condescended to deliver up the principal

¹ The readers shall get a larger account of this message in our Ecclesiastick Part.—[Book III. of our Historian’s original folio, forming Vol. III. of the present edition.—E.]

² What a strange jumble of authority is here ! Rebels erect themselves into a Council of State, and yet they send forth their orders in the name of their sovereign whom they detained prisoner !

³ Robert Mihn has put the 27th of June to these several Acts, viz. charge against Dunbar-castle ; against resetting the Earl of Bothwell ; and for torturing the prisoners, Blackater, &c. But the Abstracts of Council and Anderson’s Collections fix these to the 26th of June.

keeper the Earl of Bothwell, whose escape the Associates perhaps were as well pleased with as the Earl himself.

At what precise time the Earl of Bothwell left the Castle of Dunbar is no where said;¹ but I perceive in the Records

¹ [We have seen that Mary surrendered to the Confederates at Carberry Hill on the 15th of June, and that Captain Blackadder was executed for his alleged connection with the murder of Darnley on the 24th. When Bothwell returned to Dunbar Castle, he remained in it a very short time, and then started northwards to Orkney, which now gave to him the title of Duke, conferred on him by Mary before their marriage. He is mentioned as proceeding first to Spynie Castle to his grand-uncle, Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, third son of Patrick first Earl of Bothwell, who though he shared the fate of the Roman Catholic Prelates at the Reformation, continued to keep possession of the episcopal palace of Spynie Castle till his death in 1573. Bothwell's visit to his grand-uncle is noticed by Laing in his "Dissertation on the Murder of Darnley, vol. i. p. 105. Throgmorton wrote to the Earl of Bedford, dated Edinburgh, 20th July 1567—"The Earle of Bothwell is thought to be in the north partes with the Earle of Huntleye and others, to make the best partye he can."—Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 258, 259. Meanwhile his former associates proceeded most vigorously against him. On the 27th of June he was proclaimed at the Cross as the principal conspirator against and murderer of Darnley; the reward of 1000 crowns was offered for his apprehension; and on the 17th of July, the Earl of Bothwell, Robert alias Hob Ormiston, John Hepburn of Bolton, John Hay, younger of Tallo, Nicholas Hubert, alias *French Paris*, and several others, were denounced as rebels at the Cross of Edinburgh, for not finding surety to appear to "underly" the law for the murder of Darnley.—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 116, 117. As soon as Bothwell arrived in Orkney, he contrived in his official capacity, as Lord High Admiral of Scotland, to fit out and arm some light vessels, suitable to the navigation of the dangerous straits, and he now betook himself to piratical pursuits. His first attempt was to fortify himself in the Castle of Kirkwall, but he was frustrated in that object by the constable who commanded that Castle—an uncle of the celebrated John Napier of Merchiston, inventor of Logarithms.—*Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston*, by Mark Napier, Esq. p. 123. In his own "Narrative" he falsely pretends that the Queen's friends in the West and North recommended him to proceed to France by Denmark, to make preparations for sending a large military force into Scotland, and also to lay a complaint before the King of Denmark, to whom he was to relate the circumstances of their case. Bothwell alleges that he followed their advice, and embarked from the North of Scotland, but having business in the Orkney and Shetland Isles he went thither, remaining only two days. He landed, he says, in the Shetland Isles, where he met some vessels from Bremen and Hamburg, with the masters of which he negotiated respecting the sum they would accept each month they were in his service, as in his haste he had been unable to provide himself with suitable ships, and those which he was compelled to take were too small. Bothwell farther states that he agreed with two masters of vessels from

a charge dated 9th July, “prohibiting any person in the Isles of Orkney to respect or be assisting to him.” And on the 21st of the same month there is an Act “prohibiting the Bishop of Moray’s¹ tennants, either belonging to the Bishoprick or to the Abbaey of Seoon, whereof he was Commendator, to make payment of his rents, because he had received and entertained that Earl within his house of Spynie, and divers other parts of Moray; and this prohibition to continue until the said Bishop be tried for the said crime, and the arrest duly loosed.”²

The Associators now finding that they were not able to induce the better part of the Nobility of the Realm to come and take part with them in their present enterprizes, but perceiving nevertheless that it might contribute much to their advantage to have the Town of Edinburgh join with them, in a more solemn manner than hitherto they had done by a tacit consent only and connivance, they deputed two principal Lords of their faction to repair to the Town Council, and therein propose to obtain their approbation of, and subscription to the Bond drawn up by the Associators on the 16th June, the issue of which deputation the readers will best see by the following Act of the Council of Edinburgh:—

“2 *Julij* 1567.—THE quhilk day Sir Symone Prestoun of Craigmillar, Knight, Provest, Edward Lytill, Alexander Uddarte and Alexander Clerk, Baillies of the Burgh of Edinburgh; Mr John Prestoun, Dean of Gild; John Harwood, Thesaurer; Alexander Park, David Forrester, James Nicholl, Andro Stivenson, William Fowler, James Oliphant, Nicholl Uddarte, Thomas Redpeth, skinner, Robert Abercrombie, saidler, of the Councill; James Young, deacon of the hammermen, Thomas Jackson of the masons, Patrick

Bremen and Hamburg, the name of the former of whom was Gerard Hemlin, to give them each fifty crowns per month, and that if either should be lost, or be desirous of purchasing, he was to pay a certain sum, and one hundred crowns for the guns on board. In this condition he was when his enemies arrived, as related in a subsequent note.—*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 21, 22, 23. Bothwell’s story is unworthy of the slightest credit.—E.]

¹ He was Patrick Hepburn, a relation of the Earl’s.—[It is stated in the preceding note that the Bishop of Moray was Bothwell’s grand-uncle.—E.]

² See the Act at full length in Anderson’s Collections, vol. i. p. 842.

Shang of the wrights, George Heriot¹ of the goldsmiths, Alexander Sauchie of the taylors, Alexander Davidson of the cordiners,² Thomas Aikenhead of the skinners, Thomas Dickson of the furriours, James Wood of the baxters,³ John Blythman of the fleshers, Alexander Bruce of the barbours,⁴ Leonard Thompson of the wobsters,⁵ James Johnstone of the bonetmakers, Thomas Andrew of the walkers:⁶ Being convenit in the Councill-house of the samen, Compearit Nobil and Mightie Lordis, my Lordis Erles of Mortoun and Atholl—having with thame the maist honourabil and godlie Band laitlie maid and subscrivit be ane greit partie of the Nobilitie of this Realme, bering in effect that thai the saids Lordis altogether binds and obleisses thame, ilk ane to utheris, upon the respect of thair dutie towart thair souveraine, the common weill of this thair native cuntry, and honour of the samen : That thai altogether, with thair haill force, power, and friendis, sall persew the cruall murtherours of the King our said sovereign's husband to the uttermaist, seik the dissolution of the ungodlie mariage maid betwix hir Hienes and the Erle of Bothwell ; our said souveraine to be relevit of the thraledome, bondage, ignominie, and schame, quhilk scho hes sustenit and underlies through the said Erle's occasion ; the person of our undoubtit and innocent Prince reposit to full suirtie, and relevit of imminent danger quhilk now he stands in ; and finallie, justice restorit and uprichtlie ministrat to all the liegis and subjectis of this Realme. The quhilk maist godlie and honourabil Band, in presence of the Provost, Baillies, Councill, and Deacons, being read and considerit, thai all in one voce APPROVES the samen ; and grantis, consentis, and promittis thair assistance and fortificatioun to the said Lordis in furthsetting, persewing, and advancing of the premisses to thair utir power ; and for assurance heirop hes requestit and desyrit the Richt Honorabil Sir Symone Prestoun of that Ilk, Knecht, thair Provost, for thame, and in thair namis, with the saids Lordis, to subscribe the said Band, quhilk sall be als sufficient as gif thai had subserivit

¹ [Father of the celebrated George Heriot, founder of the Hospital known by his name at Edinburgh.—E.]

² [Shoemakers.—E.]

³ [Bakers.—E.]

⁴ Barbers.—E.]

⁵ [Weavers.—E.]

⁶ [Hatters.—E.]

the samen with thair awin proper handis. And for observ-
ing heirof, ordanis this present ordonance to be insert and
registrat in thair Council-booke, for the mair suir testifica-
tioun of thair consent, as said is." Here followis the copy
of the Band and Obleissing above specifiet,¹ &c.

The Community of Edinburgh being thus become a branch
of the Associators, they applied themselves in good earnest
to defend and maintain the common cause ; and so we have
these other two following Acts of their Council upon record.

9 Julij 1567.—“ THE quhilk day, Sir Symoun Prestoun of
Craigmillar, Knieht, Provost, Alexander Uddarte, Alexander
Clerk, and Edward Lytill, Baillies ; Mr John Prestoun, Dean
of Gild, Andro Stivinson, David Forrester, James Oliphant,
William Fowler, Alexander Park, Thomas Redpeth, and

¹ The Bond is almost word for word as already set down in p. 648, &c. There is some little difference in the beginning of it, thus—“ King Henrie Stewart, the Quenis Majestie's our Soverainis lait husband, being in his lodging, *sumtyme callit the Loging of the Provost of Kirkfield, beyde the samen, within this burgh*, wes schamefullie and tressonable murtherit,” &c. But in an attested copy of the Act of the Town-Council, inserted in the Register of the Privy-Council of the same date 2d July, there is some greater variation. I say not, however, that there is any great alteration as to the sense and meaning of the Act ; but since the copy thereof, as it stands in the Privy-Council Register, is said to be extracted from the Register of the Town-Council by the Town-Clerk, and to be attested by his manual subscription, I am suspicious that that liberty of variation assumed by the Clerk may serve to invalidate any other pretended attested copies by these Associators. I have for this reason judged it not amiss to put into the Appendix, Number XX., the Act as it is in the Privy-Council Register : And perhaps this following variation may even appear somewhat too bold, viz.—“ Maist honourabill and godlie Bande laitlie maid and subscribit *be thair Lordschips and utheris of the Nobilitie of this Realme*, beand in effect,” &c. This is plainly a softening of the expression in the Act of the Town-Council, which says that the Band was “ subscribit *be one greit partie of the Nobilitie of this Realme*, beand in effect,” &c. The Town-Clerk has been aware that the Town-Council has been highly imposed upon, and made believe that the Band was subscribed *by a great part of the Nobility* ; upon which account he has not had confidence to insert the same words in his attested copy which was to be put into the Privy-Council Register, lest the same might have been challenged as a false allegation by some persons that might afterwards come to inspect that Register, whereas the thing might easily ly buried in the Town-Council books. The Town-Clerk was himself a mighty man for the Associators, and he could the more willingly suffer the Council of Edinburgh to be duped by that party.

Robert Abererombie, of the Councill, Ordanis John Harwood, Thesaurer, to cause stock, band, and mount the Toun's artiliarie, now presentlie lyand in the end of the kirk, and to buy and cause furnisch all thingis necessar thairto, to the effect the samen may be in reddines preparit and reparit, in cas ony forane enemies wald come and persew this burgh, or niehbouris thairof, to do thame harme in thair bodies or gudis: And quhat expensis he makis thairupon, sall be allowit to him in his accompts be the auditoris thairof."

"23 *Julij* 1567.—THE quhilk day the Provest, Baillies, Councill and Deacons foirsaid, understanding the greit and apparent danger quhilk islyket to ryse within this Realme be division of the Nobilitie thairof, for the causis laitlie occurit: And als considering that the inhabitantis of this burgh, thair householdis, families, and gudis in sic tumultis are evir subject to large greiter danger nor ony burgh of this Realme, be ressoun that with certain wickit personis awaiting upon the spulzie of the samen, gif occation serve. THAIRFOIR thai all in one vote, and with avyis and consent of Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, Knight, Clerk of our Soveranis Register, and Captain of the Castell of Edinburgh, hes thought and thinkis it expedient, that for defence not onlie of the said burgh, bot als wa of the said Castell, that ane band and lege be maid in writ betwix the said Captain on the ane pairt, and the Provest, Baillies, Councill, Deacons, and Communitie of the said Burgh on the uther pairt, for mutuall defence and support to be maid be either of thame to utheris, against quhat sumevir that wald or will persew the said Castell, Burgh, or inhabitantis thairof, in thair personis or gudis, the autorite onlie except. And ordanis Alexander Guthrie, thair common Clerk, to mak the samen again Friday nixt to come, and thair that day to persew it afoir the Councill, that it may be read and considerit be the said Captain and thame, and thairin finallie endit, concludit, and subscribit, be and upon baith the said parties, quha are presentlie appointit to compear the said Friday at ten houris after noon, in the Councill-house, to the effect foresaid."

As the Associators had already laid their hands on all

the Queen's plate, money, and other moveables, to support them in carrying on their wicked devices against her own person and authority ; so now on the 7th day of July they made an Act of their Council, discharging all the lieges to answer or make payment of any of the Queen's property, thirds of benefices, or of any thing else belonging to the Crown, to her Majesty's Comptroller, James Cockburn of Scraling, under the pain of repaying the same, and of being pursued as art and part of the King's murder and the Queen's ravishment ; which Act, howsoever, indeed bears that the said James Cockburn was called to underly the law for being himself art and part of the said murder, and that his commission of Comptrollery had been to him "*the tyme of hir Hienes bondage and schameful thraldome in the Erle of Bothwell's company.*"

The Court of France having by this time received intelligence of the bad situation of the Queen's affairs here in Scotland, dispatched hither to her Majesty a gentleman named Villeroy,¹ with their best advice as may be supposed, how she ought to extricate herself from the present calamity, wherein she had in a great measure involved herself. But as that gentleman got no access to the Queen, he returned again immediately into his own country.²

The Queen of England also after she had heard of our

¹ [The contemporary Diarist says—" Upon the twenty-third day of June, the yeir of God above written, there came ane ambassador fra the King of France throw England to Edinburgh to our Souerane Ladie, callit Monsieur Deweileroy."—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 115.—E.]

² Cecil, in his letter to Norris, 26th Juue 1567, mentions the French Ambassador and Villeroy to be in Scotland, by the first of whom he means, I should think, Monsieur le Croc.—*Cabala*. And Crawford's MS. says—" In that month" (viz. when the Queen was put into Lochleven) " came an ambassador from France called Monsieur de Villeroy, to know the estate of Queen and country, with letters patent to her Majesty, in case she were at liberty ; otherwise not to divulgate them, but to dispose of them as he list. And because he found such a troubled estate without the majesty of a Prince, he departed the country patiently through England."—[*Historic and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 14.] Villeroy left Scotland the fourth day after his arrival.—" Upon the samin day (27th June) the French ambassatour, because he culd get na licence of the Lords to speik with the Quene's Majestie, deparitit towartis Ingland to France."—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 116.—E.]

troubles, sent into Scotland Sir Nicholas Throckmorton¹ with a Message and Instructions full of friendship and discretion, and every way becoming the good sense and high station of that neighbouring Princess and near relation. I know it has been too confidently said by some writers that Sir Nicholas was ordered hither on a very villanous design at this time, namely, to endeavour seemingly at a reconciliation betwixt our Queen and the faction opposite to her Majesty, but really and underhand to foster a division; and that he acted his part herein to her mistress's contentation. Men, and especially historians, should methinks be very well assured before they proceed to throw reproach and infamy upon any person, much more on the persons of princes and their publick ministers. We have already seen that Sir Nicholas Throckmorton did on a former occasion behave himself in a very friendly manner towards our Queen, and how disgusted he was when he found that he had indirectly trepanned some of her disquiet subjects into over hasty measures; and from thence we might aver, though there was no other proof, that his integrity would never allow him to act so dishonest a part as these writers roundly affirm without any proper credential. But the Queen of England's Instructions to him, and his letters to her

¹ [Mr Tytler says—"On hearing of the late extraordinary events in Scotland, Elizabeth's feelings were of a divided kind. Her ideas of the inviolability of the royal prerogative were offended by the imprisonment of the Queen. However great were Mary's faults, or even her guilt, it did not accord with the high creed of the English Princess that any subjects should dare to expose or punish them, and we have seen that in a former conversation with Randolph she alluded to (Kirkaldy of) Grange's letters to Bedford in terms of much bitterness. But notwithstanding this, she was fully alive to the necessity of supporting a Protestant party in Scotland, and she well knew that nothing could so effectually promote her views as to induce the Confederate Lords to refuse the offers of France, and deliver to her the young Prince, to be educated in Protestant principles at the Court of England. Nor was she ignorant that the able and crafty men who directed these proceedings had determined to refuse every petition for the restoration of their sovereign to liberty--an event as much deprecated by Elizabeth as by themselves. It was perfectly safe for the English Queen, therefore, to give fair promises to Mary, and to remonstrate with the Confederates on this subject. Such being her views, she dispatched Robert Melville, who was then in England, with a letter to his mistress, and ordered Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, one of her ablest diplomatists, to hold himself in readiness to proceed on a mission to Scotland."--History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 140, 141.—E.]

Majesty, being for the most part preserved entire, these will serve better to discover to the world the mind of that great Princess, and her minister's negotiation at this time, than the blunt affirmation of any historian whatever. As I could not afford my readers so good an account of our affairs in the present interval as what is to be had from these and other publick papers, therefore I choose here to subjoin them without the least curtailing or addition, as I find them in the public repositories.

“ Instructions by the Queen of England given to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, sent into Scotland to the Queen (of Scotland), 30th June 1567.¹

“ You shall in the beginning declare to her how much we have been of long time troubled and grieved in our mind to behold such evil accidents as of late from time to time have happened to her, wherein her fame and honour have been in all parts of Christendom much impaired and decayed ; and specially upon the death of her husband, being so apparently and horribly murdered so near to herself, yea, and within so few hours after she parted with him in the night, and nothing done by her effectual for the search of the malefactors, and due punishment thereof. Next, her favouring and maintaining the Earl of Bothwell and his associates, being men of notorious evil name, whom the world charge also most of all with this detestable murder. And thirdly, with the maintenance of the same Earl being so charged to procure such a strange divorce from his wife, a good lady, as never was heard that a man guilty should for his offences put away his innocent wife, and that to be coloured by form of law ; but that which followed, say they, hath added to the same an immortal reproof to her, that is, suddenly, hastily, and rashly to take such a defamed person to her husband. All which things, truly you may say, have pierced our very heart with daily thoughts for many respects, as by sundry our letters to her we have friendly and plainly declared. In all which we have felt our sorrows mixed also with offence and displeasure to her, in such sort as we thought never more to have dealt with her by way of advice,

¹ Calig. C. 1. a Copy. — [British Museum. — E.]

taking her by her acts a person desperate to recover her honour, and so do we know other Princes, her friends and near kinsfolk, to be of the like judgment : Yet, nevertheless, now at the last, this mischief that hath followed in the end, after all these, hath stirred up in us a new alteration and passion of our mind, and hath so increased and doubled our former sorrow and grief of mind. Behold suddenly the raising an intestine trouble, in manner of war, betwixt her and her Nobility and subjects, wherein finding her to have light into such hard terms, that she is restrained by her Nobility and subjects, as we hear, from her liberty ; our stomach so provoked, we have changed our former intention of silence and forbearing to deal in her causes, *first*, to an inward commiseration of her, our sister, for this last calamity ; and *next*, to a determination to aid and relieve her by all possible means for the recovering of her to her liberty, and not to suffer her, being by God's ordinance the Prince and Sovereign, to be in subjection to them that by nature and law are subjected to her. For which very purpose you shall say, We have sent you at this time to understand truly her estate, and the whole manner how the same has happened ; and to confer with her what may be thought meet for us, as her sister and next neighbour, to do for her, be it by counsel, force, or otherwise ; and therefore you shall require her to impart to you that which indeed she can require of us in honour to be done for her, to bring her to liberty, and her Realm to concord and inward peace ; and so doing you shall assure her we will do as much for her (the circumstances of her case considered) as she were our very natural sister or only daughter. And at the hearing of her declaration you shall require her to bear with you, if according to our direction you do declare also unto her wherewith her Nobility and subjects charge her ; and so you shall orderly make full declaration thereof, adding therewith that your meaning is not to increase her calamities, but to the end, upon the truth known, her subjects may be duly reprehended and corrected for things unduly laid to her charge : and in other things wherein her fault and oversight cannot be avoided, or well covered, the dealing therein and order thereof may be with wisdom and policy so used and tempered, as her honour may be stayed from utter ruin, and her

State recovered with some better accord to follow betwixt her and her subjects. And after she shall have fully declared to you her answer, or request, or her other defences, if she shall require our aid by force to recover her liberty, and be revenged, you shall say, That you have commission directly to charge and reprove her subjects with this their restraining of her their sovereign lady, and to procure her liberty ; or otherwise to assure them plainly, That she shall not lack our aid to compel them thereto ; whereunto if they shall not yield, you may tell her you will speedily advertise us, who, you doubt not, will perform our promise.

“ In the dealing herein also it shall behove you to know before hand the disposition in the Nobility, whom you shall assure we neither can nor will endure, for any respect, to have her, being a Queen and their sovereign, to be by them, being subjects, imprisoned, or deprived of her State, or put in any peril of her person.

“ And you shall also do your best in reasoning with the Queen, to move her by all good perswasions to use wisdom and not passion in this her adversity, as the time requireth, whereunto, you shall add, that all the world seeth her own defaults and oversights to have brought her ; although, on the other side, we confess that her subjects ought not to be allowed to take from her and to themselves any sword or jurisdiction to punish or reform her faults, but ought to seek the amendment of any of her faults by counsel and humble requests. And *finally*, not finding that they would desire to remit themselves to Almighty God, in whose hands only princes’ hearts remain, you shall add, that to bring the calamity to some speedy and quiet end, you shall move her to remit and pardon such things as by rigour of law she, as their sovereign, may extend against them ; and to yield also to such requests which shall be made to her, and shall tend for advancement of justice, and specially for the punishment of the murder of her husband, upon any subject whosoever the same be, being found guilty. And further also, to yield to her Nobility and people such other reasonable requests as may seem convenient and necessary for the security of their lives and lands, living hereafter obediently. In which last matter you shall say, if any such thing shall be by them demanded as she cannot nor ought not to like

of, nor can be induced to, if she will commit the judgment thereof to us, being a Queen as she is, we will frankly deal therein, as far as possibly we can with our honour, most to her satisfaction; and in things unmeet to be granted by her, we will assist her in the plain denial thereof. And to bring this manner of end the better to pass, you may labour to perswade her, that seeing things done and past, as well of her part as on theirs, cannot now be undone, it is altogether vain to contend much hereupon; but wisdom must be used in these, and such extremities as these be, to abolish the memory of both, and yet to have principal regard of her being the prince and head.

“ In your discourse with her you must remember to her, that we have determined and resolved to rest upon these three heads. The *first* is, to recover her to her liberty with good accord of her subjects, either by perswasion, or treaty, or by force. *Next*, to procure a due punishment of the murder of her husband; whereunto also we have by nature good title to be a party pursuant, considering the party murdered was both our subject born and nearest kinsman of the blood royal both of England and Scotland. The *third*, which also nature moveth unto, is to have the royal Prince preserved from all such danger as manifestly he seemeth to be in, if the murderers of his father be justified. And concerning the *first* of these, which is her liberty, your coming is at this time specially; and therein we have principally charged you to labour and travel to the uttermost. For the *second*, which is the prosecution of the murderer, you may plainly say, though we cannot affirm any ordinary power in her subjects by force to compel her thereto, yet we would be very sorry to find her unwilling to consent thereto; for then we must needs hold her so condemned, as we would not think her free from such other compulsion as one Prince and neighbour may use towards another, for punishment of such horrible and abominable facts. Neither may she think it strange, though therein we do shew our self a party against the murderers, as a thing more properly pertaining to us for many respects, than to any other prince of Christendom. For the *last*, you may use some good reasons to her to accord that the young Prince her son may be brought out of danger there, and

kept and nourished in our Realm, whereof, beside the good surety of his person, many other good things may ensue to him of no small moment, hereafter to be by her well allowed ; and for the more surety of his person, whereof percase some busy heads may make argument, he may be so well provided for by hostages or pledges, as no doubt can be made : Which matter we would have you, according to your wisdom, warily and also earnestly prosecute, wherein we mean truly and well to the child. And of all other things by you to be compassed, we shall most esteem thereof.

“ You shall also do well to learn of her what the French have therein dealt with her or any other ; and because in such times and matters as these are changes of proceedings may daily alter the judgment of proceeding, we remit to your discretion to order, as you shall see cause, this charge, which we commit to you in any other form of proceeding, so as always it may appear that we do not allow of her imprisonment, and yet do allow of the justifying of any her subjects for the murder. And *secondly*, we do not mislike to have her so delivered, as the security of them be provided which have sincerely herein dealt to punish the murder. And the *last*, which we also most regard, that the Prince might be brought in to our Realm, to be in the custody of his person with his grandmother, and that with all security that can be devised. Of which things, if you have regard to direct your negotiation, we shall very well allow you.”

Together with these Instructions, which the reader sees were to be imparted only to our Queen, Sir Nicholas received likewise another set of Instructions of the same date, which he was to communicate apart to the Lords Associators, and are as follow here—

“ *Copy of Instructions for Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, for matters to be imparted to the Lords of Scotland, 30th June 1567.*¹

“ You shall let the Lords understand, That we hearing of these troubles lately happened, could not forbear but to send you thither, and to understand the certainty thereof, and

¹ Calig. C. 1. a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

speak both with the Queen and with them. And thereupon you shall require them to allow you to relate to her, assuring them that you have nothing to deal in with her but for the weal of that Realm, and principally for the same matters they have published to be the cause of their Assembly, that is, for to further the prosecution of the murderers of their King, and the preservation of the child their Prince.¹ In which *two* you shall assure them, there is no honourable and reasonable demand that can be made by them, but we will allow and further the same as shall appertain unto us. The *third* matter is, which you are charged specially to sollicite upon these late accidents, That some final good accord made betwixt the Queen their sovereign and them, and that we might have the trust on both parts to be a mean herein, wherein they shall have no just cause to mislike our doings.

“And because we know not how the matters do stand on both sides, but hearing of the Queen’s imprisonment, we have sent you thither in our name to declare unto them what we think of that matter. Requiring them not to find it strange, that we being a Queen, and a prince sovereign, as their Queen is, do in this part intermedle and notify our opinion and request, which is, That in nowise she, being a Queen and sovereign, be detained as a prisoner, or deprived of her princely estate.² And so as she may be by them used and regarded as a Queen ought to be by her subjects, we can be very well content to use all good means to induce her to all other things that they may tend to a quiet accord with them, and that in such good sort as may be with good and honourable order, for their security hereafter to come, and for quietness to the Realm.

“In this sort you may deal generally with them as you shall see cause ; also by earnest speeches to shew them how incredible we took it at the first, when we heard of her imprisonment, thinking surely that persons of such honour as they be (being the principal of the Nobility of that

¹ These two things were indeed the revealed will of the rebels, but they had another *secret* will which they reserved *in petto*, not to be made known until a proper season should cast up.

² [See the extract from Mr Tytler’s History of Scotland in a preceding note, p. 666 of the present volume.—E.]

Realm) could never be induced to offer such violence to her their sovereign as to commit her to any manner of prison. For though we will not deny but she may be charged with some defaults or oversights, yet we take it not to be appertaining to subjects in such manner to reform their Prince, but otherwise to deal by advice and counsel; and failing thereof, to recommend the rest to Almighty God. And this you may say, we do not think as a Prince that would partially regard the privilege of another Prince, because we ourselves are called by God's order to that Estate; but that we think it so ordained by God, and received for a truth in doctrine in all good Christian government. And though we thus think of the order of their proceedings, yet you shall assure them we hereby mean not to allow of such faults as we hear by report are imputed to her, but therein have given you straitly in charge to lay before, and to reprove her in our name for the same; which we think not unlawful or inconvenient for us to do, being a Queen as she is, and her next cousin and neighbour. And in the end, also, we mean not with any such partiality to deal for her, but that her princely state being preserved, she should conform herself to all reasonable devices that may bring a good accord betwixt her and her Nobility and people, and that may restore her Realm to quietness, and purge it of the slander which lately it hath received by the abominable murder of the King, and by the lack of due pursuit of offenders. And in this doing we trust they shall have cause to think us a good neighbour, and whosoever shall move them to take any other way shall in the end be proved to seek their own private commodity, with the ruin both of the Queen and the Realm. And in this sort you shall deal with them in generality to deliver our opinion to be, according as at your departure from us upon such intelligence as we had, we could of our honour and in our conscience think meet. You shall also, with some other, such as you shall make choice of for the purpose, deal as followeth.

“Where they have disclosed to us the means used to them to be directed at this time by France, and to renew their old alliance with them, you may well remember to them by former experience both of old and late what notable

discommodities have followed thereupon, whereof both their histories and their own selves are good witnesses. And as things stand at this day in the world, it may be easily seen what perils may fall to them by putting themselves and the Realm into the governance of France, wherein you may enlarge more boldly to them which be of the Religion, the manifest peril for the overthrow of religion, as a thing at this day much practised and intended in all parts of Christendom, and meet to be well foreseen. And as for aid required of us, you may let them know how strange we found it that until they had assembled themselves in force, and until their Queen and they had both their forces gathered and in field, we never heard from them in any sort to us credible, or as was convenient for us to trust unto, nor indeed hitherto have heard any person authorized from them, until —— who could shew us no letter nor writing from them whereunto we might give trust; nor yet at his coming from thence spoken with the Lords himself, but had by——And, therefore, we have sent you, whom we know best acquainted with the affairs of that Realm, by whom we may be advertised of their full intentions and meaning in these their requests, and what surety we may have reciprocally at their hands for any benefit that we shall bestow upon them; and thereupon we may certainly resolve what we will grant or leave, which, before better knowledge had from them, we cannot do. And as soon as possible we may have knowledge from you, we shall give them herein a resolute and reasonable answer.”

Besides these two separate Instructions to be delivered to our Queen and the associated rebel Lords, we find also upon record some terms of accommodation proposed by the Queen of England to both parties here in Scotland, which terms, considering how matters were now posted, I suppose few persons will reckon to have been extravagant, but rather conducive to our Queen's peace and security.

Proposals delivered to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton at his going into Scotland in July 1567.¹

“THE Queen to be at liberty, with these prisoners following.

¹ Calig. C. 1, a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

The truth of Bothwell's fact to be duly proved before her ; and that she may, for her satisfaction herein, be induced to believe the same by all probable means.

That thereupon a divorce be effectually made.

That she give commission to certain Noblemen to proceed against Bothwell and his complices.

That a Parliament be assembled with speed.

That a general peace be proclaimed through the Realm.

That the Castles of Dunbar and Dunbarton be in custody of such of the Nobility, as be not partakers with Bothwell, as the Queen shall name ; they giving pledges to the Lords which keep the Prince that neither Bothwell nor any foreigners shall be therein maintained.

That for the government of the Realm and the Prince, the Queen, with the advice of the Parliament, do constitute certain Wardens of the Marches, and of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dunbar, Dunbarton, Inchkeith, &c.

That all offices of Wardens, Chastelans, Provostings, Judicatures, and the principal officers of the Realm, and all ecclesiastical promotions, be given by the Queen, by the advice and consent of the more part of the Great Council.

That upon the death of any of the Great Council the Queen name others with the consent of the rest.

That the establishing of the succession of the Crown be renovated and confirmed according to the last Act of Parliament.

That the cause of religion be established, excepting none but the Queen's person and some competent number for her attendance, not exceeding ——

That a general pardon be granted by Parliament.

That all Bothwell's lands be annexed to the Crown, and be employed upon the education of the Prince.

That the Grand Council consist upon such a number, as always there may be attending monthly at the least five or six. And

That orders be accorded upon for their sitting in Councils, and soliciting of causes to the Queen.

That no strangers born bear any office in the Queen's household.

That all the articles above said, and all other thereupon depending, be established by Parliament ; and that it be

made for the first time punishable by loss of goods and imprisonment; the second time treason, whoever shall contrary it; and that it shall be lawful to all manner of persons to pursue him that shall break the same as a traitor.

That the Queen of England may be moved to become a maintainer of the same Parliament."

When Sir Nicholas Throckmorton arrived in Scotland,¹

¹ [The contemporary diarist states that Throgmorton arrived at Edinburgh on the 16th of July.—Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 117. Mr Tytler assigns the date of his arrival to have been the *twelfth* of that month, reaching Edinburgh from the stronghold of Fastcastle, overlooking the German Ocean in Berwickshire, accompanied by Lord Home and an escort of four hundred men. This was on the day before a general fast was held by the Reformed preachers. The authority for the day of Throgmorton's arrival is a letter he wrote to Elizabeth, dated Edinburgh, 14th July 1567, in the Appendix to Principal Robertson's History, No. XXI. He evidently set out on his mission to Scotland on the 1st of July. On the 2d of that month he wrote a letter to Cecil, dated Ware in Hertfordshire, 21 miles north of London. He told Cecil that he had "passed by the French ambassadour this daye, whom he found at cardes with Monsieur de Villeroye."—"He moved unto me," says Throgmorton, "that it might please the Queen's Majestie that her mynister might concur with such one as the Frenche Kinge should send into Scotlande to procure the Quene's libertie, for that is the only marke I perceyve they shoot at.—I fynde they take it ill that Monsieur de Villeroy was denyed audyence.—I shewed them that the Quene's Majestie did send me into Scotland to comfort the Quene in this her calamity, and to procure her lyberty, which her Majesty did take for too great an indignyty to be shewed to a Quene by her subjectes. I said that I looked for no better acceptation than Monsieur de Villeroye had amongst the Lords, and to be denyed to have access to the Quene." Throgmorton says that "they seemed to make no doubt of liberty to be given to him to speak with her," and he declared to them, that if they denied him access, he would immediately coalesce with the Hamiltons, or "that partie which minded to set their Sovereigne at libertie." On the 11th of July we find Throgmorton at Fastcastle, where he was met by Lord Home, Sir James Melville, and Secretary Maitland; and on the 12th he wrote to Cecil, mentioning this circumstance, and that Le Croc, Maitland told him, had gone to France "to procure Ramboillet's coming hither, or a man of lyke quality, to delyver them of their Quene for ever, who shall leade her life in Fraunce, in an abbey reclused." Throgmorton farther states that it was their intention to place the young Prince under French protection, to govern the kingdom by a Council of their own election, and all the fortresses to be committed to the custody of persons chosen from among themselves.—"As yet," continues Throgmorton, "I fynde no great lykelihode that I shall have accesse to the Quene. It is objected they may not so displease the French Kinge unless they were sure to fynde the Quene of Englande a good frend; and when they have

he found to his great surprize, that though he came with a public character from so worthy a friend as the Queen of England, yet the associated Lords would not allow him any access to the imprisoned Queen; so that he found himself under a necessity to deliver only the Instructions which the Queen his mistress had given him to be communicated to these Lords. And by the shifting and uncandid answer which these Lords returned to that minister, the readers will easily discern that these designing men had small or rather no intentions at all to settle the peace of the kingdom, even on such terms as they themselves had fraudulently pretended.

*The Answer of the Lords of Scotland to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador there, 11th July 1567.*¹

“ WE cannot conveniently at this time give you a resolute answer to the first part of your message, declared unto us on the Queen’s Majesty your sovereign’s behalf, being here but a small part of that number for the present assembled to whom you are directed, the others being before your coming dispersed in several corners of the Realm upon good occasions, tending to the maintenance of the just quarrel we

once, by my accesse to the Quene, offended the Frenche, then they say you will make your profit thereof to their undoing.” Throgmorton adds, that when he mentioned the Queen’s liberty, they answered, that if Elizabeth was anxious concerning it she was projecting their ruin, and as it respected the other matters, it was folly to talk of them—“but,” they observed to him, “if you will do us no good, do us no harme, and we will provyde for ourselves.” Maitland had previously told him—“It were better for us you would let us alone, than neither to do us nor yourselves good, as I fear me in the end it will prove.” Throgmorton left Fast-castle that very day for Edinburgh, accompanied by Home, Maitland, and Melville. On the 15th he wrote to Cecil from Edinburgh, noticing his letter of the 14th, and intimating, that the Confederates knew not how to get quit of the Queen without the assistance of the French, whom they considered more inclined to serve them than England—“And finding they will this course, notwithstanding any threatenings of any Prince, I must take hede we lose them not wholly, and dryve them to be more French than they wold be, through the Quene’s Majestie’s sharp impugn-ing their designs.”—Wright’s *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, a *Series of Original Letters*, p. 250-256.—E.]

¹ Calig. c. 1, a Copy.—[The effrontery of Morton, Maitland of Lethington, and other fellow conspirators of Bothwell in the plot against Darnley, in sanctioning this defence of the Confederates, as if they were entirely innocent, is most audacious and dishonest.—E.]

have in hand, and for suppressing dangerous enterprizes that might be attempted for the overthrow thereof; in absence of whom (their consents not obtained) we may not resolve any matter of consequence, lest the same might breed in them occasion of misliking, and consequently breach of the association whereby we are joined together, wherein we pray you to bear with us. Nevertheless, acknowledging how far we are bounden to the Queen your sovereign, in that it hath pleased her Highness thus lovingly to deal with us, and to allow of the grounds whereupon our enterprize is founded, adding also hereunto a special care of our safeguard, we mean to drive no more time with you towards the answering of your demands than the case itself doth of necessity require. For which purpose we have written out of hand for the remanent Noblemen now absent to be here with all speed, at whose coming we doubt not you shall well perceive, by our and their proceedings with you, what respect we bear to the Queen your mistress, as in a Princess in whom we have reposed our special trust, as well in consideration of the justice of our cause, as that the murder which we go about to revenge was perpetrated in the person of him who had that honour to be near of her Majesty's blood; and that the Prince, for whose preservation we have put ourselves in hazard, is her Highness' next cousin. Although we can presently say no further for satisfying of your demands till the coming of the remanent Noblemen, yet perceiving, by that you have propounded to us, that the Queen's Majesty your mistress finds strange our behaviour towards the Queen's Majesty our sovereign, and her Highness' imprisonment, whereupon you have made us a great and large remonstrance, putting us in mind of the duties of subjects towards their natural princes, we will, for your better satisfaction herein, declare some part of our intents and proceedings, which we will desire you to impart to the Queen your mistress, not doubting but when her Highness shall have understood the same she shall not so far disallow of our doings in that behalf.

“ And first, we pray her Highness to conceive of us that we take no pleasure to deal with our sovereign after this sort, as we are presently enforced to do, being the person in the world whom, according to our bounden duty, we

have in our hearts most revered and honoured, whose grandeur we have most earnestly wished, and with the hazard of our lives would have endeavoured ourselves to have procured it. We never went about in any ways to restrain her liberty, nor never entered in deliberation at the beginning of this cause of any thing might touch her person. The grounds of our intents are too well known to the world, and better a great deal than we wish they were, for as much as they impart the ignominy of this whole nation, and touch in honour as well the Queen herself as us all. How horribly the King her husband was murdered is the common fable of the vulgar throughout Christendom. What form of justice hath been kept for punishment thereof, or rather how scornfully a disguised mask was set up in place of justice, if our testimony be suspect, we trust the Queen your mistress's own conscience is sufficiently informed by other means. How shamefully the Queen our sovereign was led captive, and by fear, force, and, as by many conjectures may be well suspected, other extraordinary and more unlawful means, compelled to become bed-fellow to another wife's husband, and to him who not three months before had in his bed most cruelly murdered her husband, as is manifest to the world, to the great dishonour of her Majesty, us all, and this whole nation. In what case the innocent babe, our native Prince, then stood, is easily to be considered, when the murderer, by such ungodly means, had attained the place of him whom before to the same end he had murdered. What end, think ye, could we have lookt for of the Earl of Bothwell's proceedings with process of time? Or in what bounds could his immoderate ambition have been concluded, who, not content with his own estate, had in three months found such hap in an unhapy enterprize, that by the murder of the babe's father he had purchased a pretended marriage of the mother, seized her person in his hands, environed with a continual guard of 200 harquebuziers as well day as night whereever she went, besides a number of his servants, and other naughty persons, murderers, and pirates, who to impetrate impunity of their wicked lives, and liberty to do ill, made their dependence on him, and by these means brought the Nobility to that miserable point, that if any man had to do

with the Prince it behoved him before he could come to her presence, to go through the ranks of harquebuziers under the mercy of a notorious tyrant, as it were to pass the pikes: a new example, and wherewith this nation had never been acquainted, and yet few or none admitted to her speech, for that his suspicious heart, brought in fear by the testimony of an evil conscience, might not suffer her subjects to have access to her Majesty as they were wont to do. Besides all this, the principal strengths, fortresses, with the whole artillery and munition, the whole government and direction of all the affairs of the Realm. What rested to finish the work begun, and to accomplish the whole desire of his ambitious heart, but to send the son after the father; and, as might be suspected, seeing him keep another wife in store, to make the Queen also to drink of the same cup, to the end he might invest himself with the Crown of the Realm?—which behoved to be the mark he shot at, for that which by wicked means is purchased must be by the like maintained. When this was the condition and estate of the Realm, what was the office of the Nobility, or what became it them to do whom God had called to honourable place in this commonweal? Should they have winked at it? Alas! that was too long done, and that we may sore repent. Should they have contented themselves to deal by way of advice or counsel, when no counsellors of the Realm had the liberty of free speech, nor surety of their own life, if they should in counsel resist the inordinate affections of that bloody tyrant; yea, when a few number, or in a manner none, durst resort to Court. When ye have spoken that failing thereof we should have recommended the rest to Almighty God, the advice may be good for the soul but not safe for the body, and hard to be followed; for therewithall it behoved us assuredly to have recommended the soul of our Prince, and of the most part of ourselves, to God's hands, and, as we may firmly believe, the soul also of our sovereign the Queen, who should not have lived with him half a year to an end, as may be conjectured by the short time they lived together, and the maintaining of his other wife at home at his house.

~ The respects aforesaid, with many others, and very necessity, moved us to enterprize the quarrel we have in

hand, which was only intended against the Earl of Bothwell's person, to dissolve the dishonourable and unlawful conjunction under the name of marriage, which neither by God's law nor man's law could be vailable or allowed by either religion, Papist or Protestant, but was detestable in the eyes of the whole world. To remove the shameful slander which among all nations was spread of this poor Realm, by revenging that cruel murder and to preserve the most noble person of that innocent babe, these effects could not be otherwise brought to pass, than by punishment of the Earl of Bothwell in his person, which could not be apprehended unless we had put our selves in arms to that effect.

“ It appeared well when at first we came about Borthwick we meant nothing to the Queen's person, in so far that hearing he was escaped out of the house, we insisted no farther to pursue the same, it being most easy to have been taken, but came back to Edinburgh,¹ here to consult how we should further proceed for his apprehension; during which time, for avoiding of the danger hung over his head, covering himself with the shadow of the Queen's authority, carrying also with him her most noble person, he put a great number of her subjects in arms, of mind to invade us in Edinburgh, and to disturb our consultation, which he knew to be so dangerous to him. What did ensue thereon we think ye sufficiently understand, and how, caring little or nothing for her, he saved himself, and she came in our company to Edinburgh. As our enterprize was directly intended against him, so we began to deal with her Majesty, and to perswade her, that for her own honour, the safety of her son, the discharging of her conscience, and the publick tranquillity of the whole State, she would be content to separate herself from that wicked man, to whom she was never lawfully joined, and with whom she could not remain without manifest loss of honour and hazard of her whole estate, with all the good remonstrances that to good subjects did appertain to speak to their Prince in such a case: But all in vain; for plat contrary to our expectations we found her passion so prevail in maintenance of him and his cause, that she would not with patience hear speak any

¹ We see there are more ways than one of telling a story.

thing to his reproof, or suffer his doings to be called in question; but by the contrary, offered to give over the Realm and all, so she might be suffered to enjoy him, with many threatnings to be revenged on every man (who) had dealt in the matter.¹

“ The sharpness of her words were good witnesses of her vehemency of her passion, whereupon we had just occasion to conceive that she would not fail (enduring that passion) so long as any man in Scotland would take arms at her commandment, to put them to the fields for maintenance of the murderer, and so should it behove us every day. What inconveniences might have followed thereupon to herself, to her son, to us, and the whole Realm, we leave to your judgment. And yet we thought, as we still do think, knowing the great wisdom wherewith God hath endued her, that within a short time her mind being a little settled, and the eyes of her understanding opened, she would better consider of herself and the state of every thing; and so far eschewing the present inconveniences, being such as of necessity would have brought on the decay of her own honour and overthrow of the whole State, it behoved us of two evils to choose the least, which was to sequestrate her person for a season from his company, and from having intelligence with him, or such others as were of his faction, to the end we might have a breathing time and leisure to go forward in the prosecution of the murder,² not doubting but so soon as by a just trial we might make the truth appear, and that he had received the recompense due to that most abominable fact, she would conform herself to allow of our doings, tending more to her own honour than any particular interest that any of us hath in the matter. Of this opinion we are, that when all our

¹ No mention here at all of a letter wrote by her Majesty to the Earl of Bothwell, and intercepted by her detainers, which may afford a strong suspicion that there never was any such letter. If these *good* men were not the parties concerned to make the representation as here laid out, we might reasonably give better credit to them than to all those historians who have given it in a different light; but as this may be suspected to be a *friendly testimony*, so of consequence it cannot claim to be credited much. Consider, likewise, the after behaviour of these men; otherwise, indeed, their story is pretty plausible.

² It is strange to see what deceit men are capable of! These people would now only pretend that they had sequestered the Queen until, &c. but we shall soon see another scene laid open.

proceedings from the beginning of this action to the end shall be examined and rightly weighed, it shall appear manifestly that no Christian Prince shall have occasion to mislike us, but rather by the contrary think that her honour hath been of us so respected, that we have not cared for the regard thereof what became of ourselves, or what judgment might be taken in the world of our doings. And of one point you may well assure the Queen's Majesty your mistress, that in the prosecution of this matter we have always kept such moderation, that we have not gone nor shall any ways proceed further than justice and the necessity¹ of the cause shall lead us. Thus far only for discharge, leaving the answer of your demands to the coming of the rest."²

By the above answer I make no doubt but the readers will be ready enough to prognosticate what shall be the

¹ *Necessity* may be extended far enough, but the Queen of England did not *now*, nor for some time hereafter, see the necessity they lay under to act the shameful part which they did. This seems to be a very covered expression.

² [It is remarkable that in this elaborate defence, which abounds with falsehood, the Confederates never allude to the casket already mentioned by our Historian, containing Mary's alleged love-letters to Bothwell, and other documents. Lord Herries thus narrates the story of the casket—"Bothwell, the Queen's husband, at this time was in Dunbar"—his Lordship means immediately after he took farewell of the Queen on Carberry Hill—"from whence he sent a messenger to Sir James Balfour, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh—a man who was put in by the Queen and Bothwell after the marriage, whome you heard had revolted to the Confederat Lords before the Queen was taken—for a silver box, which was the Queen's, and that he had left for him to keep. The box he delyvered to the messenger, but underhand acquainted the Confederats of the busines. The box was intercepted. Within were papers which, the Confederates averred, contained clear instructions that the Queen was the author of her husband's murther by letters to Bothwell. But the Queen and her partie maintained the contrarie, and said that these were but counterfitted by the Confederat Lords, for in the box were all those letters and papers drawn betwixt Bothwell, Moray, and Mortoun, that discovered them to be the plotters; which letters Bothwell reserved for his own securitie, to keep them to be his friends. Bothwell seeing matters go thus, for, by (contrary to) his expectation the Queen was carried to Lochleven, and his box taken, wherein the letters that past betwixt Moray and him were intercepted, which he still reserved for his secret and surest protection, as was said, he lost couradge, and put himself to sea with some few of those that durst not stay in Scotland, where they say he turned piratt."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 95, 96.—E.]

upshot of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's negotiations with the rebels in favours of our Queen. But whatever apprehensions we may form thereof in our minds, we cannot pretend at this distance of time to have so just a notion and thorow knowledge of the different intentions and speculations of the men then upon the stage as this gentleman had by his personal conferences with them, and the just informations he gathered among them. And this excellent piece of intelligence is communicated to us in the following letters by that minister.

A Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen's Majesty of England, 19th July 1567.¹

“PLEASETH IT YOUR MAJESTY—Your letters of the 13th of July, dated at Richmond, I received the 19th of the same at Edinburgh, containing your Majesty's pleasure for my proceedings with the Queen of Scotland, to induce her by perswasions to accord unto your Majesty the possession of her son the young Prince. I would to God she were in case to be negotiated with. It appeareth none of my letters since my conference with the Lord Hume and Lord of Lidington at Fast-Castle—that is to say, of the 12th, 14th, 16th, and 18th, were come to your Majesty's hands at the writing of yours; for by them is manifested successively by degrees, that it is very unlike this Queen shall be in case to dispose of any thing regally, and every day I see more and more to move me to think that this people will leave her little authority to dispose of any thing whatsoever she could be perswaded to. The repair to this town doth begin to be great, and men which kept no place of counsellors, and yet of good regard, do boldly and overtly by their speech utter great rigour and extremity against their sovereign, saying—‘It shall not ly in the power of any *within* this Realm, neither *without*, to keep her from condign punishment for her notorious crimes.’ I know not whether the Lords and Counsellors do concur in affection with those which be no counsellors, and speak so boldly; I must needs confess, in all their conferences, either together or apart with me, they shew no such extremity. Notwithstanding by

¹ Calig. C. 1, an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

the best means that I can procure intelligence to decypher all their humours, and by mine own collections upon conferences with them, I find the matter likely to be brought to one of these four issues,¹ of which to chuse I see great variety among them. The *first* and best is—To restore their Queen and sovereign to her liberty and royal estate, with conditions and capitulations for their sureties, for the punishing the murder in all persons, for the preservation of the Prince, for an effectual divorce to pass between the Queen and Bothwell, and for the establishment of religion. Which degree and end-making I find the Lord of Lidington² only, amongst all the rest of Counsellors which be here, affected unto, who, as God knoweth, is fortified with a very slender company in this opinion.

“ The next and *second* degree is—That the Queen shall abandon this Realm, and remain either in France or in England, with assurance of the Prince where she remaineth to perform the conditions ensuing, that is to say—To resign all government and regal authority to the Prince her son, and to appoint, under his authority, a Council of the Nobility and others to govern the Realm, and she never to return thither again, nor to molest or impeach the authority of her son, nor the government in his name. To this opinion I find the Earl of Athole and his followers only inclined; albeit the Earl of Morton doth not seem to impugn it.

“ The *third* end and degree is—To prosecute justice against the Queen, to make her process, to condemn her, to crown the Prince, and to keep her in prison all the days of her life within this Realm. To this opinion there doth lean, as far as I can understand, both the most part of the Counsellors and a great many others.

“ The *last* and worst degree of all is—Not only to have the Queen’s process made, and her condemnation publick, but also the deprivation of her estate and life to ensue. A great number do prefer this before the other next going

¹ [See the extract from Camden’s Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 655, 656, of the present volume.—E.]

² For the satisfaction of the readers, and to make publick as many original papers as conveniently may be, I have put in the Appendix, Number XXI., a certain scheme of accommodation projected by this gentleman, bearing date 10th August 1567.

before, because they fear they shall want sure means to keep her alive in prison, doubting mutation amongst themselves, doubting also commiseration of your Majesty and other Princes, and likewise in process of time that her own people may have compassion.

“ I have insisted, by the best means I can, to have the *first* degree take place, assuring them, that for their own securities, performance of conditions and capitulations, your Majesty would give them good assurance, and cause to be performed effectually what shall be contracted.

“ I have said also—That I think the French King and the King of Spain will best allow of this end, and likewise all the Princes of Christendom. Notwithstanding I find perswasions will move them nothing; and as for the Counsellors, they shake their heads. And to tell your Majesty the truth, I see no manner of likelihood that any of the *two* first degrees will take place with these men. And because they do so much lean to the *two* last extremes, I have thus reasoned with some of the Council and some of the learned men.¹

“ It shall be convenient for them so to proceed, as that by their doings they do not wipe away the Queen’s infamy, the Lord Bothwell’s detestable murder, and by their outrageous and inordinate dealings bring all the slander upon themselves, bring the indignation of all the Princes of Christendom upon them, and cancel the ill speech that other folks were charged withall for doings past, with the turning the whole by their ill doings upon their own heads.

“ I said further—There was no ordinary magistrate, no competent judge nor judges, no sufficient assembly nor tribunal before whom their Queen and sovereign should have her process made and her cause adjudged; for there was no ordinary justice but they had their authority derived from the authority of the Queen, and it was to be thought she would not give commission against herself. And to abuse the Great Seal, to make any commission, to borrow her name without her consent and warrant, to make any process, and to abuse her title, was insufficient, and high treason. I was answered—In extraordinary enormities

¹ Of which sort, no doubt, Buchanan and Knox were principal leaders.

and monstrous doings there hath been and must be extraordinary proceedings.¹ It was said the States of the Realm and people assembled might in this case be competent judges, whereof they had in their own country sundry experiences in criminal offences committed by their Princes. And there was recited unto me sundry examples forth of their own histories, grounded, as they said, upon their own laws;² but I believe it was but practices.³ They said, if there were no law written for new offences, and for such persons as the good world past could not think would be so evil, and therefore provided no penal provision; they said, new offences did in all States occasion new laws and new punishments. All this as yet taketh little place, nor moveth them any thing at all to change their opinions.

“As yet by no means it will not be accorded unto that I shall have access to the Queen, neither hath Nicholas Elphinston, who was sent from my Lord of Moray, liberty to repair unto her.

“This day being at Mr Knox’s sermon, who took a piece of the Scripture forth of the Books of the Kings, and did inveigh vehemently against the Queen, and perswaded extremities towards her by application of his text. I did after the sermon move such of the Council as were present to perswade the Lords to advise the preachers not to intermeddle with the end of these matters, until they were resolved among themselves what they were minded to do; for otherwise the ministers going on so rigorously, as they did in

¹ The same kind of argumentation may be seen in Buchanan’s satyrical “Detection.”

² Defiance may be given to any man for producing one instance of this kind through any part of the Scottish history. If an instance be adduced during the reign of the kings preceding Fergus II. it must rest upon the adducer of such instances to answer, in the first place, the difficulties thrown in the way concerning those Kings by the author of the “Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland,” as likewise his “Observation” concerning the Act of Parliament 1491-2, in the case of King James III.—[The Work mentioned by our Historian is by the learned Thomas Innes, M.A. commonly called Father Innes, and was published at London, 4to. 1729.—E.]

³ A very just and necessary distinction. *Practice* is one thing, but *law* is quite different. No nation perhaps can free themselves from treasonable conspiracies, but no nation did ever enact a law for putting hands into the persons of their sovereigns. To infer *right* from *fact*, is a plain way to prove any thing whatsoever to be both right and wrong.

their daily preachings, might so draw the multitude from them and their resolutions, that though among themselves they would make choice of some reasonable end, yet they should not be able to bring it to pass, the people being once by the preachers' arguments and perswasions settled another way.¹

"It is fit that your Majesty know and be perswaded that the power to dispose of the Prince doth rest, and is like to rest, in these Lords' hands, so as the bargain that your Majesty is to make for him must be compassed by these men's favours and capitulations.

"And whereas your Majesty might perceive by some of my former advertisements, that the opinion of the Lord of Lidington² was, that I should in no means speak on your Majesty's behalf publickly, neither privately to any man but himself, of having the Prince into England, I do find he is of the same mind still, and yet he hath yesterday had some private conference thereof with the Earl of Athole, whom he hath found, as the L. of Lidington telleth me, better inclined to consent thereunto upon honourable conditions than he either looked for or did believe. This much the L. of Lidington said further unto me—That surely your Majesty had taken a very ill way to have these men at your devotion, specially because the Earl of Moray and others in their troubles, and since, had found cold relief and small favour at your Majesty's hands. And now to impair the case, your Majesty hath sent me hither specially to procure the Queen's liberty, which matter was most odious and dangerous to them which had dealt in this action, considering that the other things which your Majesty desired could not be performed if this went before, concluding that it was a device to entrap them, and to leave them to the mercy of the Queen and Bothwell.

"He said also—That your Majesty might consider how unable they were, without some aid of money, either to maintain their proceedings, to defend the Prince, to preserve themselves, and be in case to gratify your Majesty and your Realm with any thing; which they had declared both

¹ It is more than probable that a great many of this Queen's misfortunes took rise from that quarter.

² [Secretary Maitland.—E.]

by writing and message, and yet your Majesty would not give ear thereunto.

“ He said further, For the good will I bear the Queen and the Realm of England, I would I had been banished my country for seven years with small relief, on the condition the Queen your mistress had dealt liberally and friendly with these Lords ; for now they do conclude amongst themselves, that howsoever the case falleth out they shall find little support or favour at your Majesty’s hands more than fair words. And yet they think you are rather disposed to bestow them to their prejudice than to their advantage. I do assure you (said he) with the bestowing of ten or twelve thousand crowns, now at the beginning, her Majesty might have brought to pass those things which the French could not do with the spending of a hundred thousand crowns, nor peradventure will not be easily brought to pass hereafter by yourselves. And to the end your Majesty may see what course these people do take, and how they be bent, I have sent you herewith a dialogue made in metre, published and sent abroad into all parts, and registred as it were in every man’s heart, and uttered by every man’s mouth, reserving the Counsellors which speak with respect. This ballad was printed two days past, which I did omit of purpose to send by my last ; but now finding they be so universally published, even as it were to work a concurrence in all men’s minds, I have thought meet to send your Majesty one of them, that thereby your Majesty may perceive what end they tend unto.

“ I do find there is like to be somewhat ado about the satisfaction of the Hamiltons and their friends, both for the succession of this Crown, and the tutleship of the Prince, and governance of the Realm, about which matters the lawyers and Noblemen according to their partialities be divided. Some do hold opinion by law (and do desire to have it so) that the Earl of Lenox’s son living¹ shall inherit this Crown,

¹ [This was Charles, a younger and only surviving brother of Lord Darnley, who succeeded his father Matthew as fifth Earl of Lennox. He died at London in 1576, in the twenty-first year of his age, and was buried in Henry VII.’s Chapel in Westminster Abbey. This young Earl married in 1574 Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, sister of William first Earl of Devonshire, by whom he left an only daughter, Lady

if the young Prince die without issue, the said Crown being invested in the Prince, and in his real possession.

“ *Durus est hic sermo* to the Hamiltons, for they cannot suffer this by any means.¹

Arabella Stuart. The marriage was so offensive to Queen Elizabeth, on account of the descent of Lennox from Henry VII., that the Countesses of Lennox and Shrewsbury, the latter the lady's mother, were imprisoned for some time, and the Earl of Shrewsbury her step-father was in temporary disgrace. The double relationship of Lady Arabella Stuart to royalty was obnoxious both to Elizabeth and James VI., who dreaded any legitimate offspring by her. The former prevented her from marrying Esme Stuart Duke of Lennox, and afterwards placed her in durance for listening to matrimonial proposals from a son of the Earl of Northumberland; and the latter compelled her to reject several splendid offers. This harsh procedure induced her to renew an infantine friendship with Sir William Seymour, great-grandson of the Protector Duke of Somerset, who succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Hertford, and was advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Hertford in 1640. Their intimacy was discovered in 1609, while both were summoned to appear before the Privy Council, and were severely reprimanded. This produced the very result which King James was anxious to avert. Lady Arabella supposed that her reputation was injured by the inquiry, and she married Sir William Seymour, which was discovered in 1610. She was committed to close custody in the house of Sir William Parry at Lambeth, and her husband to the Tower. They both effected their escape in June 1611, and Sir William reached Flanders in safety, but Lady Arabella was taken in Calais Roads, and consigned to the Tower, in which she became insane, and died on the 27th of September 1615. Such was the unhappy fate of the last descendant of Matthew Stuart fourth Earl of Lennox, the niece of Lord Darnley, and first cousin of James VI. Sir William Seymour returned to England, took a most active part as a royalist in the Civil Wars, and on the 13th of September 1660 was restored to the Dukedom of Somerset, which had been attainted in the person of the Protector Somerset, who was beheaded by the agency of Dudley (Earl of Warwick) Duke of Northumberland. He married Lady Frances Devereux, eldest daughter of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, the ill-fated Earl of Essex, and from this alliance descend the subsequent Dukes of Somerset. As to Lady Arabella Stuart, it may be mentioned that one of the articles of the indictment against Sir Walter Raleigh, 17th November 1603, was that he met Lord Cobham on the 9th of June that year at Durham, and there consulted with him how to place her on the throne, to the prejudice of James VI. Whatever truth may be in this charge, Lady Arabella was completely innocent of any participation in such a project.—E.]

¹ [The “opinion” held “by law,” as Throgmorton expresses it, that the surviving son of Lennox should inherit the Crown if the infant Prince died without issue, was most absurd, and must have been that of a very few individuals. The Duke of Chatelherault, when Earl of Arran, had been publicly declared years before this to be the next heir to the Crown failing Mary and her issue.—E.]

“ Touching the tutor to the Prince and Governor of the Realm in his minority, this is taken to be the opinion of the best learned in the law, that this charge and prerogative doth duly appertain to the Earl of Lenox. The reason is this—He, the said Earl, is next *agnatus* to the Prince capable of such charge, because of the masculine line, which is preferred in these respects before the Duke of Chastelherault’s, which is *cognatus*, and excluded because of the intermarrying of two women whereof he is descended. These matters have been in deliberation one day among the Counsellors, and, as I learn, therewith they be greatly perplexed ; but I am much deceived, in case the Queen be either deprived or do miscarry, neither the Duke of Chastelherault nor the Earl of Lenox shall have either the governance of the Prince or of the Realm, but the same shall be committed to the persons named in my last advertisements.

“ Since the writing of the premisses, the Lords have accorded to Mr Nicholas Elphinston leave to repair to Lochleven to the Queen from my Lord of Morray, and to declare unto her his Commission.¹

¹ [In a previous letter dated the 15th of July, Throgmorton intimated to Cecil that the Confederates would not permit Nicolas Elphinstone, or “ Mr N. Elveston,” as he calls him, to have access to the Queen, though he was an accredited messenger of their friend the Earl of Moray, and was the bearer of letters to her. Moray was at this time far from embracing the interests of Morton and his associates, though he rejected all the splendid bribes of the French King to secure his influence, and despatched Elphinstone, who was one of his confidential servants, on a mission to Mary from France, to assure her of his devotion to her service. Elphinstone arrived in London a few days after Throgmorton had set out for Scotland, and was admitted to an interview with Elizabeth, which lasted for an hour, and had the effect of making her more favourable to Mary and hostile to the Confederates. After dismissing Moray’s messenger, Elizabeth summoned hastily a gentleman of the Court who was waiting in an ante-room, named Heneage, and sent him to Cecil to inform him that Moray had sent his servant to Scotland with letters to Mary which were not to be seen by the Confederates, and were to be delivered into the Queen’s own hands—that these letters expressed Moray’s attachment to the Queen, and offered his service—and that Elphinstone was charged to remonstrate with the Confederates for their audacious imprisonment of their sovereign. Elizabeth ordered Heneage to inform Cecil that he must write instantly to the Queen her “ sister ” in her name, for she could not do so herself, as she had not used Mary “ well and faithfully in these broken matters that be past,” and the purport of this letter to Mary was to be, that Moray had never defamed her

“ These Lords have sent unto me, since the writing of the premisses, by Robert Melvil, saying—That the L. of Lidington should have come unto me, had it not been that he is occupied about this great Assembly, to confer with the wisest and best chosen of them upon what heads they shall intreat. The said Robert Melvil said unto me, on behalf of the Lords, That your Majesty had sent them word by him, in the presence of some of your Council,¹

for the murder of Darnley, had never plotted for the secret removal of the infant Prince to England, had never joined with the Confederates to depose her, and that she had not a more faithful and honourable servant in Scotland. This was on the 8th of July, and up to this date, therefore, it appears from the letter of Heneage to Cecil, Moray was no party to the schemes of the Confederates, but on the contrary had declared against them—Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 157, 158, 159. Meanwhile Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle was accompanied by circumstances of great rigour. She was under the special charge of Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, Noblemen of coarse and fierce manners, and familiar with blood. No one was permitted to see her, and her correspondence was narrowly watched; nevertheless Mary contrived to write a number of letters in Lochleven Castle to her friends and other parties, in defiance of the strict *surveillance* of the proud and imperious “ Lady Lochleven,” who lost no opportunity of rendering the captivity of her royal prisoner as severe as possible.—E.]

¹ Mr Melvil was in England at the time of the Queen's misfortune, sent thither by her Majesty with instructions to notify her marriage with the Duke of Orkney, as has been observed already.—[During Melville's absence in England on this errand those calamities had befallen the Queen which are already narrated, and now that she was a prisoner, without any friendly intercourse, she looked most anxiously for his return, which was on the 29th of June. But Melville had become the envoy of her enemies. “ During his stay in England,” says Mr Tytler, “ he had acted as the secret agent of the Confederate Lords who had imprisoned her; he solicited money to support them in their enterprize; he received orders from them to supply himself out of this sum when it was advanced by Elizabeth; he was cautioned against declaring himself too openly, as something had come to the ears of the French ambassador; he proposed to the English Queen the project for Mary's ‘demitting the Crown’ in favour of her son, with which the Lords who had imprisoned her had made him acquainted; and on his arrival at Edinburgh his first meeting was neither with his sovereign nor the friends who had combined for her delivery, but with the Lords of the Secret Council. He assured them of the support of the English Queen in the ‘honourable enterprize’ in which they had engaged; he informed them that Elizabeth had agreed to Mary's resignation of the Crown, provided it came of her own consent; and he then, before visiting his mistress in her prison at Lochleven, addressed a letter to Cecil, which contains his own account of the negotiation.” This letter is dated at Edinburgh, 1st July, the day on which he proceeded to Lochleven, and a long extract of it is inserted by Mr Tytler

That I should have commission to aid them in their action with money, and also power to conclude with them in maintaining of such their proceedings as tended to the preservation of the Prince, to the punishment of the murderers, and for their own surety; wherewith your Majesty conjoined the liberty of the Queen.

“ I answered—Such Commission as your Majesty had given me I had uttered unto them the 15th of this month, whereunto as yet they had given me no answer, but had delayed me upon the repair of their associates. Robert Melvil said—‘ Such a sum of money as the Lords desired would have presently stand them in great stead, and should have done the Queen’s Majesty little harm; and sure I am in the end her Majesty should have received the best commodity.’ He farther said unto me—‘ I will speak to you as of myself. I would be sorry these Lords should be so much at any other prince’s devotion as at the Queen your sovereign’s; but I see they are determined to make very hard shifts rather than they will press her Majesty again for money, seeing that of herself she will not consider their case. It is,’ said he, ‘ a great charge unto them to live here in this town, to entertain so many men of war, both here and in other places, and to have so little means to defray the expences as they have.’ I answered unto him—‘ That I had proponed, amongst divers things, to know what pleasure and benefit reciprocally your Majesty might have at their hands for any charge you should bestow upon them, whereunto they had made me no answer?’ Robert Melvil said—‘ I will shew them what you say; but I think the L. of Lidington will come and confer with you this night.’

(History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 149–152). “ This letter,” continues Mr Tytler, “ sufficiently explains itself, and proves that Melville, although nominally the envoy of Mary, was now acting for the Confederates. It unveils also the real intentions of Elizabeth. It shows that her object in despatching her ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, was professedly to procure the Queen’s liberty, but really to encourage the Confederates, to attach them to her service, to obtain possession of the Prince if possible, to induce the captive Queen to resign the Crown; and to hold out to Moray, with whom she, Melville, and the Lords of the Secret Council were now in treaty, the hope of returning to his country, and becoming the chief person in the government.”—E.]

“ Now that your Majesty seeth the state of the world here, it may please you to give me direction with convenient speed how I may proceed in all things upon all events. Thus Almighty God preserve your Majesty in perfect health, increase of honour, and happy felicity. At Edinburgh the 19th of July 1567.¹

“ Your Majesty’s most humble, faithful,

“ obedient servant and subject,

“ N. THROCKMORTON.”

Another Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen of England, 25th July 1567.²

“ IT MAY PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY—The Earls of Glencairn and Mar, the Lords Sempil, Ochiltree, and the Master of Graham, accompanied with many gentlemen of the West of this Realm, to the number of two hundred horses, arrived in this town the 23d of this month; so did the Lord Lindsay also, being sent for by these Lords from Lochleven.

“ The same day all the Lords and others of best quality had conference together concerning their proceedings with the Queen their sovereign; and, as I can learn by assured intelligence, this was among them resolved, that the Lord Lindsay should this day, being the 24th, accompanied with

¹ [On the 20th, the day following the date of the above letter, Throckmorton wrote to the Earl of Bedford, the Lieutenant of the English Borders. He commences by assuring his Lordship that a recent disturbance on the Borders was unknown to the Confederates, but was committed by Ker of Fernihirst and his followers at the “solicitation of Bothwell and his friends.”—“And touching myselfe, and my being here,” says Throckmorton, “I must confess to your Lordship I never was in so busy and dangerous a legation in my lyfe, not knowing almost which way to turn one. The Lords have not yet given me audience, excusing the same by the absence of the Earles of Marre and Glencarne, the Lord Semple, and others of theyr band, saying they dare not take upon them the hearing and the answering of so weightie matters without the presence of the whole companye; but I take it rather to be used towards me for delaye than otherwayse, not being in any sort willing that I should speake with theyr Quene. I have been wrytten unto by the other syde, as namely, by the Hammiltons, the Earle of Argyle, the Master of Maxwell, and others, and I doe beare them all fayre in hande, to the ende I may the better be able to discover theyr meanings and designes, although I must tell you truly I lyke nothing of theyr doings.”—Wright’s Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 257, 258.—E.]

² Calig. C. 1, an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

Robert Melvil, repair to the Queen,¹ and have in charge to declare unto her, that the Lords here assembled, considering her former misbehaviours, as well in the government of the

¹ [Sir Robert Melville had visited Mary at Lochleven at least twice previous to this mission of the 25th of July. His first interview was on the 1st of July, and he delivered to her Elizabeth's letter, at which the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, and Douglas of Lochleven, insisted on being present. Mary in vain complained bitterly of this rigour, which precluded her from any private conversation with one who had acted in England as her accredited servant. Eight days afterwards Melville was again sent by the Confederates to Lochleven, and on this occasion he was permitted to see his royal mistress without any restraint. According to his own statement, he endeavoured in this interview to persuade Mary to renounce Bothwell, which she peremptorily refused to do, and this increased the public indignation against her. John Knox *thundered out*, says Throgmorton, *cannon-hot against her*, and it was currently reported and believed by Knox and some of the leading Confederates that she would be brought to a public trial. On or about the 18th of July, Melville was sent a third time to Lochleven, with instructions to make a last effort to induce Mary to renounce Bothwell, and he carried a letter to her from Throgmorton to the same purport; but he was again completely unsuccessful. Mary then believed herself to be pregnant, and she declared that she would rather die than make her child illegitimate by deserting her husband. She requested Melville to deliver a letter written by her to the Confederates, in which she implored them, on account of her health, to change the place of her captivity to Stirling, where she would have the comfort of seeing her son; adding, that she was willing to relinquish the government either to the Earl of Moray, or to a Council of the Nobility, and that if they would not obey her as their sovereign, they might at least recollect that she was the mother of their Prince and the daughter of their King. This interview was also strictly private, and one curious circumstance occurred. Mary, before Melville took his leave, produced a letter, and besought him to convey it to Bothwell. This he refused to do in the most decided manner, and she threw it with indignation into the fire.—Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 153, 162, 163. As Mary had offered to resign the government to the Earl of Moray in this third interview, it was resolved to take advantage of this proposition, and Lord Lindsay, who had left Lochleven to attend the General Assembly of the Kirk, now in strict coalition with the Confederates, was sent to the Queen with Melville, and carrying for her signature the three documents mentioned by Throgmorton, and subsequently inserted by our Historian in this Chapter. Before Lindsay was admitted, Melville saw the Queen again privately, and solemnly assured her that her refusal to sign the papers would endanger her life—that the Confederates, if she was obstinate, had resolved to bring her to a public trial—and that they were certain of obtaining a conviction, affirming that they had proofs of her accession to Darnley's murder in her own handwriting. Melville, however, intimated to the Queen that she ought to be the less scrupulous to sign the documents, as any deed extorted from her while in captivity, and in fear of her life, was invalid. Atholl, Throgmorton, and even Maitland of Lethington, sent messages to the same

Realm as in her own person, the particularities of both which misgovernments they would forbear to touch for respect they had to her honour, could not permit her any longer to put the Realm in peril by her disorders, which were such and so many as they could not think meet that she should any more stand charged with the governance of the Realm; and therefore they did require and advise her to accord quietly, and thereto to give her consent, that her son the Prince might be crowned their King and Sovereign, and also by her assignment that a Council might be appointed and established to govern the Realm in his name; and thus doing, they would endeavour themselves to save both her life and honour, both which otherwise stood in great danger.

“ And further, it was resolved, That in case this Queen would not be conformable to their motions, then her liberty should be restrained to more straitness, and the ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen, which be about her, to be sequestred from her. And as far as I can understand in this case of the Queen’s refusal to these their demands, they mind to proceed both with violence and force, as well for the coronation of the Prince, as for the overthrow of the Queen.

“ At this present the Countess of Moray, wife to the Earl of Moray, is with the Queen at Lochleven.

“ Your Majesty might, by my former dispatches, perceive how I had pressed these Lords to have access to the Queen, and likewise to have their answer to all such matters

effect.—Tytler, vol. vii. p. 165, 166. As Melville was a prominent actor in this transaction, the following delineation of him by Sir Walter Scott, in his description of the progress of him and Lindsay on this mission, is interesting:—“ The personage who rode with Lord Lindsay at the head of the party was an absolute contrast to him in manner, form, and features. His thin and silky hair was already white, though he seemed not above forty-five or fifty years old. His tone of voice was soft and insinuating: his form thin, spare, and bent by an habitual stoop; his pale cheek was expressive of shrewdness and intelligence; his eye was quick, though placid; and his whole demeanour mild and conciliatory. He rode an ambling nag, such as were used by ladies, clergymen, or others of peaceful professions; wore a riding habit of black velvet, with a cap and feather of the same hue, fastened by a gold medal; and for shew, and as a mark of rank rather than for use, carried a walking sword, as the short rapiers were called, without any other arms offensive or defensive.”—E.]

as on your Majesty's behalf I had propounded unto them. So have I again, since the repair of these other Lords to this town, moved to have audience.

"The Lord Lindsay departed this morning from this town to Lochleven, accompanied with Robert Melvil. He carrieth with him three Instruments to be signed by the Queen. The *one* containing her consent to have her son crowned, and to relinquish the government of the Realm.¹ The *other* is a Commission of Regency of the Realm to be granted to the Earl of Moray during the King's minority. The *third* is a like Commission to be granted to certain of the Nobility and others for the governance of the Realm during the King's minority, in case the Earl of Moray will not accept the Regency alone.²

¹ In the first resolve concerning the Queen, Crawford's MS. says, it was "decerned that she should remain in captivity during her life, and transport her authority to the young Prince, to the end that they might rule as they list without any controulment of lawful authority, which (anarchy) continued many years."

² Sir James Melvill, Mem. p. 85, says, that "after his brother Sir Robert had refused flatly to meddle in that matter, the Lords were minded to send the Lord Lindsay first to use fair perswasions; and in case he could not speed that way, they were resolved to enter in harder terms. The Earl of Athole, Mar, Secretary Maitland, and Grange, who loved her Majesty, advised my brother to tell her the verity, and how that any thing she did in prison could not prejudice her, being once again at liberty. He answered, he would give no such advice as coming from himself, but he should tell it as the opinion of those he knew to be her true friends. But she refused utterly to follow that advice, till she heard that the Lord Lindsay was at the new house at the shore, coming in, and in a very boasting manner; and then she yielded to the necessity of the time, and told my brother, that she would not strive with them, seeing it could do her no harm when she was at liberty: So at my Lord Lindsay's coming she subscribed the signature of renunciation and dimission of the Government." Bishop Leslie in his Negotiations narrates much the same things with Sir James, and adds—"The like advertisement was made to her by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador for the Queen of England, then resident at Edinburgh, by his letters by the same messenger (Robert Melvil) and conveyed in the scabbard of his sword, advising her to satisfy their desire, affirming the same would never hurt her, being done in prison and for fear of her life, which he would testify and avow to the Queen his mistress and all other Princes, in respect of the determination taken against her, to the which he was privy. And, therefore, she being moved with these causes of just fear, with many tears and weeping set her hand to all letters that were presented by the Lord Lindsay, never reading what was written or contained within them; and farther said at the same time, that whensoever God should put her to liberty she

“ The Earl of Argile hath an assembly of the principallest of his country at this present, to take advice of them for his behaviour in these actions. These Lords have sent a special messenger unto him, to require him either to repair to this town unto them, or to his house named Castle-Campbell in the Fife.¹ The Hamiltons, as I learn, be quiet, and seem to impugn nothing of these Lords’ doings. The Earl of Huntly in the North is quiet also. So as these men may go on with what pleases them.

“ In this Convention of the shires and churchcs, this hath been as yet proponed amongst them, To establish the religion by some effectual decree; to restore the ministers to the thirds, which the Queen did resume into her own hands; to abolish Papistry and mass-saying through the whole Realm without respect of persons; which article to put in use, they mind or it be long to proceed first against the Bishop of St Andrews, and then consequently against all other Bishops and men of his faction.

“ The Assembly² also hath made request that the murder

would not abide thereat, for it was done against her will.” The Archbishop Spottiswood mentions likewise a letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, declaring expressly that *no resignation made in the time of her captivity would be of force, but was null in law because done out of a just fear.* “ Which (this Prelate says) the Queen having considered with herself a while, without reading any one of the writs presented, she set her hand to the same, the tears running down in abundance from her eyes.” And Crawford’s MS. says—“ They went to establish a Prince of blood-royal, under the shadow of whose wings in minority they should convey all to their own purpose.—And to the effect, it should seem, to have the better success, and that the subjects of all degrees should make no obstacle of the contrary, they directed their message to their captive Princess, desiring her to allow of that their purpose; which she, being in that case, neither could nor durst refuse. For the messenger was commanded (in case she should refuse it) to denounce punishment and death unto her for the murder of her lawful husband King Henry. She therefore considering with herself that her refusal could profit nothing, deliberated to yield to their purpose, and subscribed her assent thereunto, not of any free will, but as I have said.” Mr Knox and some others take notice, that the Lord Ruthven went likewise to the Queen, in order to press her subscribing these writs: And it has been said, that both these Lords made use of most barbarous menaces to induce her Majesty to a compliance.

¹ It does not appear his Lordship obeyed either of these demands.—[Castle Campbell is not “ in the Fife,” but is in the parish of Dollar, county of Clackmannan, which extends west of Fife.—E.]

² The proceedings of this Assembly of the Kirk shall be narrated in

of the late King may be severely punished, according to the laws of God, according to the practices of their own Realm, and according to the laws which they call *jus gentium*, without respect of any person.

“ I do perceive, if these men cannot by fair means induce the Queen to their purpose, they mean to charge her with these three crimes, that is to say, *Tyranny*, for breach and violation of their laws and decrees of the Realm, as well that which they call *Common Laws* as their *Statute Laws*; and namely, the breach of those statutes which were enacted in her absence, and confirmed by Mons. de Randam and Mons. d'Osell in the French King her husband's name and hers.

Secondly, They mean to charge her with *Incontinency*, as well with the Earl Bothwell as with others, having (as they say) sufficient proof against her for this crime.¹

“ *Thirdly*, They mean to charge her with the *Murder* of her husband, whereof (they say) they have as apparent proof against her as may be, as well by the testimony of her own hand-writing, which they have recovered, as also by sufficient witnesses.

“ It may please your Majesty, upon my request made in the morning the 24th of this month to have conference with the Lords, the same day about four of the o'clock in the afternoon the Lord Graham, heir to the Earl of Montrose, the Lord Ruthven,² and the Lord of Lidington, came unto me from the Lords, and desired me to repair to the Tol-booth, where being assembled they desired to have conference with me.

“ Whereupon, accompanied with the foresaid Lords, I went thither. There I found the Lords (whose names I send your Majesty in a schedule) set about a long table, and round about them a great number of barons and gentlemen (whose names I do omit to make mention of), to the number of forty, bestowed upon seats. At my coming in they did

their proper place.—[See the “Fifteenth General Assembly” in Chap. VI. Book III., Vol. III. of the present edition.—E.]

¹ I do not remember that ever any charge was exhibited against her, except with the Earl of Bothwell.

² From this it is clear that the Lord Ruthven went not to the Queen at this time, when the instruments were presented to be signed by her.

all rise ; and after I had saluted and embraced such as I had not seen before we sat down. Then the Lord of Lidington and the Earl of Morton required me to declare unto that assembly such matters as I had to open on your Majesty's behalf unto them, and such as I had declared unto some of them at my last conference. Then I did deliver unto them all the points of your Majesty's instructions, which you gave me in charge to open unto the said Lords, pressing earnestly the enlargement of the Queen, and their permission to let me have access unto her.

“ I was answered by the Lord of Lidington, who (after secret conference had with the Earl of Morton at the board's end) said thus unto me—‘ My Lord Ambassador, to part of these matters which you have opened on your sovereign's behalf, the Lords have already three days past answered you ; and for the rest, the Lords do pray you to have patience, that they may consult upon them, most of this assembly not having heard till now what you had in charge to say unto them.’ Whereupon I retired myself, accompanied with the same Lords which brought me thither.

“ It may please your Majesty, betwixt ten and eleven in the night the Lord of Lidington came to my lodging, and declared unto me summarly on behalf of the Lords such matter as the writing herein closed doth contain, and after delivered me the said writing for the help (he said) of my memory. So as your Majesty may perceive, say I what I can, these men are determined to see an issue of their resolutions.¹ Thus Almighty God preserve your Majesty in health, honour, and all felicity. At Edinburgh the 25th of July 1567.

“ Your Majesty's most humble, faithful,

“ obedient servant and subject,

“ N. THROCKMORTON.”

The Paper here mentioned by Sir Nicholas to have been delivered to him by the Laird of Lethington, containing the answer of the Lords Associators to the Declaration made by him to them in name of the Queen of England, is this that followeth.

¹ [Throgmorton means that the Confederates were determined to follow out their own projects in defiance of all opposition.—E.]

*“ The Lords’ Second Answer to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton,
July 24th, 1567.¹*

“ WE understand by that brief Declaration it has pleased you to make unto us upon the Queen’s Majesty your maistress’s behalf, in general, of the heads whereupon you have commandment to confer with the Queen’s Highness our sovereign, that the sum of the whole consisteth in two points. The *First* is to lay out plainly before her the defaults of her marriage and other her doings, whereof your mistress has a misliking. Whilk head as it mon on force be grievous unto her, so the other, bearing with it a commiseration of her present trouble, and a special care to see the same redressed, will be to her, as the case now stands, comfortable. We are not so inhumane that we would wish her Majesty to lack comfort, yet does the present estate require that good consideration be had, how, after what sort, and by whom, she be comforted ; otherwise that office whilk shall be used for her commodity may hurt her and us all. We are about to give her Majesty good advice, and some are already in hand with it ; whereunto if she will give good ear, it shall be to the great commodity of herself, her son the Prince, and this haill Realm. Albeit we are fully assured that ye, being the Queen’s minister, and admitted to her presence, will do na office but that whilk is honourable for your maistress, and according to your charge shall appear unto you safe for us ; yet we have good cause, upon reasonable considerations worthy to be foreseen of us, to doubt that if she should suddenly receive any comfort at your hands, or conceive of your speech anything tending to that end, by construing the least of your words to her advantage, whilk otherwise we have good hope she wald altogether follow ; whereby, contrary to the Queen your maistress’s desire, ye should do her Hienes harm,² prejudice to our cause, and

¹ Calig. C. 1, a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

² These are *kindly* people. They look much to the advantage of their sovereign ; but the great misfortune is, all their care of her is to keep her destitute of all help, and to force her into a compliance with their impositions. The world will be now able to judge of the sincerity of these men’s declarations at and after the time they first began to take up arms. If we could *then* have given credit to them, it was only Bothwell

bring no part of that to pass wherefore we understand you chiefly to be sent. And therefore we mon pray you not only yourself to take in patience, but also desire the Queen your maistress to bear with us the delay of a short time, whilk mon be spent in treating with her Majesty, to see if by good advices we may bring her to some conformity, whereunto we trust God shall incline her heart. And if the same may take good success (as we hope), it shall be safest for her Highness and us all, and we doubt not best content the Queen your maistress.”¹

As it is very much to be hoped that my readers have not taken in bad part the preceding circumstantiated accounts of the English Ambassador’s negotiation and behaviour hitherto with the Lords Associators, so may I presume that they will receive with no less satisfaction the following letter by the Queen of England to her said ambassador.

“ *Queen’s Majesty’s Letter to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton in Scotland, 27th July 1567.*²

“ TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well: Be your letters of the 21st of this month we have at good length perceived what answer you have at length received in writing at the hands of the Lord of Lidington from such of the Lords as be there assembled at Edinburgh; by which well considered, we are very sorry to see the matters growing into such extremity, as we cannot well bear without plain reprehension of that which we find therein amiss. And, therefore, our further pleasure is, you shall continue in prosecution of your first charge, to procure the liberty of the Queen, and to have licence to speak with her, to the intent

they sought after, and to deliver her Majesty from his thralldom. Alas that men should have so little ingenuity!

¹ The following list, I suppose, is made of those that gave in this answer, or whom Throckmorton found met in the Tolbooth. See his foregoing letter. Barons of the Parliament—“the Earl of Athol, Earl of Morton, Earl of Glencairn, Earl of Marre, Master of Montrose, called Lord Graham, heir to the Earl of Montrose; Lord Hume, Lord Ruthven, Lord Creighton of Sanquhar, Lord Sempill, Lord Enermeith, Lord Ochiltree, L. Craigmillar, Provost of Edinburgh; the Commendator of Driburgh, the Commendator of Cambuskenneth, Mr James Mackgill.” This list is also taken from the Cotton Library.—[British Museum.—E.]

² Calig. C. I, a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

she may understand how much we mislike her doings, and thereby to induce her for to accord to that which shall be most to the safety of her honour and quietness of her Realm, for so we have from the beginning (as you know) resolved to proceed honourably betwixt her and her people. And now considering these Lords have so long delayed you from answer, and the same being given containeth nothing but colourable defences of their own doings, and that they have not licensed you to deal with the Queen, we are moved to mislike their whole actions. And so we will have you declare it unto them in this manner following :

“ *First*, Howsoever good words and thanks they give us in their writings, we do not think ourselves well used, in that they have so long delayed to give you answer, being sent thither, as our ambassador, to be a mediator betwixt the Queen their sovereign and them, as well for their weal as hers ; and to procure reasonable means for the punishment of the murder, and preservation of their Prince, as any of them can in good order and duty require. And we take it for no reasonable excuse that the absence of some who for smaller causes might resort, and usually do resort, to that place, you have been hitherto deferred, and yet is delayed to resort to the Queen : A matter, you may say in our name, that breedeth in us some suspicion¹ in their actions ; for otherwise they need to stay your repair unto her, considering that you have plainly affirmed unto them that our intention is to allow and assist the prosecution of the murder, and preservation of the Prince, which be the two principal foundations (as they profess and publish) of their whole actions.² Wherefore you shall requirè them, as they will regard their duties to God, and their estimations to the world, that they be better advised how to proceed any further in this sort as they seem to continue. For you shall plainly declare unto them, that if they shall determine any thing to the deprivation of the Queen their sovereign lady of her royal estate, we are well assured of our own determination, and we have some just and probable cause to think the like of other Princes of Christendom, that we will

¹ The suspicion was indeed very flagrant in every step of their conduct.

² But *profession* is one thing and *practice* another, whereof the wise Queen of England could not be ignorant.

make ourselves a plain party against them, to the revenge of their sovereign, for example to all posterity.¹ And therein we doubt not but God will assist us, and confound them and their devices, considering they have no warrant nor authority by the law of God or man to be as superiors, judges, or vindicators over their prince and sovereign, howsoever they do gather or conceive matter of disorder against her. And therein we require them to appeal to their own consciences, what warrant they have in Scripture, being subjects, to depose their Prince; but contrary, and that with express words in St Paul, who to the Romans commanded them to obey *potestatibus supereminentioribus gladium gestantibus*,² although it is well known that rulers in Rome were then infidels. Or what law they find written in any monarchy Christian, how and what sort subjects shall take and arrest the person of their Princes, commit and detain them in captivity, proceed against them by process and judgment, as we are well assured no such order is to be found in the whole Civil Law. And if they have no warrant by Scripture or law, and yet can find out for their purpose some examples, as we hear be seditious ballads they put in print they would pretend, we must justly account those examples to be unlawful, and acts of rebellion; and so if the stories be well weighed the success will prove them.³ You shall say, that this may suffice to such as do pretend to be carried in their actions by authority either of religion or of justice; and as to others that for particular respect look only to their own surety, it were well done, before they proceeded any further, they did well consider how to stay where they be, and to devise how to make surety of their doings already past, than to increase their peril by more dangerous doings to follow. And yet generally we do yield unto them, that for things already past which cannot be revoked, we will be the means to appease all controversies, and doubt not but,

¹ Perhaps the Associators might have had some inkling of the English Queen's determination, and that has made them so desirous of obtaining what they called a *voluntary* demission from their own sovereign.

² i. e. Obey sovereign and superior powers that bear the sword.

³ The Queen of England speaks here both like a wise woman and great Princess. The stories they pretended for examples were certainly nothing else but acts of rebellion, for which these, nor no other men, could ever produce any law whatsoever.

if they will give you access to her, to induce her to accord hereto. In this sort our meaning is you should answer them, and by the way, for satisfying their objections which be amplified in their answer, you may assure them we so detest and abhor the murder committed upon our cousin their King, and mislike as much as any of them the marriage of the Queen our sister with Bothwell. But herein we dissent from them, that we think it not lawful nor tolerable for them, being by God's ordinance subjects, to call her, who also by God's ordinance is their superior and Prince, to answer to their accusations by way of force ; for we do not think it consonant in nature the head should be subject to the foot. And because we have found by some of your letters heretofore, that some of these Lords that now concur in these actions do note us to have been somewhat cold in our amity towards them in their distress, amongst which we note the Earl of Morton one, and that some others of them pretend that our favours heretofore shewed were for particular respects of our own, or at least did concern them, we think it good that, as ye see time and occasion, both the one and the other may be herein answered. *First*, the Earl of Morton had refuge in our Realm when we might have delivered him to death, as his father also and uncle had before, with no small favour at our father's hands, and he himself was restored to his pardon for gratifying us, upon instance made by our order at the Earl of Bedford's being with the Queen. And as to others which pretend to have had no interest in our former favours, for delivering of that Realm from the tyranny of the French, you may well answer them that the fruit of our charges therein shewed, we think they do find and have found unto this day to concern them as much as others which did then sollicite us. And because we see a general course taken in debating with you, that this our manner of seeking the Queen's liberty, and our not aiding of them at this present with money whilst she is in captivity, is likely to draw them to link themselves after their old manner with France, you shall say, we doubt not but if they do consider of things heretofore past which have followed upon their partial Band, they themselves for their country shall have as great cause to mislike thereof as we for ours: And yet

if it were otherwise for us to think thereof, we cannot, nor will, for respect of our particular profit at this time, be induced to consent to that which we cannot in conscience like or allow; but shall remit the consequence thereof (as we have done many such like things touching our estate) to the good will and favour of Almighty God, at whose hands we have found no lack in the doing or omitting of any thing whereunto our conscience hath induced us.

“*Lastly*, For answer to your letter, requiring to know our pleasure what you shall do if you be required to be present at the coronation of the Prince.¹ We think, knowing our mind in all this action as you do, that you will not by any such act affirm their doings; and, for your better satisfaction, we do prohibite you to assent thereto by any means.”

By Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's preceding letter of the 25th July, we come to know that the Lord Lindsay had gone to Lochleven, and carried along with him *three* Instruments, already drawn up by the associated rebels, in order to procure the Queen's assent and subscription. And now, before we proceed farther in that gentleman's negotiation, the thread of our History and the series of affairs will require that these several Instruments be laid before the readers, together with such other things as have a natural and necessary dependence on that great occurrence: They were as follow:—

“MARIE, BE THE GRACE OF GOD QUENE OF SCOTTIS—To all and sundrie our jugeis and ministeris of law, liegis and subjectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais knowlege thir our letteris sall cum, greting: FORSAMEKLE as be lang, irksum, and tedious travell takin be us in the governement of this our Realme and liegis thair of, we ar sa vexit and weryit that our body, spirite, and sencis, ar altogidder becum unhabill langer to travell in that rowme; and thairfore we have dimittit and renuncit the office of governement of this our Realme, and liegis thair of, in favouris of our onlie maist deir sone, native

¹ By this it is apparent the Associators had talked to the English minister concerning the setting up the Prince for King as a thing they intended to perform.

Prince of this our Realme. And because of his tender zouth, and inhabilitie to use the said gouvernement in his awin persoun during his minoritie, we have constitute our derrest brother James Erle of Morray, Lord Abernethie, &c. Regent to our said sone, Realme, and liegis foirsaidis. And in respect that our said derrest brother is actuallie furth of our Realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of Regentrie upon him, and use and exercee the samin during our saidis derrest sonis minoritie, We quhill (until) his returning within our Realme, or in cais of his deceis, have maid, constitute, namit, appointit, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordanis our traist cousingis and counsallouris, James Duke of Chattellerault, Erle of Arrane, Lord Hammiltoun; Matho Erle of Levinax, Lord Dernley, &c.; Archibald Erle of Argyle, Lord Campbell and Lorne, &c.; Johne Erle of Athole; James Erle of Mortoun; Alexander Erle of Glencarne; and John Erle of Mar,¹ Regentis to our said derrest sone, Realme and liegis. And in cais our said brother James Erle of Morray cum within our Realme, and refusis to accept the said office of Regentrie upon his singulare persoun; we mak, constitute, name, appoint, and ordeine our traist cousingis and counsallouris foirsaidis, and our said brother, Regentis of our said deir sone, Realme, and liegis. Gevand, grantand, and committand to thame, or ony fyve of thame, conjunctlie, full powar for our said sone, and in his name to ressave resignatiounis of landis, mak dispositiounis of wairdis, nonentressis, relevis, marriageis, beneficeis, eshetis, officis, and utheris casualiteis and privilegeis quhatsumever concerning the said office, signatouris their-upoun to mak, subscribe, and cause be past throuch the Seillis. And to use and exercise the said office of Regentrie in all thingis, privilegeis, and commoditeis, sielyke as frelie and with als greit libertie as ony Regent or Governour to us, or our predecessouris, usit the samin in ony times bygane; promittand to hald firm and stabill, in the word and faith of ane Prince, to quhatsumever thingis our saidis traist cousingis dois in the premissis. Chargeing heirfore zow all and sundrie our jugeis and ministeris of law, liegis and

¹ [See also "Historie of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots," by Lord Herries, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 97.—E.]

subjectis foirsaidis, to answer and obey to our saidis traist cousingis, Regentis foirsaidis, in all and sindrie thingis concerning the said office of Regentrie, during our said derrest sonis minoritie, and ay and quhil he be of the age of seven-tene zeiris compleit. As ze and ilk ane of zow will declair zow luifing subjectis to our said maist deir sone, zour native Prince, and under all paine, charge, and offence, that ze and ilk ane of zow may commit, and intrin aganis his Majestie in that pairt. Subscribit with our hand, and gevin under our Previe-Seill, at Lochlevin the xxiv. day of Julij, and of our Regne the twentie-fyve zeir.

“ MARIE, BE THE GRACE OF GOD QUENE OF SCOTTIS—To all and sindrie our jugeis and ministeris of law, liegis and subjectis, quhome it effeiris, to quhais knowlege thir our letteris sall cum, greting: FORSAMEKLE as sen our arrivall and returning within our Realme we willing the commoun commoditie, welth, profite, and quyetnes thair of, liegis and subjectis of the samin, have employit our body, spirite, haill seneis and foreis, to governe the same, in sic sort that our royall and honorabill estate mycht stand and continew with us and our posteritie, and our luifing and kynde liegis mycht enjoy the quyetnes of trew subjectis. In travelling quhairin, not onlie is our body, spirite, and seneis sa vexit, brokin, and unquyetit, that langer we ar not of habilitie be ony meane to indure sa greit and intolerabill panis and travellis, quhairwith we ar altogidder weryit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis, be sindrie occasiounis, in the mein tyme hes ensewit thairin, to our greit greif. And seing it hes bene the plesour of the eternall God, of his kyndlie lufe, mercie, and gudnes, to grant unto us, of our awin persoun, ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be veseit, will, and of rycht and of equitie man and aucht to succed to us and to the gouvernement of our Realme; and knowing that all creaturis ar subject to that immutabill decreit of the Eternall, anis to rander and gif up this lyfe temporall, the hour and tyme quhairof is maist uncertane, and in cais be deceis we be takin fra this lyfe, during the tyme of his minoritie, it may be dowtit greitlie that resistance and troubill may be maid to our said sone, now native Prince of this our Realme, in his tender zeiris, being swa

destitute of us, to succeed to that rowme and kingdome quhilk maist justlie of all lawis appertenis to him : quhilk inconvenient, be Godis help and gude providence, we mene to prevent in sic maner, that it sall not ly in the power of ony unnaturall subjectis to resist Godis ordinance in that behalf. And understanding that nathing eirdlie¹ is mair joyous and happy to us nor² to se our said derrest sone, in our awin lyfetye, peeciablie placit in that rowme and honorabill estate quhairto he justlie aucht and man succeed to, we, of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our said onlie sone, have renuncit and dimittit, and be thir our letteris, frelie, of our awin motive will, renuncit and dimittis the governement, gyding, and governing, of this oure Realme of Scotland, liegis and subjectis thairof, and all intromissioun and dispositioun of ony casualiteis, propertie, benefices, offices, and all thingis appertening, or heirtfoir is knawin, or heirefter sall happin to appertene thairto, in favouris of our said derrest sone, to that effect, that he may be plantit, placit, and possessit thairin, use and exerce all thingis belangand thairto, as native King and Prince of the samin, and sielyke as we or ony our predecessouris, Kingis of Scottis, hes done in ony tymes bypast. Attoure, that this our Dimissioun may tak the mair solempne effect, and that nane pretend ignorance thairof, we have gevin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris gevis, grantis, and committis our commissioun, full, frie, and plane power, generall and speciall command, to our traist cousingis, Patrik Lord Lindesay of the Byris and Williame Lord Ruthven, and to ilk ane of thame conjunctlie and severallie, to compeir before sa mony of the Nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and uthir pepill of our Realme, as sall happin to be assemblit to that effect in our burgh of Striviling, or ony uther place or placis quhair it salbe thocht maist convenient, at ony day or days, and thair publictlie in thair presence, for us, in our name, and upoun our behalf, dimit and renounce the governement, gyding and reuling of this our Realme, liegis, and subjectis thairof, all intromissioun with the propertie, casualtie, or utheris thingis appertening to us thairby, and all rycht and tytle that we had, hes, or may have, be ony

¹ Earthly.² Than.

maner of way thairto, in favouris of our said sone, to that effect that he may be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the Crowne-Royall deliverit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we or our predecessouris hes bene in tymes bypast. And in lykewise be thir presentis, gevis, grantis, and committis our full, frie, and plane power to our ryeht traist cousingis, James Erle of Mortoun, Lord of Dalkeith, Johne Erle of Athole, &c., Johne Erle of Mar, &c., Alexander Erle of Glencarne, Williame Erle of Menteith, Johne Maister of Grahame, Alexander Lord Hume, Adam Bischop of Orknay,¹ the Provestis of Dundie, Montrois, or ony of thame, to ressave the said Renunciatioun and Dimissioun in favouris of our said sone; and thairefter the ressaving thairof, to plant, place, and inaugurat him in the kingdome, and with all ceremonies requysit to put the crowne-royall upon his heid, in signe and takin of the establesing of him thairin, and in his name to mak and gif to the saidis Nobilitie; clergy, burgessis, and utheris our liegis, his princely and kingly aith, detfully and lauchfully as effeiris; and to ressave thair aithis for dew and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all tymes cuming, as becumis subjectis to thair native King and Prince. And generally all and sindrie uther thingis to do, exerce and use, that for sure performance and accomplishment heirof, may or can be done, firme and stable haldand, and for to hald all and quhatsumever thingis in our name, in the premissis leidis to be done in the word and faithful promise of ane Prince. And ordanis thir our letteris, gif neid beis, to be publist at all places neidfull. Subscrivit with our hand, and gevin under our Previe-Seill at Lochlevin, the xxiv. day of Julij, and of our Regne the twentie-fyve zeir, 1567.

“ MARIE, BE THE GRACE OF GOD QUENE OF SCOTTIS—To all and sundrie our jugeis and ministeris of our lawis, liegis, and subjectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais knowledge thir our letteris sall cum, greting: FORSAMEKILL as efter lang, greit, and intolerabill painis and labouris takin be us sen our arrivall within our Realme for governement thairof, and

¹ [The very man who had married Mary to his titled namesake Bothwell. Well might the unfortunate Queen view such perfidy with indignation. The Bishop of Orkney was undeniably one of the most unprincipled men of his time.—E.]

keeping of the liegis of the samin in quyetnes, we have not onelie bene vexit in our spirit, body, and sencis thairby, but als at lenth ar altogidder sa vexit thairof, that our habilitie and strenth of body is not habill langer to indure the samin. Thairfoir, and because nathing eirdlie can be mair confortabill and happy to us in this eird nor in our lyfetye to se our deir sone the native Prince of this our Realme placit in the kingdome thairof, and the crowne-royall set on his heid, we of our awin fre will and speciall motive have dimittit and renuncit the governement, gyding, and governing of this our Realme of Scotland, liegis and subjectis thairof, in favouris of our saidis sone, to that effect, that in all tymes heirefter he may peciablíe and quyetlie enjoy the samin without troubill, and be obeyit as native King and Prince of the samin be the liegis thairof. And understanding that be ressoun of his tender zouth he is not of habilitie in his awin persoun to administrate in his kinglie rowme and governement, as equitye requyris, quhil that heirefter he cum to the zeiris of discretioun ; and als knowing the proximitie of blude standand betuix us, our said sone, and our derrest brother James Erle of Morray, Lord Abirnethie, &c. ; and havand experience of the naturall affectioun and tenderly lufe he hes in all tymes borne, and presentlie beiris towardis us, honour and estate of our said sone, of quhais lufe and favour towardis him we cannot bot assure ourself ; to quhom na greter honour, joy, nor felicitie in eird can cum nor to se our said sone inaugurat in his kingdome, feirrit, reverencit, and obeyit be his liegis thairof : In respect quhairof, and of the certanetie and notoritie of the honestie, habilitie, qualificatioun, and sufficiencie of our said derrest brother to have the cure and regiment of our said sone, Realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during our said sonis minoritie, We have maid, namit, appointit, constitute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris, namis, appointis, makis, constitutis, and ordanis our said derrest brother James Erle of Morray, Regent to our said derrest sone, Realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during his minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of sevintene zeiris compleit ; and that our saide brother be callit during the said space Regent to our said sone, his Realme and liegis. Swathat our said sone efter the completing of the zeiris foirsaidis, in his awin persoun may tak upon

him the said gouvernement, and use and exerce all and sindrie privilegis, honouris, and utheris immuniteis that appertenis to the office of ane King, alsweill in governing his Realme and pepill according to the lawis, as in repressing the violence of sic as wald invaid, or injustlie resist him or thame, or his authoritie royall: With power to our said derrest brother, James Erle of Morray, in name, authoritie, and behalf of our said maist deir sone, to ressave resignatiounis of quhatsumever landis haldin of him, or zit of officis, castellis, towris, fortalices, mylnis, fischingis, woddis, benefices, or pertinentis quhatsumever, the samin againe in our said sonis name to gif and deliver signaturis thairupon, and upon the giftis of wairdis, nonentressis, and relevis of landis, and marriageis of airis falland, or that sall happin to fall, in our said sonis handis as superiour thair of. And als upon presentatioun of landis, benefices, eschetis of gudis movabil and unmovabil, dettis and takkis, respittis, remissiounis, supersedereis, and upon the dispositioun of offices vacand, or quhen they sall happen to vaik, to subserive, and cause be past the Seillis. The said office of Regentrie to use and exerce in all thingis, privilegis, and commoditeis, sielyke as frelie, and with als greit libertie as ony Regent or governour to use, or our predecessouris usit in ony tymes bygane, and sielyke as gif everie heid, privilege, and article concerning the said office wer at lenth expressit and amplifyit in thir our letteris, promissand to hald firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane Prince, to quhatsumever thingis our said derrest brother in the premissis happinis to do. Chargeing heirfoir zow all and sindrie our jugeis and ministeris of law, liegis, and subjectis foirsaidis, to answer and obey to our said derrest brother, in all and sindrie thingis concerning the said office of Regentrie, as ze and ilk ane of zow will declair zow luifing subjectis to our said maist deir sone, and under all paine, charge, and offence, that ze, and ilk ane of zow may commit and intrin aganis his Majestie in that pairt. Subscrivit with our hand, and gevin under our Previe-Seill at Lochlevin the xxiv. day of Julij, and of our regne the twentie-fyfe zeir.”¹

The foregoing *three* Instruments having been all signed

¹ Black Acts of Parliament, and R. M.—[Robert Miln.—E.]

by the Queen on the 24th of July,¹ the very next day the Lord Lindsay returned with them to Edinburgh, where meeting with the other Associators, he notified to them the success of his errand,² and thereupon we find the following record of Privy Council, viz.

“ *Apud Edinburgh, 25 Julij, Anno Dom. 1567.*

“ *SEDERUNT Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Joannes Comes de*

¹ [The abdication of Queen Mary was altogether compulsory, and was extorted from her in the most savage manner by the ferocious Lord Lindsay, who had committed murder in her presence. She never read the “three Instruments.” When laid before her to be signed, the Queen became so alarmed at the stern demeanour and the insolent conduct of Lord Lindsay, that with tears in her eyes, and a trembling hand, she adhibited her signature to the documents. “At length, terrified and overcome with fear,” says Lord Herries, “they extort her hand to a Renunciation of the Crowne in her son’s name, with a Procutorie and Commission to crown him ; unto all which she put her hand without ever reading the thing, or hearing it read.”—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, p. 97.—E.]

² [Our Historian seems not to have been aware of a very important circumstance which illustrates Lord Lindsay’s daring character. It was necessary that the three documents signed by the Queen should pass the Privy Seal, and a new outrage was committed to obtain this indispensable ratification of the deeds. The Deputy Keeper was Thomas Sinclair, who held the situation from 1555 to 1574. Lord Lindsay appeared among the Confederates on the 25th of July, the day after he had been at Lochleven, and desired Thomas Sinclair to adhibit the Privy Seal to the three documents. Sinclair replied, that “so long as the Queen’s Majesty is in ward he would ‘seall na sic lettres that are extraordinare.’” This enraged Lindsay, who attacked his house, forcibly took the Privy Seal out of his hands, and by threats and violence compelled Sinclair to “seill the same, quhilk the saide Thomas protestit was againis his will *vi majori*, to the quhilk he culd not resist ; and the saide Lord tuke instrumentis that he offerit to him the lettre for his warrand.”—See “Facts relative to the Abdication of Queen Mary,” communicated by John Riddell, Esq. Advocate, in *BLACKWOOD’S MAGAZINE* for October 1817, vol. ii. p. 31, 32. “We are thus,” observes Mr Riddell, “furnished with a contemporary copy of a missing document—the warrant of Mary for her own abdication. The Privy Seal, then, *de facto* was not appended to the three documents till late on the 25th of July. A curious instance is afforded of the resolute manner in which Lindsay, styled by Robertson the ‘zealot’ of his party, hurried on the accomplishment of their measures at a crisis of considerable difficulty ; and additional proof of the hazard, and perhaps unpopularity of the enterprize, may be discoverable in this act of a public officer, who might not be altogether uninfluenced by the national feelings of the moment, asserted to have undergone a change favourable to the interests of the Queen.” On the evening of the 25th the Queen’s abdication and appointment of a Regency were proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh.—E.]

Athole, Alexander Dominus Hume, Eduardus Dominus Sanquhair, Willielmus Dominus Ruthven.

“ Presenting of the Quenis Majestie’s Commissionis.

“ THE quhilk day, in presens of the Lordis of Secreit Counsale, and utheris of the Nobilitie, Prelattis, Baronnis, and Commissionaris of Burrowis, convenit within the Tolbuyth of Edinburgh, comperit Patrick Lord Lyndesay of the Byris, and presentit this Commissioun under-writtin subscrivit be the Quenis Majestie, our Soverane Ladie, and under her Prievie-Seill, desyrand the same to be opinlie red ; of the quhilk the tenour followis—MARIE, BE THE GRACE OF GOD,” &c.—as in p. 708, which contains the Queen’s demission of the Government in favour of the Prince her son, for no other paper was read at this time. Then follows in the Record—“ Quhilkis being opinlie red, the saidis Lordis of Secreit-Counsale, and utheris of the Nobilitie, Prelatis, Baronnis, and Commissionaris of Burrowis, convenit as said is, glaidlie aggreit thairto, allowit and apprevit the samyn ; and in verificatioun and testificatioun thairof, subscryvit the obligatioun following—

“ SECOND BAND.¹—We quhilkis hes subscryvit this under-

¹ It is so stiled in the Register of Privy-Council, and though the date in the end be left blank, yet it has probably been made on the 25th of July, as appears here by the time of presenting the Queen’s Commission, as likewise by another paper, entitled “ Articles of the Kirk,” immediately following this Bond in the Register, of the date the 25th July also. Bishop Burnet in his 3d vol. of the Reformation, and Mr Anderson in his Collections, vol. 2, have both given copies of this Band from an original in the Library of Glasgow, to which are adjected a great many subscriptions. The copies of the Bond are indeed word for word the same with that in the Register, but the subscriptions in the Bishop’s copy come far short of Mr Anderson’s ; neither are they in the same order, so far as they proceed together. Mr Anderson observes that the subscribers began to sign upon the 25th of July 1567, and continued to sign as they came in till the December following that the Parliament met ; and he likewise observes in his General Preface, that “ most of the persons subscribers of this Bond, and of those who were present at the Parliament in December 1567, are the same with these who attended the Parliament or Convention in August 1560.” If it was so, it follows that faction had gained but few proselytes in these seven years bygone. But though the Register of Privy-Council mentions that the Queen’s demission was read in presence of the Lords of Secret-Council, and others of the Nobility, Prelates, Barons, and Commissioners of Burrows, who did all gladly agree thereunto, yet we may justly suspect that few, if any at all, have been present

writtin Band, understanding that the Quenis Majestie willing nathing mair eyrnistlie nor that in hir lyfetye her maist deir sone, our native Prince, be placeit and inaugurat in the kyngdome of this his native countrie and Realme, and be obeyit as King be us and utheris his subjectis : And being weryit of the greit panis and travillis taken be hir in her governament thairof, hes be hir letteris dimittit and renuneit, and geuin power thairby to demitt and renunce the said governament of this Realme, liegis and subjectis thairof, in favouris of hir said sone, our native Prince, to the effect he may be inaugurat thairin, the crowne-royall put upon his heid, and be obeyit in all thingis as King and native Prince thairof, as hir Hienes' letteris past thairupoun beris. Thairfoir, and becaus it is ane of the maist happy thingis that can cum to ony pepill or cuntre, to be governit and rewlit be thair awin native King, we and ilk ane of ws quhilkis hes subscrivit thir presentis, be the tenour heiroyf, promittis, bindis, and oblissis ws faithfullie to conveyn and assemblill our selfis at the burgh of Striviling, or ony uthir place to be appointit to the effect foirsaid, and thair concurr, assist and fortifie our said native King and Prince, to the establissing, planting and placing of him in his kingdome, and putting the crowne-royall thairof upoun his heid. And in the feir of our God, being instructit and techeit be His and all uthir lawis, sall gif our ayth of fidelitie for homage and obedience to be maid detfull be ws to him during his Grace's lyfetye, as it becumis faithfull Christianis and trew subjectis to do to thair native King and Prince. And fardir, that we sall with all our strenth and forceis promote, concurr, fortifye, and assist to the promotioun and establissing of him in his kingdome and governament, as becumis faithfull and trew subjectis to do to thair Prince, and to resist all sic as wald oppone thame thairin, or mak ony troubill or

that day in Council besides the five Lords marked in the *Sederunt* ; and this, because the Register affirms that all these present did in verification of their approbation of her Majesty's demission subscribe the following Bond, and yet we are told that the subscriptions to this Bond were purchased up and down the kingdom from this date until the month of December next. The whole truth, then, of this record has been, that the few Lords who sate in Council this 25th of July have approved the Queen's demission, and drawn up this Bond with intention to procure subscribers afterwards to it by all their means and industry.

impediment to him thairin; and sall do¹ all uthir thingis that becomis faithfull and Christiane subjectis to do to thair native King and Prince. In witness of the quhilk thing, we haif subseriyvit² thir presentis with our handis at Edinburt the day of the zeir of God ane thousand fyve hunder threscoir sevin zeris.”—R. M.

Matters being thus far prepared, the Associators resolved immediately to proceed to the coronation of the infant King, which solemnity they appointed to be on Tuesday the 29th of the same month of July at Stirling. But forasmuch as several Noblemen were met together at Hamilton, who were, not without ground, deemed to favour the sequestered Queen, the Lords Associators proposed to send Sir James Melvill to acquaint them with their intention to set the crown upon the head of the infant Prince, conformable to the Queen’s commission, &c. and to require their concurrence. Sir James Melville says³ he made some difficulty at first to go, but that however he went to Hamilton, chiefly by the advice of Secretary Lethington, the Laird of Grange, and some others who secretly favoured the Queen; but he adds, that after he had delivered his message, some of the younger Lords at Hamilton made answer—That they did not believe that the Queen had demitted the government; and that if she had done so, it had been merely to save her life. But, he says, the Archbishop of St Andrews, who had more experience, reprov’d the younger Lords, and acknowledged that the Lords Associators had dealt discreetly by them; and that he went aside with the Lords that were with him, and then returned and gave Sir James the following answer—“We are beholden to the Noblemen who have sent you with that friendly and discreet commission, and following their desire, we are ready to concur with them, if they give us sufficient security of that which you have said in their name; and in so doing, they give us occasion to construct

¹ We do these men no injustice to suppose that “*all these uthir thingis that becomis*,” &c. might be restricted within very narrow bounds. It is an easy matter to talk of the fear of God, &c. but actions are the best indications of that and every other virtue and grace.

² See the names of the subscribers in the Appendix, Numb. XXII.

³ [Sir James Melville’s *Memoirs of his own Life*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 191, 192.—E.]

the best of all their proceedings past and to come, so that if they had acquainted us with their first enterprize of punishing the murder, we should heartily have taken part with them. And whereas now we are here convened, it is not to pursue or offend any of them, but to be upon our own guards, understanding of so great a concourse of Noblemen, Barons, Burroughs, and other subjects. For not being made privy to their enterprise, we thought fit to draw ourselves together, till we should see whereto things would turn."

Sir James being returned to Stirling with this answer, he tells us the wise and honest-hearted of the Associators judged the same to be satisfactory enough (as no doubt it was and ought to have been), but others, not being able to discommend or find any fault with it, pretended that Sir James had painted out a fine story of his own making for them and in their favours; by which sort of dealing, that gentleman says, he began to perceive that there were different opinions and interests among them. Such as were entirely devoted to favour the Crown of England (upon account of the gilded favours they received from thence) desired no peace and tranquillity to be in the country; and such as bare ill will to any of the other Lords at Hamilton, laboured to keep the difference with them open, in hopes afterward to reap profit by their fines and forfeitures. Thus that author observes that these Noblemen were but ill-used, and laid under a plain necessity of betaking themselves to contrary courses, their friendship and society being rejected at this time, and they neither permitted to be present at the coronation, nor yet allowed to take instruments that their absence should not prejudice them in any sort.¹ Thus far Sir James.

¹ Yet there was a public protestation made immediately before the coronation, in name of the Duke of Chastellherault and the remanent persons of the royal blood, that the said coronation should in nowise prejudice their right of succession.—[The Hamiltons declined the invitation to be present at the coronation of James VI. simply because from the first they had been no party to the intentions of the Confederates. They also wished to present a protest that the coronation should not affect the right of the Duke of Chatellherault as next heir to the Crown after the infant Prince. The Confederates granted this request, and the Hamiltons professed to offer no farther opposition.—Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 167.—E.]

From this time the Lords at Hamilton endeavoured to draw over as many Noblemen and Barons as they possibly could to stand up for the Queen's right and authority; and these began now to obtain the name of the *Queen's Lords*, as the others had the denomination of the *King's Lords*. The former class of Lords perceiving that they were rejected from being taken into friendship, withdrew to the strong fortress of Dunbarton, of which the Lord Fleming was keeper, and there entered into a combination against the King's Lords, which, the same author observes, they would not have done if they could have been accepted in society with the rest. The tenour of the Bond which they drew up at Dunbarton was this that followeth:—

“Forasmuch as considering the Queen's Majesty our sovereign to be detained at present at Lochleven in captivity, wherefore the most part of her Majesty's lieges cannot have free access to her Highness, and seeing it becomes us of our duty to seek her liberty and freedom, we Earls, Lords, and Barons underscribing, promise faithfully to use the utmost of our endeavours, by all reasonable means, to procure her Majesty's liberty and freedom, upon such honest conditions as may stand with her Majesty's honour, the common weal of the whole Realm, and security of the whole Nobility who at present have her Majesty in keeping, whereby this our native Realm may be governed, ruled and guided by her Majesty and her Nobility, for the common quietness, the administration of justice, and weal of the country. And in case the Noblemen who have her Majesty at present in their hands refuse to set her at liberty upon such reasonable condition as said is, in that case we shall employ ourselves, our kindred, friends, servants, and partakers, our bodies and lives, to set her Highness at liberty, as said is; and also to concur to the punishment of the murder of the King her Majesty's husband, and for sure preservation of the person of the Prince, as we shall answer to God, and on our honours and credit: and to that effect shall concur every one with other at our utmost power. And if any shall set upon us, or any of us, for the doing as aforesaid, in that case we promise faithfully to espouse one another's interest, under pain of perjury and infamy,

as we shall answer to God. In witness whereof we have subscribed these presents with our hand at Dunbarton the day of St Andrews, Arguile, Huntly, Arbroth, Gallway, Ross, Fleeming, HERRIS, Skirling, Kilwinning, Will. Hamilton of Sanchir, Knight.¹

The 29th of July being come, the Lords Associators and their fautors repaired to Stirling for performing the ceremony of the coronation; the particulars whereof, taken from the authentick records of Privy-Council, it is not only proper, but necessary to have subjoined here, by reason of some remarks that may naturally occur to be made thereupon.

Apud Striviling, 29 Julij, Anno Dom. 1567.

“THE quhilk day, in presens of nobil and nichtie Lordis, James Erle of Mortoun, Lord of Dalkeyth; John Erle of Atholl, Lord of Balvany; Alexander Erle of Glencairne, Lord of Kilmawris; Johne Erle of Mar, Lord Erskine; William Erle of Menteith; Johne Maister of Grahame; Alexander Lord Hume, Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byris, Edward Lord Sanquhair, Robert Lord Sempill, John Lord Innermeyth, Andro Lord Uchiltrie, James Lord of Sanct Johnes, Adame Bischope of Orknay, Robert Comendature of Dumfermline; Mr Robert Richartsoun Commendature of Sanct Marie Isle, Thesaurare; Williame Murray of Tullibardin, Knycht, Comptrollar; Williame Maitland of Ledingtoun, zoungar, Secretare; Sir Johne Bellenden of Auchnowle, Knycht, Clerk of Justiciarie; Johne Erskine of Dun, Provost of Montrois, Maister James Halyburtoun, Provost of Dundie, and diverse of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, and Commissionaris of Burrowis, conveynt for coronatioun of the richt excellent Prince, James, be the grace of God, Prince and Stewart of Scotland: Comperit Arthur Hamiltoun of Muretoun, Procuratour speciallic constitute be Johne Archbischope of

¹ Mr Crawford of Drumsoy has set down this Bond, p. 60 of his Memoirs, though there be not the least notice of it in the MS. from which he says he published these Memoirs. He likewise delays this Bond until the time of the Parliament in December following, and inserts the date to have been on the 25th of that month, and the place to have been Hamilton. It were to be wished this gentleman had given us some voucher for one or both these insertions.—[In the genuine “Memoirs,” entitled the “Historie and Life of King James the Sext,” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, no such document as this Bond occurs.—E.]

Sanct Androis, and Gawin Comendature of Kilwyning, commissioneris lauchfullie constitute be ane nobil and michtie Prince, James Duke of Chestellarault, in all his honest and lauchfull besines during his remaning furth of this Realme, as at lenth is conteint in his commissioun under his seill and subscription-manuall, of the date the ferd day of August, the zeir of God 1566 zeiris, and in the saids Letteris of Procuratorie, of the dait at Hamiltoun the xxviii. day of July instant, subseryvit, as appeirit, with the handis of the saids Archbischepe and Commendature: And thair the said Arthur, procurator foirsaid, in name and behalfe of the said Duke of Chestellarault, protestit, That quhat-sumevir thing is done, or to be done, towart the coronatioun of the said maist excellent Prince, quhat actis, consentis, constitutionis beis maid thairupoun sould on nawayis prejugé or be hurtfull to the said nobill and michtie Duke of Chestellarault, and the remanent of the Quenis Majestie of Scotlandis royal blude, lauchfullie descendit, in thair titill and successioun of the said Crowne, quhen evir it sall pleis God, be ony just rycht, to call thame thairto, mair nor the said coronatioun had nevir bene done; and thairupoun askit instrumentis and documentis of us connotaris publict under-subseryvand. This wes done in the counsall-hall within the Castell of Striviling, day, zeir and place above-written.

“ The same day, within the paroch kirk of Striviling, conventit the nobil and michtie Lordis under-writtin: thay are to say, James Erle of Mortoun, Lord Dalkeyth; Johne Erle of Atholl, Lord of Balvany; Alexander Earl of Glencairne, Lord of Kilmawris; Johne Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine; Williame Erle of Menteith; Johne Maister of Grahame, Alexander Lord Hume, Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byris, Williame Lord Ruthven, Edward Lord Creichtoun of Sanquhair, Robert Lord Sempill, Johne Lord Innermeyth, Andro Lord Uchiltrie, James Lord Sanct Johnes of Torphechin, Adame Bischope of Orknay, Robert Comendature of Dunfermline, James Comendature of St Colmes Inche, Adame Comendature of Cambuskynneth, Johne Comendature of Dryburgh and Inchmahome, Alexander Comendature of Culross; Robert, Minister of Failfurd; Mr Robert Richartsoun Comendature of Sanct Marie Isle,

Thesaurare; Sir William Murray of Tullibardin, Knycht, Comptrollar; Williame Maitland of Lethingtoun, zoungar, Secretare; Sir Johne Bellenden of Auchnowle, Knycht, Clerk of Justiciarie; Maister John Prestoun and Nicholl Udart, Commissionaris of the burgh of Edinburgh; Johne Erskine of Dun, Provost of Montrois; Maister James Halyburtoun, Provost of Dundie; Johne Stewart of Mynto, Knycht, Provost of Glasgow; Johne Craigingalt of that Ilk, Provost of Striviling; Charles Drummond, Provost of Linlythgow; the Commissionaris alsua of Air, Irving, and diverse utheris of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commissionaris of Burrowis, and Baronnis: Quhair the ryeht heich and illuster Prince, James, be the grace of God, Prince and Stewart of Scotland, being presentit in presence of his Grace, and of the Lordis of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commissionaris of Burrowis, and Baronnis foirsaidis, eftir invocatioun of the name of God, the saids Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byris and Williame Lord Ruthven, at command and be vertew of the Quenis Majestie our Soverane Ladie's letteris, subscriyvit with hir hand and under hir Privy Seill, comperit, and in hir Majestie's name, and upoun hir behalfe, dimmittit and renuncit the governament, gyding and rewling of this Realme, liegis and subjectis thairof, all intromissioun with the propertie, casualtie, or utheris thingis appertaining to hir Hienes thairby, and all richt and titill that scho had, hes or may haif, be ony maner of way thairto, in favouris of the said maist excellent Prince, hir derrest sone, to the effect that he might be inaugurat and placeit in this kingdome, the crowne royall delyverit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the same, as hir Majestie, or hir predecessouris, hes bene in tymes bypast: And in signe and takin thairof, the saids Lordis Lindsay and Ruthven presentit, befor the saids Lordis of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commissionaris of Burrowis, Baronnis and peopill conceint, the Sword, Sceptour, and Royal Crowne of this Realme, requireing the saids letteris and commissioun to be red and insert in the Buikis of Secreit-Counsale, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. As alsua, the uthir twa Commissiounis following, concerning the regiment of this Realme during the minoritie of the said maist excellent Prince; of the quhilkis the tenouris followis, MARIE,—&c. as in p. 706.

“ Quhilkis being opinlie red, the said Erlis of Mortoun, Atholl, Glencairne, Mar, Menteith, Maister of Grahame, Lord Hume, Bischope of Orknay, in name of the thre Estaittis presentlie conveynt and assemblit, according to the command and tenour of the said first Commissioun, ressavit the said renunciatioun and dimission in favouris of the said maist excellent Prince ; and eftir the ressaving thair of, the said James Erle of Mortoun inclynand his bodie, and layand his hand on the Buik of God, in name and upoun the behalfe of his Grace, solempnlie maid the ayth and promiseiss following, to-wit—‘I, James, Prince and Stewart of Scotland, promiseiss faythfullie, in the presence of the Eternall my God, that I, induring the hail cours of my lyff, sall serve the same Eternall my God, to the uttermost of my power, according as He requirit in his maist holy Word, revelit and contenit in the New and Auld Testamentis ; and according to the same Word sall mentaine the trew religioun of Jesus Christ, the preaching of his holy Word, and dew and rycht ministratioun of his Sacramentis, now ressavit and practizit within this Realme, and sall abolysche and gainestand all false religioun contrair to the same : And sall rewle the peepill committit to my charge, according to the will and command of God revelit in his foirsaid Word, and according to the lovabill lawis and constitutionis resavit in this Realme, nawayis repugnant to the said Word of the Eternall my God ; and sall procure to my uttermost, to the Kirk of God and hail Cristiane peopill, trew and perfyte peace, in all tyme cuming. The rychtis and rentis, with all just privilegeis of the Crowne of Scotland, I sall preserve and keip unviolat, nather sall I transferr nor alienat the same. I sall forbid and repress, in all estaittis and all degreis, reiff, oppressioun, and all kynd of wrang. In all jugementis I sall command and procure that justice and equitie be keipit to all creaturis without exceptioun, as He be merciefull to me and zow that is the Lord and Fader of all mercies : And out of all my landis and impyre I sall be cairfull to ruite out all heretickis and enemeis to the trew worschip of God, that sall be convict be the trew Kirk of God of the foirsaid crymes. And thir thingis above-writin I faythfullie affirme be my solempnit ayth.’ Eftir the quhilk solempnit ayth and promiseiss, the saids Lordis of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, and Com-

missionaris of Burrowis, as the Estaittis of the Realme, be the ministratioun of the said Reverend Fader Adame Bischope of Orknay, anointit¹ the said maist excellent Prince, in King of this Realme, and dominionis thair of, investit and inaugurat his Grace thairin, deliverit in his handis the Sword and Sceptour, and put the crowne-royall upoun his heid, with all due reverence, ceremoneis and circumstanceis requisite and accustomat; and gaif thair ayths for dew and lauchfull homage and obedience to be maid be thame to him in all tymes cuming, as becumis subjectis to do to thair native King and Prince: Quhair-upoun the said Sir Johne Bellenden, Justice-Clerk, in name of the saids Estaittis, and alse Johne Knox, minister, and Robert Campbell of Kinzeaneleuch, askit actis, instrumentis and documentis.”—R. M.²

With respect to the preceding management of the Queen's resignation, &c. it may not be amiss to remark that one part of her Majesty's Procuratory runs in those precise terms—“ And in lykewise be thir presentis gevis, grantis, and committis our full, frie, and plane power to our richt traist cousingis, * * * * * to ressave the said Renunciatioun and Dimissioun in favouris of our said sone; and thaireftir the ressaving thair of, to plant, place, and inaugurat him,” &c. But at the time of performing this part of the Procuratory at Stirling the words of it are in this strain, viz.—“ Quhilkis being opinlie red, the said Erlis of Mortoun, Atholl, &c. in name of the thre Estaittis presently conceint and assemblit, according to the command and tenour of the said first Commissioun, ressaved the said Renunciatioun and Dimissioun in favouris of the said maist excellent Prince.” Here is a most manifest falshood to aver that it was

¹ “ About the anointing there was a sharp dispute; but in end he was anointed, notwithstanding. Mr Knox and other preachers repined at this *Jewish* ceremony,” Calderwood's large MS. “ In the very parish kirk of Stirling the Prince was anointed King by At the which Assembly, passing from the parish kirk to the Castle again, the Earl of Atholl bare the Crown of Honour, the Earl of Morton the Sceptre, the Earl of Glencairn the Sword of Honour, the Earl of Mar carried the new inaugurate King to his own chamber in the Castle,” Crawford's MS.—[Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 384; *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 17.—E.]

² [Robert Miln.—E.]

“ according to the command and tenour of the first commission,” and a plain contravening of the Queen’s Procuratory likewise, who granted warrant to the Lords, and others named in her Procuratory, to receive her renunciation and demission in favour of the Prince her son *only*, without one word conceived relating to the three Estates ; whereas the Earls of Morton, Athole, &c. received the Queen’s Demission in name of *the three Estates* ; and therefore all and every thing that followed thereupon, was both in law and equity void, and of no effect ; the procurators having not only exceeded the limits of the power entrusted to them, but having acted in express contradiction to it. True, indeed, it is, that the Parliament in the month of December following did find that “ the Quenis Dimissioun and Procuratioun sall be haldin, repute, and estemit lauchfull and perfyte according, &c.—And als, that the coronatioun and inauguration of our said soverane Lord, maid and solemnizat conforme to the said Commissioun—wes dewlie, ryehtlie, and ordourlie, done and execute, and als lauchfull and vailzeabill—notwithstanding any mater of tytil, actioun or entres (interest), or any uther thing that presentlie may or can heireftir be objectit in the contrare,” &c. But as it is not the weight of an Act of Parliament, but the truth of facts that must determine the justness of our inquiries and observations, we shall leave the readers to form a judgment, whether the inauguration of the Prince was performed according to the Queen’s Commission for that effect ? Or, whether a constrained Demission, for fear of immediate death, could be esteemed lawful and perfect ?

There is nobody needs to be at a loss to perceive the intentions of this meeting at Stirling. The members of it had already acted as if the supreme authority of this nation had been lodged in the people, and that the Kings or Queens of Scotland derived their right *solely* from them ; and now they wanted to engross their system into this solemn settlement of the Crown upon the head of an infant King, who could make no remonstrances against their innovation ; and in consequence of this model we find these words contained in the above ceremony of the coronatioun—“ Eftir the quhilk solempnit ayth and promeiss, the saids Lordis of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, and Commissionaris of Burrowis, as

the Estaittis of the Realme, be the ministratioun of the said Reverend Fader Adame Bischope of Orknay, anointit the said maist excellent Princee, in King of this Realme——investit and inaugurat his Grace thairin, deliverit in his handis the sword and sceptour, and put the Crowne Royall upoun his heid.” Where it is obvious that the anointing, crowning, &c. though performed by the Bishop of Orkney, are recounted as deeds done by the people, and in their right of disposal. All which is in complete agreement with the book of politicks written and published some time after by Mr Buchanan, and entituled—“*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*,” i. e. “The Just Principles of the Scottish Government,” though it be certain that nothing can be more opposite to the Scottish laws than that book is.¹

One would be ready to think there had been no representatives of the gentry present at this meeting in Stirling, since there is no mention of them at all in the first and last part of the solemnity ; and even in the middle part, after the words—“*Commissionaris alsua of Air, Irwing*”—they are only seemingly included in these general terms—“*And diverse utheris of the Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commissionaris of Burrowis, and Baronis.*” If any of the Barons were present, why were not their particular names and designations specified as well as the Burrows ? Or why are they, contrary to all order, mentioned here in the gross, *after* the *Commissionaris of Burrows*, when they ought, without all peradventure, to preceed and be set before them in the nomination ? Whether Sir John Bellenden, the Justice-Clerk, or together with him John Knox,² minister, and Robert Campbell of Kinzeaneleuch, could regularly ask instruments in name of the three Estates, I leave it to be discussed by abler judges. For my own part, I do perceave no farther connexion between them and the three Estates

¹ One most remarkable instance of this scheme (and this likewise extended to the punishing of our Kings capitally) we have in the stamp and inscription of the publick coin of our nation, as it was appointed by the new Privy-Council eight days only after the Earl of Moray’s acceptance of the Regency ; which stamp and inscription common tradition has affirmed to have been the invention likewise of this famous author. Several pieces of this stamp remain to this day, and I have thought it not amiss to put the Act of Council into the Appendix, Numb. XXIII.

² He preached at the Coronation.

than that they were *three* in number. They certainly had no deputation from the three Estates to capacitate them to take instruments in their names ; and I believe it is equally certain that the *major* part of *one* of the Estates, and the principal one too, did not consent to the proceedings of that time. Besides, I presume it may be a question whether these three gentlemen *could* in law have received a deputation from the three Estates, seeing they were not each of them a distinct member of the three different ranks of Estates. *Two* of them did indeed pertain to the lesser Barons, but Mr Knox could properly belong to no Estate at all. However, this under correction.

The day after the coronation¹ we meet with the following Paper in the Record of Privy Council:—

¹ [The Coronation of James VI. at Stirling, no account of which is given by our Historian, is an event requiring a brief detail. On the 27th the Confederates left Edinburgh for Stirling, after a proclamation at the Cross summoning the Earls, Lords, and others, to be present at the coronation, carrying with them the Regalia, consisting of the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State.—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 118. According to Chalmers (*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 250), the Confederates obtained the Regalia from Servais de Conde, the Queen's valet-de-chambre, in compliance with an order signed by Morton and his associates ; but it is more likely that they procured the Regalia from their former fellow-conspirator Sir James Balfour, in whose custody they were in Edinburgh Castle. The ceremonial was performed in the edifice at Stirling now known as the *West Kirk*, erected by James IV. as a chapel for the Franciscans, who had a monastery in the town. This is a magnificent Gothic fabric of hewn stone, with an arched roof, supported by two rows of plain massive pillars. This church immediately adjoins the beautiful Gothic structure, now called the *East Kirk*, erected by Cardinal Beaton ; and previous to 1656, when the then dominant Presbyterians divided the buildings into two churches, they were literally one church, the Cardinal's portion of which formed the chancel. A procession was formed from the Castle to the church, the Earl of Atholl carrying the Crown, the Earl of Morton the Sceptre, and the Earl of Glencairn the Sword. The infant Prince was then scarcely fourteen months old, and appeared in the procession, utterly unconscious of the part he was sustaining, carried in the arms of the Earl of Mar, though a contemporary diarist (*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 118) asserts that the Countess conveyed James VI. in his progress from the royal nursery in Stirling Castle to the church. At the ceremonial, such as it was, and it seems to have been a poor display, the Earl of Mar held the Crown over the infant King, and the Sword and Sceptre were put into his infantile hands. Bothwell, the ex-Bishop of Orkney, performed the "anointing," which greatly roused the ire of John Knox, who denounced it as unnecessary and superstitious. The ceremonial

“ *Striviling penult. Julij. 1567.*

“ *SEDERUNT—Jacobus Comes de Mortoun ; Joannes Comes de Athole ; Alexander Comes de Glencairn ; Joannes Comes de Mar ; Alexander Dominus Hume ; Willielmus Dominus Ruthven ; Robertus Dominus Sempill ; Eduardus Dominus Sanquhair ; Andrea Dominus Uchiltrie.*

Discharge of the Erle of Huntleyis Lieutenendrie.

“ FORASMEKILLAS it is understand to the Kingis Hienes that thair is ane Commissioun of Lieutenendrie laitlie proclamit in the north partis of this Realme be George Erle of Huntley, continuand commissioun of Justiciarie thairin, with diverse greit privelegeis and immunitis, as at mair lenth is conteint in the said Commissioun, quhairby all the legeis and subjectis of the north partis are chargeit to be in reddienes, put thamselvis in armis, and meit the said Erle at dayis and placeis as he sall appoint, to pass with him quhair he sall command ; and becaus, be the occasioun thair of, the commoun peace of the Realme in thai partis is appearandlie to be troublit, and that uprore, seditioun, and inquietnes may arryis thairthrow ; thairfoir ordanis letteris to be direct, to command and charge all and sindrie his Hienes’ liegeis and subjectis of this Realm, speciallie within the boundis foirsaid, to contene thamselffis in peace and quitnes ilk ane within thair awn boundis, and that nane of thame put on armour, or arryis at command of the said Commissioun, with the said Erle, or ony uthir, without thai have new and speciall commandment of the Kingis Hienes to that effect, under the pain of treassoun, notwithstanding the said Commissioun of Lieutenendrie, chargis or pains past thairupoun : quhilk Commissioun of Lieutenendrie

occupied from two in the afternoon till five, and when it was concluded the Earl of Mar carried the infant King back to his cradle. One of the most striking incidents connected with this occasion was a deliberate falsehood uttered by Lindsay and Ruthven, who, when the deeds of the Queen’s resignation were read, deliberately swore that they were voluntary. The Earl of Morton, in conjunction with Lord Home, acted as proxy for the King, and laying his hand on the Gospels, took the oaths on behalf of James VI. that he would maintain the Reformed religion, and extirpate “heresy.” The Nobility swore allegiance, placing their hands on the infant King’s head, and the Burgesses followed. At Edinburgh the coronation was celebrated by loud rejoicings.—E.]

grantit to the said Erle, with the Commissioun of Justiciarie conteint thairin, and haill effect thairof, his Hienes discharges, rescindis, and declairis cassit, retrievis and decernis of nane effect, and null for ever, be thir presentis, togidder with all utheris Commissiounis of Justiciarie grantit to him in ony tymes bigane.”—R. M.¹

And the same day a “Proclamatioun of the Kingis Authoritie,” so called in the Register, was publickly emitted to the lieges in these terms following :—

“FORASMEKILLAS it hes plesit Almichtie God to call the Kingis Majestie our Soverane Lord unto the Royall Crowne and government of this Realme, be dimissioun of the Quene his moder, past be hir under hir hand-write and Previe Seill, as the samyn of the daite the 24th day of July instant portis : According to the quhilk, upoun the 29th day of the same moneth his Hienes is crownit, inaugurat. and establissit in this kingdome, in presence of the Nobilitie and Estaittis, conveyit for executioun and accomplisment of the Quenis will and commissioun foirsaid ; and hes gevin his princely ayth for dew administratioun and governing of the Estaittis of this commoun-weill, and of all his luifing and gude subjectis, as the custom is : Quhairfor his Hienes ordanis letteris to be direct to mak publicatioun heirof, be opin proclamatioun at the mercat-croces of all burrowis of this Realme, and utheris places neidfull ; and to command and charge all and sindrie the saids subjectis, that thai, and everie ane of thame, obey, serve, and reverence his Hienes in all thingis, as becumis faythfull and gude subjectis to do unto thair lauchfull and native Princee ; and that thai keip publick peace and tranquillitie amangis thamselffis, in the feir of God and detfull obedience of his Majestie, and study to contene thame, and direct thair lyffis and behaviour according to the lawis of this Realme : As his Hienes on the uther pairt promittis to all his gude subjectis to execute his kingly office in advanceing the glorie of God, and men-tening of vertew and justice, and in punisching and repres-sing of vyce, enormities, and all transgressouris of the lawis ;

¹ [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

certifying thame that presumis or dois ony thing in the contrair, thai sall be estemit as rebellious persouns, disobeyaris and gainstandaris of his autoritie, and extremelie punischit thairfoir with all rigour, in exempill of utheris.”—R. M.¹

On the 10th of August there is a charge in the Register of Privy-Council to some particular masters of ships belonging to the town of Dundee, and in general to all masters of ships, and other mariners, indwellers within that burgh, to prepare themselves and their ships to pass with Sir William Murray of Tullibardin the Comptroller, in quest of the Earl of Bothwell, within six hours after they be charged. And on the 11th day of the same month there is a Commission to Sir William Murray, Comptroller, and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, to convene the King’s lieges in warlike manner, and provide ships, to pursue the Earl of Bothwell, his assistars or colleagues, by sea or land,² with fire, sword, and

¹ [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

² [The result of this expedition is graphically narrated by Mr Napier, and the following quotation is intended as a continuation of the note, p. 660, 661 of the present volume.—“ Upon the 19th of August 1567 their armament was complete, and set sail for the Orkneys. But the Duke of Orkney was reserved for a fate less honourable than to die on his deck. His pursuers, with five ships, heavily armed, and carrying four hundred soldiers, soon reached the Orkneys, from whence they were directed, probably by Gilbert Balfour, to Shetland, as the covert of their quarry. It was not long before two vessels were descried cruising off the east coast of Shetland, where currents, tides, and whirlpools threaten destruction to the most skilful navigator. These vessels were the Duke of Orkney’s, on the look out, and manned by desperate seamen. Grange, who commanded the swiftest of the Government ships, shot a head, and approached Bressa Sound, through which the pirates steered. Onward pressed their pursuers, and every nerve was strained on board the Unicorn, Grange’s ship, to gain their object. The manœuvres of the fugitives would have done credit to the more practised days of the Red Rover. So close was the chase that, when the pirate escaped by the north passage of the Sound, Grange came in by the south, and continued the chase northward. But the fugitives were familiar with those narrow and dangerous seas. They knew how lightly their own vessels could dash through the boiling eddy that betrayed a sunken rock, and discerned at a glance what would be the fate of their bulky pursuers if they dared to follow in their desperate track. They steered accordingly upon breakers, and though the keel grazed the rocks, their vessel glided through the cresting foam, and shot into a safer sea. Grange ordered every sail to be set to impel the Unicorn in the very same path. In vain his more experienced mariners remonstrated. The warlike baron, as if

all kind of hostility, and fence and hold courts of justice wheresoever they shall think good. And letters are directed to charge all and sundry inhabitants of the sheriffdoms of Orkney, Inverness, Cromarty, Nairn, Elgin, Forres, Banff, and Aberdeen, in general or in particular, as the saids Sir William Murray and Sir William Kirkaldy shall desire, to rise, concur, and assist with them, or either of them, in the pursuit and invasion of the said Earl of Bothwell, his complices, &c. as often as need shall be, and as they shall give warning—"under the pane of tressoun, and tynsall of lyff, landis and gudis." And two days after the Secretary receives orders to pass and direct sea-briefes in due and competent form under the Signet to the foresaid Sir Williams, with direction to the Secretary to keep a copy of saids briefes, with this present, for his warrant. *Item*, On the 12th of August we see this abstract, viz. *Discharge of James Curle*, Customer; and *Command* to answer James Murray, brother to Tullibardin, of the customs.¹

Precisely at this juncture arrived² in Scotland the Earl of

leading a charge of horse in the plains of Flanders, rushed on the breakers, and instantly his gallant ship was a wreck—there being just time to hoist out a boat, and save the ship's company and soldiers. As it was, one warrior heavily armed still clung to the wreck, and the boat being already on its way deeply laden, it seemed impossible to save this being from destruction. His cries reached them, but were disregarded—another instant of delay and he had perished, when, collecting all his energies, he sprung with a desperate effort into the midst of the crowded boat, causing it to reel with his additional weight, encumbered as he was with a corslet of proof—"which," says (Hume of) Godscroft, who records the incident 'was thought a strange leap, especially not to have overturned the boat.' Who would have surmised that this athletic man-at-arms, the last to quit the wreck, was a Bishop—the Bishop who had so lately joined the hand of him he pursued with that of Queen Mary—the very Bishop who a month before had poured the holy oil on the infant head of James VI., and stood proxy for the extorted abdication of that monarch's mother? It was Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney! The rock from which he leapt can be seen at low water, and is called the *Unicorn* to this day."—Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, his Lineage, Life, and Times, by Mark Napier, Esq. Advocate, p. 121, 122, 123. This occurred in Bressay Sound, the strait between the Mainland of Shetland on the west, and the Island of Bressay on the east.—E.]

¹ The readers will remember that this Murray is the person against whom the Proclamation in March last was emitted. He and his brother Sir William have now in their hands the whole revenue. A good job for these gentlemen.

² Both Melvil and Spottiswood say he arrived on the 11th at Edinburgh;

Moray from France, by the way of England. The Associators had from the very beginning dispatched letters to him entreating his return, and how soon he found all their affairs in readiness he lost no time to come to the assistance of his friends.¹ I will not take upon me to affirm the truth

Camden, that he arrived in Scotland the twentieth day after the Queen's resignation, i. e. according to him, on the 13th of August; the short Diary in Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 277, on the 14th. He was certainly at Edinburgh before the 15th. See Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's letter to the Queen of England, 20th August.—[The *eleventh* of August was undoubtedly the day of the Earl of Moray's return, after an absence of five months from Scotland (Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 119), and he was proclaimed Regent at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 22d, three days after the expedition sailed to pursue and capture Bothwell. Throgmorton, in a letter to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 12th July, prominently mentions the arrival of Moray and the new French ambassador Lignerolles. When passing through London, he was received with great distinction by Queen Elizabeth. On the 8th of August he reached Berwick accompanied by Lignerolles, where he was the guest of the Earl of Bedford, his friend and associate, and was met by Sir James Macgill, Lord Clerk-Register, and Sir James Melville. A body of four hundred Noblemen and gentlemen also met him at the Bound Rode, which separates the two kingdoms. On the 10th Moray rode to Whittinghame, where Morton and Maitland were in attendance, in the very house in which the murder of Darnley had been determined one year and a half previously, and the only one absent was Bothwell, now a fugitive and outlaw. On the 11th Moray entered Edinburgh amid the acclamations of the citizens, having previously had an interview with Throgmorton, who met him a few miles from the city.—E.]

¹ It would appear these Lords had projected what they afterwards put in execution sooner than they would make the world believe, since they had taken care to send letters by Mr Robert Melvil into England, to be forwarded from thence into France, for their trusty friend the Earl of Moray. Secretary Cecil writes to Sir Henry Norris, the English ambassador at the Court of France, thus—"At this time I send unto you certain packets of letters left here by Mr Melvin, who lately came hither from the Queen of Scots. The sending of these to my Lord of Moray requireth great haste, whereof you may not make the Scottish ambassador privy; but I think you may make Robert Steward privy, with whom you may confer for the speedy sending away of the same letters. His return into Scotland is much desired of them; and for the weal, both of England and Scotland, I wish he were here (i. e. in England): And for his manner of returning, touching his safety, I pray require Mr Steward to have good care." This letter is dated as far back as the 26th June 1567. (*N. B.* This Robert Stewart is certainly that same person who was the reputed assassin of the French President Minard, in the end of the reign of our Queen's husband.—See Mezeray.) And again in another letter, 14th July 1567—"If my Lord of Moray should lack credit for money, my Lord Steward (i. e. the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of England) would have his

of the reports made by some authors concerning him before his departure out of France; such as, that this Lord was concerting measures with Admiral Coligni, the chief of the Protestants in France, for possessing himself of the Crown of Scotland:—that, by letters to his friends in Scotland he signified his unwillingness to return, unless they would deprive the Queen of her life as they had done of her liberty:—that, on the other hand, he swore solemnly to the King of France, and our Queen's uncles, that at his return he would set her Majesty at liberty, and restore her to the regal authority; and that to animate him the more in this he received valuable presents from the King and the Family of Guise. His Lordship, they say, was no sooner departed from Court, but the Archbishop of Glasgow, the ambassador ordinary from our Queen, having demanded an audience, represented the Earl of Moray as the chief promoter of all the troubles in Scotland, and therefore desired he might be detained in France, which being granted, that messengers were sent after him with orders to bring him back; but the Earl had by his expedite travelling, and the good management of his friends, prevented all their endeavours, for he had loosed from the Port of Dieppe some short space before the orders arrived from Court. In England, they say, he had an interview with that Queen, and engaged his service to her Majesty upon the security of a plentiful sum of money to be paid yearly to him and the leading men of his party. But whatever truth or falsehood be in these things, of this we are assured, that how soon the Associators were informed that the Earl was at London, they ordered Sir James Melville to meet him at Berwick,¹ and acquaint him how that the office of Regent was appointed for him; and besides, that gentleman received from one part of these

son give him such credit as he hath, for my Lord alloweth well of his friendship."—Cabala. Nothing can be a clearer instruction of the correspondence of the Lords Associators with Secretary Cecil at least, from the beginning of this intestine broil in Scotland, and of the Earl of Moray's support by the Court of England with money at the time of his returning from France; the Earl of Pembroke, we may reckon, being sufficiently assured of his reimbursement, otherwise that Nobleman would not have been so ready to offer his credit.

¹ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 192.—E.]

Lords a commission to advise my Lord Moray not to deal too gently by the Queen, while another part of them advised the Earl to shew mildness towards her Majesty, because she being now free from bad counsellors, a little time might, by the assistance of her own good judgment and inclinations, reduce her to such moderation as they should all wish her to be at liberty again. This last advice, Sir James says, the Earl seemed much to relish, but this is not the first time that Sir James has been deceived by that person. The Earl also feigned to be averse from accepting the Regency, though Sir James is so honest as to acknowledge that he was privately informed by some of the Earl's retinue, that "he was right glad when he understood first that he was to be Regent."¹ Accordingly, how soon he met with all his friends, *he even granted to accept the Government*. And how sincere, or to speak more truly, how insincere this Lord was in his answer to Sir James touching his future behaviour towards the Queen, this author likewise discovers to us in these words²—"And when he went to visit the Queen in Lochleven, instead of comforting her, and following the good counsel he had gotten, he entered instantly with her Majesty in reproaches, giving her such injurious language as was like to break her heart; and the injuries were such, that they cut the thread of love and credit betwixt the Queen and him for ever. We," adds this author, "who found fault with that manner of procedure lost his favour."

Now that the above facts may not hang solely upon Sir James's representation, we shall just now hear what account the Earl himself gave of this interview with the Queen, as is contained in the remaining part of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's negotiation; and by which we are likewise let into the knowledge of the contents of a message which the French King sent to the Lords Associators, together with the answer by these Lords to the French envoy. This gentleman's name was Lignerol,³ and we get information by

¹ [Memoirs, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 193.—E.]

² [Memoirs, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 194.—E.]

³ [The alleged object of the mission of Lignerolles was to carry a message from the King of France to the Confederates, but his real errand was to watch the proceedings of Moray, and to hasten him to Scotland]

Sir James Melville that he came into Scotland in the company of the Earl of Moray, having been sent, as he informs us, to see how matters past, to comfort the captive Queen, and to intercede for her: which thing, that author observes, he acted very slenderly, and who should doubt of that, since he had been in all likelihood moulded into the mind of the Earl of Moray, as he was his companion on the journey? The French gentleman, he says,¹ told the Lords—"That he came not to offend any of them, alledging that the old Band and League betwixt France and Scotland was not made with any one prince, but betwixt the Estates of the two kingdoms, and with those who were commanders over the country for the time." It is indeed true the League here referred to was *ancient*, but I am much mistaken if this interpretation be not *modern*.

*Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen of
England, 20th August 1567.²*

"IT MAY PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY—The 14th day of this month, towards the evening, the Earls of Glencairn and Morton, Mr James Macgill, and Justice-Clerk, went to Mons. de Lynerol's lodging, and the said Mr James Macgill, on the behalf of the Lords, as well those present as the other absent, for answer to such things as were proposed by the said De Lynerol on the behalf of the King his master, declared unto him as followeth:—

"That the saids Lords did again render their humble thanks to the King and Queen his mother for this demonstration of their favour, which the said King and Queen had shewed by sending him hither, and to treat with them so amicably. And where they had by his long discourse at his first audience, comprehended the sum of his whole negotiation into four points, they were now to answer to every of them as had been resolved among all the Lords and others of the King's Council.

"To the *first*, which tended to the union of all the

without communicating with Elizabeth.—Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 178.—E.]

¹ [Sir James Melville's Memoirs, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 193, 194.—E.]

² Calig. C. I, an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

Nobility of this Realm, they thanked the King humbly for his care in that matter, but there was no such dissension amongst them, thanks be to God, that they needed any reunion.

“ To the *second*, for the care the King had to their surety, which he willed them to provide for, and therein offered them his assistance, they did humbly thank the King also for his gracious disposition towards them ; but, God be thanked, they took themselves to be in as great surety as any men were or could be within this Realm.

“ To the *third*, concerning the Queen’s liberty, and his access to her, they had made an assertion amongst themselves, that no Prince’s ambassador, nor stranger, should speak with her, until the Earl of Bothwell were apprehended,¹ which they hoped should not be long to, for they had given order for his apprehension ; and that which served for answer to refuse him access unto the Queen must also serve for answer concerning her enlargement.

“ To the *fourth* and *last*, concerning his access to the Hamiltons, and conference with them, they could not allow nor permit any Prince’s ambassador or minister to repair unto them, or to treat with them. Well contented they were that Mons. de Lynerol should send unto them any gentleman he had, or write unto them, or otherwise to confer with them at his pleasure, if the said Hamiltons would repair to this town ;² otherwise they could not accord any other mean of negotiation for any Prince’s ambassador with any subject of this Realm, lest thereby they should derogate from themselves the authority which was given them by the Queen their sovereign, in name of the King her son, for the government of this Realm, and so give occasion thereby, as well to strangers as to the subjects of the Realm, to think that there were as well two sundry States as two sundry authorities.

“ Mons. de Lynerol thanked them with courteous words

¹ And by what right could they make such an assertion ! Besides, as the reason here offered seems to have no true and proper foundation, so it could only be contrived to keep the Queen ignorant of the friendship of the neighbouring Princes, and thereby keep her in a desperate, forlorn, and helpless condition.

² This was what these men wanted extremely, that so they might shut up the Queen’s friends in prison.

for their pains, and required them, because nothing might be endamaged to the matter which was declared, nothing to their sufficiencies, nor nothing to his own duty, that he might have in writing what had been said by the said Mr James Macgill, who pronounced all the premisses in the Scottish tongue, which upon the said De Lynerol's desyre, was interpreted into French by Justice-Clerk.

“ The said Lords answered, that they would declare to the rest of the Noblemen, and others of the King's Council, his (the said Lynerol's) request.

“ This the said De Lynerol, coming the 15th of this month to visit me at my lodging, declared unto me ; which also was otherwise confirmed unto me by other intelligence.

“ It may please your Majesty, the 15th of this month the Earls of Moray, Athole, Morton, Glencairn and Mar, with the Lords Sempil and Lindsay, and the Secretary Lethington, departed this town towards Lochlevin. Notwithstanding (upon advice taken among them by the way) none of the persons aforesaid did accompany the Earl of Moray to the Queen but the Earls of Athole and Morton, and the Lord Lindsay. The Secretary Lethington did take his journey to his wife to Dunkeld, the Earl of Athole's house. The Earls of Glencairn and Mar, with the Lord Sempil, went to Stirling to the Prince, who is called here King.

“ At the Earls of Moray, Athole, and Morton's arrival at Lochlevin, they went immediately to the Queen, who had conference with them all together ; notwithstanding the Queen broke forth with great passion and weeping, retiring the Earl of Moray apart, who had with her long talk in the hearing of no person. That talk, as I do learn (which continued two hours until supper-time) was nothing pleasant to the Queen, and chiefly for that the Earl of Moray talked nothing so frankly with her as she desired, but used covert speech, and such as she judged he would not discover neither the good nor the ill he had conceived of her, nor meant unto her. After supper she desired to talk with the Earl of Moray again ; and every body being retired, they conferred together until one of the clock after midnight : in which second communication, the said Earl did plainly, without disguising, discover unto the Queen all his opinion

of her misgovernment, and laid before her all such disorders as either might touch her conscience, her honour, or surety.

“ I do hear that he behaved himself rather like a ghostly father unto her than like a counsellor. Sometimes the Queen wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowledged her unadvisedness and misgovernment, some things she did confess plainly, some things she did excuse, some things she did extenuate. In conclusion, the Earl of Moray left her that night in hope of nothing but of God’s mercy,¹ willing her to seek *that* as her chiefest refuge. And so they parted.

“ The next morning betime she desired to speak with her brother ; he repaired unto her. They began where they left over night, and after those his reprehensions, he used some words of consolation unto her, tending to this end, that he would assure her of her life, and, as much as lay in him, the preservation of her honour. As for her liberty, it lay not in his power ; neither was it good for her to seek it, nor presently for her to have it, for many respects.

“ Whereupon she took him in her arms and kissed him, and shewed herself very well satisfied, requiring him in any ways not to refuse the Regency of the Realm, but to accept it at her desire.² For by this means (said she) my son shall be preserved, my Realm well governed, and I in safety, and in towardness to enjoy more safety and liberty that way than I can any other. Whereupon the Earl declared many reasons why he should refuse it. The Queen again replied with earnest intercession, and prayed him to prefer her reasons and

¹ i. e. That the Lords had a mind to put her to death.

² *Skin for skin, and all that a man hath, will he give for his life.* The craft of the Earl of Moray is here most conspicuous. He first puts the Queen into the terror of death ; next assures her of life as much as should ly in him, though still not of her liberty. The natural consequence of this, he well foresaw, would be a thankful acknowledgment to him for preserving her life, and a willing surrendering of herself, her son, and her government, into his hands. A dextrous piece of management in truth, and which served, moreover, as a fine handle for the Earl’s friends to give it out to the world that the Queen confirmed by word of mouth what she had formerly signed with her hand, and that she pressed and obtested her brother to take the government ! This was materially true, yet we see from what source it proceeded. And her Majesty was so sensible of the Earl’s misbehaviour towards her, that, as Mr Melvil has already told us, “ it cut the thread of love and credit betwixt her and him for ever.”—[Sir James Melville’s Memoirs, folio, p. 87 ; Memoirs of his Own Life, printed for the BANSATYNE CLUB, p. 194.—E.]

requests before his own, which were particular. At length he accorded unto her the acceptation of the Regency.¹

“Then the Queen required him to leave no means undone to bring all the forts of the Realm into his own disposing, and likewise to take her jewels, and things of value which were hers, into his custody, offering unto the said Earl her writings, the use of her name and authority, to bring all these things to pass. He shewed himself very unwilling to have the custody of her jewels.² Then the Earl of Moray requiring the Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, and Lochleven,³ to treat the Queen with gentleness, with liberty, and all other good usage,⁴ he took his leave of her; and then began a new fit of weeping, which being appeased, she embraced him very lovingly, kissed him, and sent her blessing unto the Prince her son by him.

“Since whose departure from her she hath written a letter of her own hand unto the said Earl, requiring him to take her jewels, and all she hath of value, into his custody; for otherwise she is sure neither she nor her son shall have good of them.

“Thus much, and it please your Majesty, concerning my Lord of Moray’s proceedings at Lochleven, saving that I did omit to declare how the Queen did amicably take her leave of the Earls of Atholl and Morton, with whom she had some talk, but not very much; unto whom, amongst other things, she had these words—‘My Lords, you have had experience of my severity, and of the end of it; I pray you also let me find, that you have learned by me to make an end of yours, or at least that you can make it final.’⁵

“The 16th day the Earls aforesaid went from Lochleven to Stirling, where they remained until the 19th of this month, what day they returned to this town in the evening. That night I sent unto my Lord of Moray, requiring him that I might speak with his Lordship and the L. of Lethington together quietly. The Earl sent me word, that he would not fail in the morning but come to my lodging,

¹ The only thing in the world he longed for.

² Good self-denied man! We shall afterwards hear more concerning these jewels.

³ [The Laird of Lochleven.—E.]

⁴ Which they would understand well enough in what shape to obey.

⁵ A very smart but touching word. Nothing cuts sharper than truth.

requiring me to hold him excused for that night, not finding himself well at ease. The next morning, being the 20th of this present, the said Earl came to my lodging, and had these words—‘ My Lord Ambassador, whether will you that I should make declaration to you of my doings at Lochleven? or have you any thing to say to me?’ I required him to declare his proceedings with the Queen his sister, and how they had agreed. The said Earl made declaration unto me of all matters particularly as is before written, save that he spake not so confidently of the assurance of the Queen’s life, as is before specified, but treated with her of that matter with this caution, that for his own part, according to his many obligations, he had a desire to spend his own life to save her life, and would employ all that was in him for that purpose; but it was not in his power *only*,¹ the Lords and others having interest in the matter. Notwithstanding he said—‘ Madam, I will declare unto you which be the occasions that may put you in jeopardy, and which be they that may preserve you. First, for your peril, these be they; your own practices to disturb the quiet of your Realm and the reign of your son; to enterprize to escape from where you are, to put yourself at liberty; to animate any of your subjects to troubles or disobedience; the Queen of England or the French King to molest this Realm either with their war, or with war intestine, by your procurement or otherwise;² and your own persisting in this inordinate affection with the Earl Bothwell.

“ ‘ For your preservation, these be they: Your acknowledging your faults to God, with lamentation of your sins past, so as it may appear you do detest your former life, and do intend a better conversation, a more modest behaviour, and an apparent shew that you do abhor the murder of your husband, and do mislike your former life with Bothwell. *Lastly*, an evident demonstration that you mind no revenge to these Lords and others which have sought your reformation and preservation.’³

¹ In his power *alone*. So it would seem the Earl has still left the Queen in a state of suspense, and to himself a back-door to resile, when he should want it. The different turns of this world are affecting enough, even when they do not touch ourselves.

² More sketches still of the Earl’s cunning.

³ This is a very master-piece of device.

“ Further, the said Earl declared unto me that the Queen his sister sent me her hearty commendations, and required me to thank your Majesty for your good affection to her, whereof you had made good proof in sending me hither. And as she was beholding to your Majesty for this your favour, employed for her relief already, so she desired your Majesty to be pleased, and to procure that she may live with you in England in what sort and manner it should please your Majesty to appoint; for truly she had no desire to live in her own country, nor any other but there in your Realm.¹

“ The said Earl declared also unto me, that he never saw the Queen in better health, nor in better point.

“ This being the sum of the Earl’s talk had with me, save that he showed me particular letters written from the Earls of Rothes, Crawford, the Masters of Monteith and Errol, the Lords Drummond, Ogilvie, Oliphant, and Somervil, Borthwick, and Yester, whereby they did promise and assure unto him their obedience and fidelity. I did require the said Earl of Moray, that I might have some convenient time this day to declare to him and the L. of Lethington such commission as your Majesty had given me in charge.

“ The Earl of Moray answered—‘ We must now serve God, for the preacher tarrieth for us, and after the sermon we must advise of a time to confer with you.’ And so the said Earl took his leave of me.

“ It may please your Majesty, your letters of the 11th of August, dated at Windsor, I received the 17th of the same; the contents of the same, according to your Majesty’s instructions, I will at my next conference with the Earl of Moray and L. of Lethington accomplish. And albeit your Majesty’s letters do purport that I should declare to all these Lords your misliking of their proceedings, as is prescribed in your said letter; yet being advised by Mr Secretary (by your Majesty’s commandment) to make choice of the Earl of Moray² and the L. of Lethington, as men fittest to treat with for this Queen’s benefit and relief, I do abstain from publick negotiation with this whole Assembly, as the

¹ What strange alterations may occur in human affairs!

² The unfittest man in the world, as Mr Secretary Cecil very well knew; but the fittest man indeed for the Secretary’s purpose.

best mean to bring that to pass which your Majesty desireth.

“ The Bishop of St Andrews is detected by a person of good credit to have been privy and consenting to the murder of the late King.

“ The Abbot of Kilwinning is looked for to repair to this town to-morrow or next day.

“ The Bishop of Galloway (the Earl of Huntly’s uncle, and sent by the said Earl) hath made offer to the Earl of Athole and the L. of Lethington, that the said Earl his nephew shall desist from making any trouble in this Realm, and shall conjoin with these Lords to obey the authority established, so as he may have the Earl of Moray his assured friend, whereof he is in some felonzye, because in the time of the Earl of Moray’s disgrace the said Earl of Huntly was his great enemy.

“ The Lords Fleming, Boyd, and Livingston, have written to the Earl of Moray (which letter I did see), offering him either to come to this town, or to any other place, if he, the said Earl, will give them assurance under his hand ; which he hath refused to do, saying there is no hostility nor deadly feud amongst them, and therefore no cause why they should require any safe-conduct. Well he doth assure them, on his word, that if they come neither they nor any of theirs shall be molested. Thus Almighty God preserve your Majesty in health, honour, and perfect felicity. At Edinburgh, 20th August 1567.

“ Your Majesty’s most humble, faithful,

“ obedient servant and subject,

“ N. THROCKMORTON.

“ I have thought good not to stay this dispatch until my conference had with the said Earl, and Lord of Lethington, and their resolution thereupon ; the rather because your Majesty is in some expectation to hear what hath been done at Lochleven, and the state of this Queen.”

Another Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen of England, 22d August 1567.¹

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY—The 21st of this month

¹ Calig. C. 1, an Original.—[British Museum.—E.]

I declared to the Earl of Moray and the L. of Lethington at good length such commission as I received by your Majesty's letters on the 11th of August, in as earnest and vehement sort as I could set it forth. It was by them thereunto answered as followeth :—

“ They never meant harm (God they took to witness) neither to the Queen's person nor to her honour : They do not forget the manifold benefits they have received of her, and therefore their great affection always born unto her cannot be altogether extinguished ; yea they be so far from meaning her harm, that they wish she were Queen of all the world.¹ Presently she is none otherwise to be satisfied, than a very sick person in an extreme disease is to be pleased in their inordinate appetites : ‘ For,’ said the L. of Lethington, ‘ one sick of a vehement burning fever will refuse all things which may do him good, and require all things which may do him harm ; and therefore the appetite of such a person is not to be followed.’ This matter doth carry with it many parts, some concerning the Queen's person, some the King her son, some the Realm, and some the Lords' and gentlemen's sureties ; and when they shall see a moderation of the Queen their sovereign's passion, they mean nothing but well unto her, and she shall have nothing but good at their hand.² There is no way to do her so much harm as to precipitate matters before they be ripe, or to put these Lords to a strait ; for so against their wills they shall be constrained to do that they would not do. It is evident they have been contented hitherto to be condemned, as it were, of all princes, strangers, and namely of your Majesty, being charged of grievous and infamous titles, as to be noted rebels, traitors, seditious, ingrate, and cruel ; all which they suffer and bear upon their backs, because they will not justify themselves, nor proceed in any thing that might touch the Queen their sovereign's honour. But in case they be with these defamations continually oppressed, or

¹ That they might rule over all the world in her stead ; otherwise, why did they deprive her of the small dominion to which she had so proper a title ? It is easy to varnish over the foulest actions with false or fine speeches.

² We can perceive nothing but moderation in her at the conference with the Earl of Moray.

with the force, aid, and practices of other princes (and namely of your Majesty) put in danger, or to an extremity, they shall be compelled to deal otherwise with the Queen than they intend, or than they desire: ‘For, my Lord Ambassador,’ said he, ‘you may be sure we will not lose our lives, have our lands forfeited,¹ and be reputed rebels through the world, seeing we have the means to justify ourselves; and if there be no remedy but that the Queen your sovereign will make war, and nourish war against us, we can be but sorry for it, and do the best we may. But to put you out of doubt, we had rather endure the fortune thereof, and suffer the sequel, than to put the Queen to liberty now in this mood that she is in, being resolved to retain Bothwell and to fortify him, to hazard the life of her son, to put the Realm in peril, and to forfeit all these Noblemen.² You must think, my Lord Ambassador, your wars are not unknown to us; you will burn our Borders, and we will do the like to yours; and whensoever you invade us, we are sure France will aid us, for their league standeth fast, and they are bound by their league to defend us. And as to the practices which you have in hand to nourish dissension among us, we do overlook your doings, and foresee the end well enough; for either the Hamiltons, and such as you practice withall, will take your silver, and laugh you to scorn, when you have done, and agree with us (for we have in our hands to make the accord when we will), or else you will make them attempt some such act as they and their House shall repent it for ever. The Queen’s Majesty your

¹ Very probably indeed this has been the grand reason for refusing to hearken to Queen Elizabeth’s repeated solicitations, &c. When men have once dipt into rebellion, no doubt the fear of after-punishment withholds them from relenting, and instigates them to proceed in their evil courses.

² With what confidence could this gentleman say so, not only after what the Queen had talked with the Earl of Moray, but after she had demitted the Government, and that voluntarily too, as they represented it? It is even somewhat diverting to observe the various shapes into which the Queen’s enemies cast her sequestration and continued detention. But for all this ill mood they represent her Majesty now to be in, some of them at least might have remembered that they desired Sir James Melvil to acquaint the Earl of Moray at his arrival, that *the Queen was beginning already to repent her of many things*, and it is not very likely that she did now repent the repentance again.

sovereign hath connexed together with the Queen's liberty, and her restitution to her dignity, the preservation of the King the Queen's son, the punishment of the murder, and the safety of these Lords. Many things have been done, much time spent, and strange language used (as you have done in this your last Commission), charging us, another Prince's subjects (for we know not the Queen's Majesty to be our sovereign), to set the Queen at liberty; but nothing hath been done by her Majesty either for the apprehension of Bothwell and the murderers, for the safeguard of the King, or for the safety of these Lords. Will the Queen your mistress arm two or three ships to apprehend Bothwell? Pay a thousand soldiers for a time to reduce all the forts of this Realm to the King's obedience? Then we will say, doing this, that her Majesty mindeth as well these other matters spoken of, as the Queen's liberty.¹

"I directed then my speech to my Lord of Moray:—'Sir, you have no such interest in this matter as these men have, for you have committed no such excess; and therefore I trust this answer given me by the L. of Lethington, though it may be the mind of the other Lords his associates, yet I trust it be not agreeable to yours.' The Earl said—'Sir Nicholas, truly methinketh you have heard reason at the Laird of Lethington's hand, and for mine own part, though I were not here at the doings past, yet surely I must allow of them; and do mean (God willing) to take such part as they do. And seeing the Queen and they have laid upon me the charge of the Regentry (a burden which I would gladly have eschewed), I do mean to ware my life in defence of their action, and will either reduce all men to obedience in the King's name, or it shall cost me my life.² And if the Queen your sovereign do look into the world, she will find more profit for her and her Realm to fortify and assist us, than to be against us; for though we may have cover by her means, yet if the matter be well considered, those which her Majesty doth fortify against us will bring little commodity to her or England.' This was the effect which passed betwixt the Earl of Moray, the L. of Lethington, and me at my last negotiation.

¹ In all Lethington's discourses the great man still shines.

² The last of these did indeed fall out; for he lost his life in the quarrel.

“ I did write a letter to the Bishop of St Andrews and the Abbot of Arbrothe, the copy whereof I sent your Majesty by my dispatch of the 14th. Herewith I send your Majesty answer to the my letter sent from the said Bishop and Abbot, and the Lords Fleming and Boyd, together with such answer as I have returned to them presently by a gentleman named John Hamilton, whom they sent unto me, and whom I think they will shortly send unto your Majesty, and so into France to the Duke of Chastelherault. The said John Hamilton, on the behalf of the Bishop and others, required me to desire a passport of your Majesty for the Duke of Chastelherault, and twenty-four with him, to return forth of France through your Majesty's Realm into Scotland.

“ He required also re commendation to the Lord Seroop, that by his order he might be furnished with post-horses to pass to your Majesty's Court ; and for that purpose I have written to the said Lord Seroop.

“ The said Hamilton said further, the Lords of that faction desired that your Majesty would (in case I were revoked) signify your pleasure to the Lord Herries from time to time, by the order of the Lord Seroop, who may communicate your Majesty's intent to the Hamiltons, and others of that party.

“ I do guess by the contents of their letter that both they be not very hasty in this matter, but would gladly make your Majesty to serve their turn ; and also that there be not many to adhere unto them, seeing their letter is subscribed with so few hands, and those of no great moment. Many of those Noblemen and gentlemen, whereof the Hamiltons made account to run their fortune, do write daily to the Earl of Moray, and do offer unto him obedience and fidelity, so as I think the Hamiltons' faction will be far too weak, and indeed their party is nothing so well made as these Lords ; for besides their forces which ly united, they have the town and Castle of Edinburgh, the town and Castle of Stirling, the town of Leith, and the passages from all parts of the Realm, at their devotion.

“ The Earl of Argile doth bear the Earl of Moray in hand as fair as he doth the Hamiltons, and hath written him a letter this day full of great kindness.

“ The Earl of Huntly hath assayed in his own country what he can do ; and since the Earl of Moray’s coming home he findeth himself no party in the North, and therefore doth make great offers this way.

“ The Lady Bothwell, sister to the said Earl of Huntly, passed through this town within these two days, and is gone to her mother and brother in the north parts : She hath protested to the Lady of Moray in this town that she will never live with the Earl Bothwell, nor take him for her husband.

“ The Earl of Argile doth seek to be divorced from his wife, half-sister to the Earl of Moray. His incontinency is alleged to be the cause of the divorce, and the same procured at his suit ; but his wife will not consent unto it, neither will the Earl of Moray suffer it to pass : so, as it is thought, this will be the occasion of breach of amity betwixt the said Earls. The Earl of Moray hath the better part in the action, because the Earl of Argile is not justifiable by no law.

“ It may please your Majesty, Mons. de Lynerol hath made great shew that he would not tarry here, as not best satisfied with his answers ; but in the end these Lords have made him find it good to prolong his abode here, and, as far as I can learn, De Lynerol is contented to go to Stirling, there to do reverence to the Prince as to the King : at which place it is intended and procured by De Lynerol, that the Hamiltens shall meet with some of these Lords there, and so compound (in the French King’s name) all differences betwixt them. And though John Hamilton seemed to me to be specially dispatched to this town to confer with me, yet I am well advised that the said Hamilton was chiefly addressed to the French ambassador : So as your Majesty may perceive to what end both these Lords and the Hamiltons do conduct their matters, that is, as methinketh, to run the course of France.

“ The law-day for the murder of the late King doth hold in this town this day,¹ where it is thought few or none will

¹ Calderwood’s large MS. says—“ Upon the 22d day of August, Skirling Ricartoun, and some other gentlemen, should have been tried by an assize for the murder of the King, but were continued till October. But the same day the Laird of Ormistoun in Teviotdale, his father’s brother,

appear which be summoned. Notwithstanding, there is a great number of gentlemen have made their repair hither forth of all quarters of the Realm, and many of them well accompanied.

“ This day the Abbot of Kilwinning is come to this town, since whose coming, as I learn, there is some doubt made of the Hamiltons’ repair to Stirling; which not taking place, it is like De Lynerol will not go thither, and then I reckon he will make no long abode here.

“ Now that your Majesty doth see an issue, as well for the preservation of this Queen’s life, as what is resolved for her liberty, and so of all the French ambassador’s negotiations here, and the Hamiltons’ answer to my letter, it may please your Majesty to be so gracious unto me as to revoke me hence. Thus Almighty God preserve your Majesty in all health, honour, and perfect felicity. At Edinburgh, the 22d of August 1567.

“ Your Majesty’s most humble, obedient,

“ faithful servant and subject,

“ N. THROCKMORTON.”

Before we shut up this Chapter, it may be proper to add here the Queen of England’s letter to her ambassador of the 29th of August; because, though it be indeed posterior to the Earl of Moray’s acceptance of the Regency, yet at the time of its writing that Princess had not probably received intelligence of that emergent.

*Letter from the Queen of England to Sir Nicholas
Throckmorton, 29th August 1567.*¹

“ TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well:—We have within these two days received three sundry letters of yours, the 20th, 22d, and 23d, having not before these received any seven days before; and do find by these your letters you have very diligently and largely advertised us of all the hasty and peremptory proceedings there, which as we

Sir Patrick Hepburn of Whitecastle, the Laird of Talo, younger, with divers others, were denounced rebels, and put to the horn, for not compearance.”—[Calderwood’s Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 385, 386.—E.]

¹ Calig. C. 1, a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

nothing like, so we trust in time to see them wax colder, and to receive some reformation. For we cannot perceive that they with whom you have dealt can answer the doubts moved by the Hamiltons, who, howsoever they may be carried for their private respects, yet these things which they move will be allowed with all reasonable persons; for if they may not, being Noblemen of the Realm, be suffered to hear the Queen their sovereign declare her mind concerning the reports which are made of her by such as keep her in captivity,¹ how should they believe the reports, or obey them that do report it? And therefore our meaning is, you shall let the Hamiltons plainly understand that we do well allow of their proceedings so far forth as the same doth concern the Queen their sovereign for her relief; and in such things as shall appear reasonable for us to do herein for the Queen our sister, we will be ready to perform the same.² And where it is required, that upon your coming

¹ This may give us to understand that the Hamiltons had complained, that as they were not allowed to see the Queen, so neither, on the other hand, did they think themselves under an obligation to credit the stories reported of her by those who kept her prisoner; for perhaps she had already given, and was still ready to give, all reasonable satisfaction concerning her late misbehaviour. And as these Lords who first took upon them to shut her up could in reason pretend to no such authority in exclusion of the other Peers of the Realm, so their peremptory refusal to give other Noblemen access to her Majesty, is a shrewd suspicion that they did this that they themselves might thereby have opportunity to put what glosses they found convenient for their purposes on the Queen's present deportment, and so deprive her of undeceiving her faithful subjects.

² That the Queen of England spoke here as she thought, the following part of her Secretary Sir William Cecil's letter to her ambassador in France, Sir Henry Norris, seems to be a sure evidence:—"Sir, You shall perceive by the Queen's Majesty's letters to you at this present, how earnestly she is bent in the favour of the Queen of Scots; and truly since the beginning she hath been greatly offended with the Lords. And howsoever her Majesty might make her profit by bearing with the Lords in this action, yet no counsel can stay her Majesty from insisting on her misliking of them"—19th August 1567. And in another letter from the same to the same—"The Queen's Majesty our sovereign remaineth still offended with the Lords for the Queen of Scots; the example moveth her," 3d September 1567.—Cabala. By these two shreds of letters we can easily discern that the English Secretary has done all that lay in him to divert his mistress from frowning at the Scottish rebels; but that the Queen of England persisted still hitherto in earnest willing to relieve our Queen. She thought it a *bad example* to the subjects of other nations;

thence the Lord Scroop should deal with the Lord Herries, to impart their meanings to us, and ours to them ; we are pleased therewith, and we require you to advertise the Lord Scroop thereof by your letters, and to will him to shew himself favourable to them in their actions that may appear plainly to tend to the relief of the Queen, and maintenance of her authority. And as we willed our Secretary to write unto you, that upon your message done to the Earl of Moray, you might return, our meaning is, you shall ; and if these our letters shall meet you on the way, yet we will have you advertise the Lord Scroop and the Hamiltons of our meaning.”

and no doubt it was so, and ought not to have been tolerated by sovereign princes. And had the Queen of England in particular followed forth her present resolution, there is as little doubt to be made, that the power of the rebels in Scotland would soon have dwindled to nothing. But other views came afterwards before her Majesty's mind, and a *present* interest prevailed with her above *future* glory.—[Our Historian is more complimentary to Queen Elizabeth for her alleged good feeling towards Queen Mary than can now be admitted. See “An Order for Mary's execution in 1569,” which seems to have been arrested by the failure of an insurrection projected by the Duke of Norfolk, the then Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and other Roman Catholic Noblemen and gentlemen in England, and “Elizabeth's Plot for the secret execution of Mary in Scotland” in 1572, *apud* Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 463-469, Appendix.—E.]

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTAINING MATTERS OF STATE FROM THE EARL OF MORAY'S ACCEPTATION OF THE REGENCY IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1567, TILL THE QUEEN'S RETREAT INTO ENGLAND IN THE MONTH OF MAY 1568.

AFTER the Earl of Moray had returned from visiting the Queen in the Castle of Lochleven, and that every thing had been put in order by him and his friends for the prosecution of their designs, his Lordship, in the space of two days after his coming to Edinburgh, was pleased to accept and enter upon the office of Regent of the kingdom within the said city of Edinburgh, in the manner and form here subjoined.—

“ *Apud Edinburgh, 22d August 1567.*

“ SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Moraviæ Comes, Dominus Abernethie, Regni Scotiæ Regens; Jacobus Comes de Mortoun; Joannes Comes de Athole; Alexander Comes de Glencairn; Joannes Comes de Mar; Robertus Comes de Buchan; Joannes Magister Graham; Alexander Dominus Hume; Willielmus Dominus Ruthven; Patricius Dominus Lyndesay de Byris; Robertus Dominus Sempill; Willielmus Dominus Borthwick; Robertus Commendatarius de Dunfermline; Willielmus Maitland de Lethington, junior, Secretarius; Magister Robertus Richardson, Commendatarius Insulæ Sanctæ Mariæ, Thesaurarius; Joannes Bellenden de Auchnoul, Miles, Clericus Justiciaræ; Jacobus Balfour de Pittendreich, Miles, Clericus Registri; Magister Jacobus Macgill de Rankillor-nether; Joannes Spens, Advocatus; cum diversis Baronibus et Commissariis Burgorum.*

“ ACCEPTATIOUN OF THE REGENCIE.

“ THE quhilk day, in presens of the Lordis of Secreit Counsale, Nobilitie, Spiritualitie, Commissionaris of Burrowis, and Baronnis, conveint within the Tolbuith of the burgh of Edinburgh, wes presentit ane Commissioun subscryvit be the Quenis Majestie, our Soverane Lordis derrest moder, and

under hir Hienes Previe-Seill, of the dait, at Lochlevin, the xxiv. day of Julij last bipast, quhilk wes opinlie red, the tenourquhairoffollowis—‘MARIE, be the grace of God Quene of Scotis, to all and sindrie our jugeis and ministeris of our lawis, liegis and subjectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais knowlege thir our letteris sall cum, greting: Forsamekleas efter lang, greit, and intollerabill panis and labouris takin be us sen our arryvall,’ &c. as is expressit at lenth in the Act above-writtin, maid the xxv. day of Julij last bipast——

“ Efter the publiet reding of the quhilk Commissioun, and invocatioun of the name of God, the said nobill and myehtie Lord James Erle of Moray, &c. ressavit and acceptit¹ upoun him the office of Regentrie of our Soverane Lord his Realme and liegis, and gaif his ayth for debtfull administratioun thair of, efter the forme and tenour of the said Commissioun in all pointis: Of the quhilk ayth the tenour als wa followis—‘ I, James Erle of Moray, Lord Abernethie, &c. promeiss faythfullie, in the presence of the Eternall, my God, that I induring the haill cours of my lyff sall serve the same Eternall, my God, to the uttermost of my power, according as he requirit in his maist holy Word, revelit and contenit in the New and Auld Testamentis; and, according to the same Word, sall mentaine the trew religioun of Jesus Christ, the preaching of his holy Word, and dew and rycht administratioun of his sacramentis, now ressavit and practizit within this Realme; and als sall abolysche and gainestand all false religioun contrair to the same: And sall rewle the peopill committit to my charge and regiment during the minoritie and les age of the King my soverane, according to the will and command of God revelit in his foirsaid Word, and according to the lovabill lawis and constitutionis ressavit in this Realme, nowayis repugnant to the said Word of the Eternall, my God; and sall procure to my uttermost, to the Kirk of God, and haill Cristiane peopill, trew and

¹ Buchanan says that the Earl of Moray was *elected* Regent by the States. This writer would fain make the world believe that the supreme governors of Scotland come at their office always by *election* of the people. But the whole authentick progress of this new Regency (such as it was) belies this author egregiously. Even *herein* also Archbishop Spottiswood blindly follows the tradition of Mr Buchanan.

perfyte peace, in all tyme cuming. The rychtis and rentis, with all just privilegeis of the Crowne of Scotland, I sall preserve and keip unviolat; nather sall I transferr nor alienat the samyn. I sall forbid and repress, in all estaittis and degreis, reiff, oppressioun, and all kynd of wrang. In all jugementis I sall command and procure that justice and equitie be keipit to all creaturis without exceptioun, as He be merciefull to me and zow that is the Lord and Fader of all mercies; and out of this Realme of Scotland, and impyre thairof, I sall be cairfull to ruite out all heretickis and enemeis to the trew worschip of God, that sall be convict be the trew Kirk of God of the foirsaid crymes.¹ And thir thingis above-writtin I faythfullie affirme be this my solempnit ayth.²—R. M.³

The same day an order was published for proclaiming the Earl of Moray's acceptation of the Regency, and a charge to the lieges, enjoining them to give obedience to the Lord Regent in all things, under the pain of treason; which Proclamation, because it contains some clauses the readers might willingly desire to see, I have therefore taken the freedom to annex here at full length.

“*Apud Edinburgh, 22d August 1567.*”

“**FORSAMEKILL** as the Quene, moder to our Soverane Lord the King, the tyme of hir subscription of the Commissioun and Letteris of Procuratorie, be the quhilk she dimittit and

¹ And what better right had he to do so than the last Regent, viz. the Queen's mother, had to root out all those whom she accounted hereticks? The addition of the words, *convict be the trew Kirk of God*, is of no service at all, seeing every Kirk will call itself the *trew Kirk*. And I make little doubt but the *trewer* the Kirk is, the less persecution will be made by it.

² In the Lord Pitmedden's abstracts of Privy-Council it is said, that “at this time compeared Arthur Hamilton of Muretoun, as proctor for John Archbishop of St Andrews, and Gavin Commendator of Kilwinning, Commissioners nominate by James Duke of Chastelherault, Earl of Arran, and protested that the Queen's Commission and the coronation of the King her son should not prejudice the Duke and his successors in the right of succession to the crown of the kingdom, whensoever it shall please God to call him thereto.” But whether this has been only the protestation made at the time of the King's coronation, already set down, p. 721, or if these same persons have now repeated the former protestation, I cannot determine.

³ [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

renunceit the government of this Realme in the favouris of our said Soverane Lord ; considerand that, be ressoun of his tender zouth, he wes not of abilitie of his awn persoun to administrat in his kinglie rowme and government, as wes requisite ; and knawing the proximitie and tendernes of blude standing betwix him and hir derrest bruther, James Erle of Moray, Lord Abernethie, of quhais affectioun and kyndlie luff towardis his Majestie and the commoun-weill of this Realme sche wes, and is, maist assurit : In respect quhairof, as of the certaintie of hir said brutheris sufficiencie and gude qualificatioun, hir Grace, be hir letteris alsua subscriyvit with hir hand, and under hir Previe Seill, of the dait above-writtin, maid, namit, appointit, constitut and ordanit him Regent to hir said derrest sone, this Realme, and liegis thairrof, during his minoritie and les aige, and ay and quhill (until) he be of the aige of seventein zeiris compleit, willand that he be callit, during the said space, REGENT to our Soverane Lord, his Realme and liegis : with power to hir said derrest bruther, in name, authoritie, and behalf of our said Soverane Lord, to use and exerce the said office of Regentrie in all thingis, privilegeis, and commodities pertaining thairto, siclyke als frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony Regent or Governour to the Quene, or hir predecessouris, usit in ony tymes bigane ; lykeas, at mair lenth, is conteint in the Commissioun foirsaid, past thairupoun of the dait the xxiv. day of Julij last bipast ; quhilk befoir and in the tyme of our Soverane Lordis coronatioun, solempnizat upoun the xxix day of the said moneth, wes red, considerit, fund gude and expedient ; and be the Estaittis than conveint, ratifeit, approvit, and condescendit unto. Sen the quhilk tyme, at the plesour of Almichtie God, the said Nobill Lord returning to this Realme, his native countrie, considering the Quenis deliberat will and mynd, not onlie be hir said Commissiounis, bot alsua be hir awn mouth and voce, that he sould accept the said office and charge ;¹ for obedience thair-

¹ "The Queen was perswaded by these that were her keepers, and others intromitted (allowed to enter into Lochleven) for that purpose, to desire him (Moray) to take the government of the country upon him ; to which he was so easily perswaded, that without great delay of time, by coacted consent of the captive Queen, the good mind of the factioners, and his own bent will thereunto, was publickly proclaimed," &c.—

of,¹ and movit of the naturall and entire affectioun quhilk he beris towart the weillfair and preservatioun of our said Soverane Lord and common-weill of this Realme, hes acceptit and ressavit the charge and office of Regentrie upoun his persoun, and hes gevin his ayth in presens of the Lordis of Secreit-Counsall, for debtfull administratioun thairrof, to the plesour of God, our Soveranis honour, and commoditie of all the gude subjectis of this Realme: Thairfoir ordanis letteris to be direct to mak publicatioun heirof be oppin proclamatioun at the mercate-croce of Edinburgh, and all utheris mercate-croces of the heid burrowis and schyris of this Realme, and utheris places neidfull, that nane pretend ignorance of the samyn; and to command and charge all and sindrie the liegis and subdittis quhatsumevir to reddilie answer, intend, and obey to the said Lord Regent, in his said office and charge of Regentrie during the said space of our Soverane Lordis minoritie, and to nane utheris, siclyke as ony Princes, or utheris Governouris and Regentis, hes bene obeyit in tymes bigane, under the pane of tresoun; certifieing all and quhatsumevir persounis that dois in the contrair, resistand our Soveranis authoritie and disobeyand the said Regent, thay sall be repuited and haldin as plane ganestanderis of his Majestie's authoritie, and sall be puneist thairfoir with all rigour, in exempill of utheris."—R. M.²

The first thing we find done by the Regent was to publish an order, the very next day after his acceptation, for destroying all the publick seals of the kingdom which carried the name and title of the Queen.³ Another thing the Regent immediately set about was to strengthen his party by force as well as by authority, wisely enough considering that the one would soon become despicable without the other. For this purpose he dealt to get the Castle of

Crawfurd's MS.—[Historie and Life of King James the Sext, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 17, 18.—E.]

¹ What if the Queen had refused to grant him a Commission of Regency? Would this *obedient* Lord have in that case obeyed his sister and sovereign? We see the most rebellious are fond to talk of *obedience* as a virtue, and to assume the merit of it to themselves as oft as they can.

² [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

³ The Act of Council appointing this matter I have put into the Appendix, Numb. XXIV.

Edinburgh surrendered to him by Sir James Balfour, who, though he had been made Governour thereof by the interest of the Earl of Bothwell, yet he quickly laid aside the gratitude he owed both to the Queen and that Nobleman, and entered into the measures of the Associating Lords. But that party, it seems, though they loved the treachery, had no great liking to the man; and this made them so very earnest to have the Castle out of his hands; and, on the other hand, he, as would appear, dreading to be called to account for his former deportment whilst a partisan with Bothwell, instantly agreed to deliver the Castle into the hands of the Earl of Moray on the following conditions—¹

- “1. A remission for art and part of the King’s murder.
2. The gift and donation of the Priory of Pittenweem.²
3. A pension of victual to his eldest son out of the Priory of St Andrews, to remain with him heritably.
4. A great pecunial sum to himself in hand (Spottiswood calls it 5000 pounds).³
5. That the Castle shall be put into the hands of the Laird of Grange.”⁴

These Articles were speedily agreed to, and they say that upon payment of the money contained in the fourth Article the Regent took possession of the Castle, and slept the night of the 24th August⁵ in the same room where the Queen had been last year delivered of her son the Prince.

¹ The first *four* of these conditions are in Crawford’s MS., and the *fifth* alone in Melvil’s Memoirs.—[*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 18; Sir James Melville’s Memoirs, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 198.—E.]

² This Priory was held by the Regent *in commendam*, together with that of St Andrews.

³ [History of the Church and State of Scotland, folio, London 1677, p. 213.—E.]

⁴ [This appointment to be Governor of Edinburgh Castle was eventually Kirkaldy’s ruin. He subsequently, during the Regency of Morton, went over to the Queen’s party, and held out the Castle for them in opposition to Morton. The Fortress sustained a severe siege for upwards of a month by Morton, assisted by Sir William Drury and an English force in 1573, but Kirkaldy was compelled to submit to an unconditional surrender, and was basely executed, by command of Morton, on the 3d of August that year. His brother, Sir James Kirkaldy, and two others, were put to death at the same time.—E.]

⁵ So says Crawford’s Memoirs, but Calderwood’s MS. says, this Castle was only surrendered on the 5th day of September.—[*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, p. 18; Calderwood’s *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 387.—E.]

Some time after the Regent gave this Castle to be kept by Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange.

The next thing the Regent took in hand was to get likewise into his possession the Castle of Dunbar; and so we see in the Records, on the 26th day of the same month of August, an order for "letteris to be directed to command and charge James Erle of Bothwell, Patrick Quhytlaw of that Ilk, John Newtoun zoungar of that Ilk, Mr Thomas Hepburn Parson of Aldhamstocks, and all utheris keiparis of the Castell of Dunbar, to render and deliver the same, with all artaillierie, pulder, and munitionis being thairin, to the officiaris executoris heiroy, within sex houris after the charge, with certificatioun of forfaultour, &c. as traittouris, in case of refusal." The same persons were likewise charged at the same time to deliver before the Justice and his Deputes, within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in the space of twenty-four hours next after the charge, "the person of Patrick Wilson, who had been declarit traittour, and art and part in the Kingis murthour, under the pain to be repute, haldin, callit, persewit, and denunceit as plane partakaris with the said Patrick in his rebellioun and treassonabill deids, and to be puneist thairfoir with all rigour, in exempill of utheris." But notwithstanding the charge given for the surrender of this Castle, those within took no care to obey, and therefore the Regent saw himself under a necessity to carry it by a formal siege. And we are enabled to ascertain the precise time of this expedition by an order of Privy-Council issued the 23d of September, and contained in the Abstracts, charging "the browsters, baxters, and fleschers¹ of the town of Haddington to pass and gang fordwart with bakin breid, browin aill, and flescche, to furnische the camp lyand at the siege of Dunbar Castell, at competent pryces, under the payne to be reput assistaris of the rebellis: And charging the Provost and Bailzies of Haddington to see the said breid, aill, and flescche, furnisched to the said camp, as thai will answer upoun thair obedience, and under the payne foirsaid."

The Captain, at the first summons to surrender, is said to have given the ordinary answer that he would defend the

¹ i. e. Brewers, bakers, and butchers.

Castle to the last extremity. But when he saw the Regent was wholly bent upon getting it into his hands, having for that end conveyed heavy cannon from the Castle of Edinburgh, and that he saw no probability of relief, surrendered the Castle to the Regent on certain easy conditions.¹ “The Castle was delivered on the 1st day of October, and the Earl of Morton, the Lords Hume, Lindsay, and some others, desired the keeping of it. But the Regent caused carry all the artillery and munition of it to Edinburgh, and committed it to the custody of the town of Dunbar until the Parliament time.”² And then he procured an Act for the demolition both of it and the fort upon Inchkeith, which Act shall be hereafter noticed.

Before we proceed farther it will be proper to set down the following letter :—

*Letter from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Sir William Cecil,
1st September 1567.*³

“SIR—Your letter of the 20th of August, dated at Guildford, I received the 27th of the same, containing the Queen’s Majesty’s order prescribed unto me by you for my proceedings with the Earl of Moray (now Regent), in such points as are mentioned in your said letter; and containing also, somewhat to my comfort, her Majesty’s pleasure for my return, which is to take place when I shall have accomplished such things as be prescribed me by you. For answer whereunto, this shall be to advertise you, and her Majesty by you, that the Earl of Moray, in the presence of the Lord of Lethington, hath answered me as followeth—

¹ So says Crawford’s MS. But Cecil to Norris, 9th October 1567, says—
“All things be quiet in Scotland since the last of September, at which time the Castle of Dunbar was rendred to the Earl of Moray; and one named the Lord Waughton, follower of the Earl Bothwell, which kept the Castle as long as he could, was adjudged to pay for the charges of them which besieged it, and the charge of the carriage of the ordnance back to Edinburgh: A new kind of punishment, sufficient enough for such a beggar.”—Cabala.

² Calderwood’s MS. and so far with it agrees Crawford’s MS. that “all the cannon and guns therein competent were carried to the Castle of Edinburgh.”—[Calderwood’s *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 387; *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANSATYNE CLUB, p. 20.—E.]

³ Calig. C. I, a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

“ *First*, To the matter declared by me, as I was ordered by her Majesty’s letter of the 11th of August, the Earl of Moray said, That the Lord of Lethington had before him made answer at good length five days past, so as that matter needed no repetition. All which their answer and discourse I signified to her Majesty by my letters of the 22d of August.

“ To my going to the Queen at Lochleven, he shewed me that the Lords saw no reason more now to accord unto me access to the Queen than they have done all this while ; but much less, seeing they have refused it to the French ambassador, who has gone his way without it.¹

“ As to the acceptation of the Regency, he said,² It was now past ; and as for ignominy and calumny, he had none other defence against that but the goodness of God, his upright conscience, and his intent to deal sincerely in his office ; and if that would not serve, he could not tell what to say, for now there was none other remedy but he must go through with the matter.

“ As to the Queen’s Majesty’s satisfaction for the Queen his sovereign’s consent, touching the government conferred upon him, he saith, he would be loth to allow any such matter, and specially a thing that toucheth himself, if he had not the Queen’s consent thereunto, confirmed by her own mouth.³

“ As unto some certain time for the Queen’s enlargement to be prescribed, which I demanded, he said, the Lords could not resolve thereupon, because her liberty, and the time thereof, depended upon accidents :—‘ Albeit (said he) for mine own part I could be contented it were undelayedly.’⁴

“ As unto that which I demanded for the Queen’s condition and estate after Bothwell’s apprehension and justifying;

¹ [Throgmorton anticipated this before the arrival of Moray and the French ambassador Lignerolles. In a letter to Cecil, dated 9th August 1567, he says—“ They have utterly refused me accesse to the Quene, and I believe Lynerolls shall speede no better, if he have commission to presse it.”—Wright’s *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. p. 263.—E.]

² In this and other letters that are responsory, the readers will easily represent to themselves the contents of the letters to which they answer.

³ Of this we have observed enough already.

⁴ And he wanted not interest to have procured it. Why did he never propose it either to his Council or his ensuing Parliament ?

he answered, they could not merchandize for the bear's skin before they had him.¹

“ I did reply thereunto, saying—They did foresee by imagination what should be meet for them to do, and what they would do at that time. The Earl of Moray answered—‘ As far as I can perceive, the Queen's liberty then will depend chiefly upon her own behaviour and considerate doings ; for if the Lords may perceive that she doth digest well the justifying² of Bothwell, the punishment of his adherents, and doth not discover a wrathful and revengeful mind towards these proceedings, and likewise if the Queen your sovereign will so deal as we may have cause to think that she seeketh the quietness of this Realm, and not the trouble of it, as by countenancing and nourishing certain factions, then these Lords will seek to do all grateful things to the Queen our sovereign, and to the Queen's Majesty of England : Marry, to fish so far before the net, and to tell now what shall be done then, neither do I nor they think convenient to give any determinate answer.’³ So as having these resolute answers to the matters aforesaid, I have thought good to make no longer tarrying, but use the benefit of her Majesty's pleasure, signified unto me by you, concerning my return.

“ And after I had given knowledge to the Earl of Moray and the other Lords that I would depart forthwith, they desired me to tarry, to the end they might make ready my dispatch. I told them my dispatch might be expected within an hour, for I had nothing to receive from them but

¹ The plain Scottish of this was, that he and the other Lords his supporters had no mind in any event ever to set the Queen their sovereign at liberty again, though by the following testimony it appears plain that they had fed the Queen of England with some better hopes :—“ If Bothwell might be apprehended, I think the Queen there (in Scotland) shall be at good liberty, for the Nobility.”—Cecil to Norris, 14th July 1567—Cabala. But now that there was a certain prospect of Bothwell's ruin, or rather that he was already as good as ruined, these Lords forget what they had formerly given to understand.

² i. e. Bringing to justice.

³ Sure the readers hereof will easily discern that in all this answer there is nothing but tergiversation and shifting, and that how soon one thing is set out of the way which the Lords pretended was the obstacle of the Queen's liberation, another is immediately started ; and, last of all, “ *they think it not convenient to give any determinate answer.*” Well spoken indeed, and honestly !

my safe-conduct. The Earl of Moray required me to stay, for that he would write something to the Queen's Majesty, and would also require me to say something to her Majesty on his behalf. I required him there might as little delay be used as could be.

"The 30th of August the Earl of Moray sent unto me, and required me, after the sermon, that we might go together to his lodging; whereupon the sermon being finished, I did accompany him thither, where were assembled all the Lords. The L. of Lethington, in name of all the Lords, made a summary repetition of all their proceedings since the beginning of this matter, yielding there these particular reasons to every their particular actions; which was in effect the same that I have heretofore in sundry of my dispatches advertised her Majesty. At length he concluded, that no men in the world would be more sorry than they to have the Queen's Majesty conceive otherwise than favourably of them; touching, by way of digression, the accord of religion betwixt the countries, the particular favours shewed to many of them by her Majesty heretofore, and the general relief that the whole country and nation received at the time of Leith,¹ when strangers were in way to oppress them, their liberty and religion. When the L. of Lethington had finished his talk, the Earl of Moray set forth at great length what great grief it should be to him in particular to have the Queen's Majesty think otherwise of him than well, alledging many general reasons, and some particular touching himself, concluding there was no Prince next those which he ought his chiefest duty unto,² that the alienation of their favour might trouble him so much as the Queen's Majesty's.

"Then the Earl of Morton said—'I will omit to speak of these things which have been touched by others, and pray you to render mine humble thanks to her Majesty for the favour I received in the time of my trouble in her Realm.'

"Then the Earls of Moray, Athole, Morton, Mar, and Glencairn, and the L. of Lethington, led me into a little cabinet, where they had prepared a present of gilt-plate, as

¹ [The siege of Leith, before the death of the Queen-Dowager, mother of Queen Mary, in 1559.—E.]

² If the Queen his sovereign was one of *those* to whom he owed duty, the duty he paid her was so fine spun as not to be discerned without his own glasses.

I esteemed it better than — merks, which the Earl of Moray required me to accept by way of present, as from the King their Sovereign Lord. I declared that I could not accept any present from any person within that Realm, but from the Queen their sovereign, of whom I would not make any difficulty to receive a present if she were in case to bestow any; but as from the King (whom I took to be Prince) I could receive none, seeing he had attained to that name by injuring the Queen his mother. Whereupon the Lords required me to desist from such matters, for it would but breed contention to no purpose, and so earnestly pressed me again to receive the present in the King's name, which, to be short, I refused; and so we parted, as it seemed to me they not best pleased. Then my leave being taken of them, the L. of Lethington accompanied me to my lodging, and there persisted with many perswasions to move me to change my mind from refusing the present; whereunto I did not yield, but so took my leave of him.¹ Somewhat he required me to say unto you in his behalf, which I will declare at my return.

“ I was accompanied forth of the town, and so six or seven miles of my way towards Haddington, with a good company of my Lord of Moray's gentlemen. And because it was late before I departed Edinburgh, I lay at Haddington all night, and so came, the last of August, to this town, accompanied with Mr Robert Melvil, from whence towards the Court I will make the speed I may. But I pray you, Sir, look not for any great haste at my hand, for surely I am not in case so to travel.

“ At my departing Edinburgh, which was the 30th of August, there was no news come that the force of the L. of Tullibardine and Grange had met with Bothwell, but that their ships were discovered to be within forty miles of Shetland, where Bothwell was.² The principal man of the Isle,

¹ This gentleman has now, and in all this his negotiation, acted a very honest and good part, contrary to what some people have said of him; so that we should not give credit too readily without good and sufficient credentials. I pray the readers to look into Sir James Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 89, where they will find a very large character of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, with several particulars worth while to be known.

² “ Bothwell is not yet taken, to our knowledge, though it be said he should been taken on the seas by a ship of Bremen.”—Cecil to Norris, 2d

named Fogge, doth favour Bothwell, as it is said, whereby his party shall be destroyed.

October 1567, Cabala. Because I see not any where a better account concerning the fate of the Earl of Bothwell as that which is contained in Crawford's MS., I chuse to set it down here, and I shall not return to speak of this unhappy person any more.—“In the mean time the Regent Moray directed certain persons to the seas to prosecute Bothwell where he might be found, and especially in Orkney, where he understood him to make his residence. Certain of his men were taken and put to death for their odious crimes; but he, escaping their invasion, addressed himself to the coast of Norway, and he being accompanied with certain fine ships as Admiral of Scotland (this office he did indeed hold), and the same conducted by good captains, they chanced to espy a fair ship of Turkey then lying on the coast within the dominions of the King of Denmark, which ship he seized upon, and made a prey thereof. But the governour of the town seeing that ship taken away which once had made obedience within the seas of his Prince, directed out two great ships to relieve her from the hands of her enemies, and the invasion of this port of Norway. The Earl of Bothwell was compelled to give over, and so was led prisoner, his captains and mariners heavily tortured, and himself committed to such prison wherefrom he was not freed till his death. The Regent with his Council, understanding of this accident, directed certain commissioners to the King of Denmark, desiring that Prince to render him back to Scotland, to be punished for the murder of the late King Henry whereof he was culpable; but it was refused by the King of Denmark, because he would not acknowledge their authority.” Calderwood's MS. says, the Laird of Grange, &c. came to Schetland in the pursuit of Bothwell on the 1st day of September; that they took three of his ships, and apprehended the young Laird of Talo, with divers others. This account indeed may be true, since on the 13th of September we see this gentleman was examined at Edinburgh concerning his accession to the murder of the King. But Mr Buchanan's mention of the winter storms seems not to concord so well with it.—[See the authentic narrative respecting Bothwell in the *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 19, 20; also Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 386, 387. The account of the fate of Bothwell by Lord Herries is interesting. After mentioning that Bothwell fled to Orkney and Shetland, where he turned pirate, Lord Herries says—“From thence he went to Denmark, where he was known by some Scots merchants that acquainted the Earle of Moray at their returne, when he was Regent. Whereupon he (Moray) sends to the King of Denmark an information against him, and desyred him to put him to death, for an example to all that shall attempt the Prince's lyfe. It is recorded that the King of Denmark caused cast him in a lothsome prison, where none had access unto him but only those who carried him such scurvie meat and drink as was allowed, which was given him in at a little window. Here he was kept ten years, till, being overgrown with hair and filth, he went mad and died—a just punishment for his wickedness.”—*Historie of the Reign of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 96.—E.]

“ The L. of Glamis and the Master of Sinclair¹ are come to Edinburgh, and have associate themselves with these Lords. The Earl of Cassils is looked for shortly.

“ The Hamiltons and others have a convention at Lanerk in the West of Scotland, from whence they mean to make a dispatch to the Queen’s Majesty. Herewith I send you a confabulation lately set forth by one of these poets. Thus I do humbly take my leave of you, at Berwick this 1st of September 1567.

“ Yours to use and command,

“ N. THROCKMORTON.”

The Regent and his Council had perceived, it seems, from the beginning that the gentlemen of the countries lying to the south and south-east of Edinburgh were little favourable to their present undertakings. Under the pretext, therefore, of settling peace and tranquillity in the East March, the Regent and Council, on the 23d day of August, give charge to the following gentlemen of the shire of Merse, viz. “ John Hume of Blacater, David Hume of Wedderburn, John Lumsden of Blanern, George Hume of Aytoun, Patrick Cockburn of Langtoun, John Swyntoun of that Ilk, Alexander Cockburn of that Ilk, John Renton of Billy, Patrick Sleich of Cumledg, William Chirnside of East Nisbet, John Sinclair of Longformacus, Thomas Ridpeth of that Ilk, John Haitlie of Mellerstanes, John Hume of Coldingknows, and James Ker of Mersingtoun,” to compear personally before the Regent and Council on the last day of August then running, to give their advice concerning the ordering of justice and establishing of quietness within the bounds of the East March, as they will answer at their uttermost peril. R. M.²

And by the Abstracts we learn that on the 1st of September letters are directed by the Council to charge Alexander Hamilton of Inverweik to enter into ward within the Castle of Falkland in the space of four days; the Laird of Bass to deliver up his fortalice (the Bass)³ within forty-eight

¹ [James, eldest son of Henry third Lord Sinclair.—E.]

² [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

³ [The Bass is the stupendous insulated rock in the mouth of the Frith of Forth, three miles from North Berwick, rising upwards of 400 feet

hours; — Hepburn of Waughton to deliver Waughton;¹ and the Laird of Roslin to deliver Roslin² in the space of twenty-four hours; Hepburns of Smiton and Gilmerton to enter prisoners in Edinburgh Castle within twenty-four hours; Oliver Sinclair (of Whitekirk) and the Laird of Newton, to enter into ward within the Castle of Down³

perpendicularly out of the sea. It is about a mile in circumference, and is completely inaccessible on all sides except the south-west, where the landing is by no means easy. The Bass Rock, uninviting as it is, appears to have been inhabited at a very early period; and tradition asserts that it was the residence of the famous East-Lothian Apostle St Baldred, a disciple of St Kentigern, better known as St Mungo, the founder of Glasgow Cathedral. St Baldred could not have chosen a more unapproachable retreat than this extraordinary rock, which is one of the most interesting marine curiosities in Scotland. The Bass Rock was long in the possession of the family of Lauder, who refused to sell it, though solicited by several Kings. In 1569 or 1570 the Earl of Morton attempted to get the Bass into his own hands, and we have some notices of his manœuvring to secure the *Auld Crag*, as it was locally designated. Wishart of Pittarrow told the Regent Lennox—"I hear say, my Lord of Morton is trafficking to get the house of the Bass, which, if he does, he will stop some devices your Grace knows; and therefore, were I in your Grace's stead, I would *gang between the cow and the corn*. I tell you that *Auld Crag* is a good starting hole; at least it will serve to keep them that you will be sure of."—Memorialles by Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox, 4to. Edin. printed for private circulation, p. 6, 9. When James VI. stated to the then proprietor that he would give him whatever he chose to ask for the Bass Rock, Lauder replied—"Your Majesty must e'en resign it to me, for I'll have the *Auld Crag* back again." This answer intimates that the King had obtained temporary possession, but the same anecdote is related as referring to Charles II. The Bass was sold to the Government after the Restoration for L.4000, and it was made a state prison. The ruins of the fortifications, which immediately overhang the landing-place, are still very entire. The Bass Rock is now the property of Dalrymple, Bart. of North-Berwick.—E.]

¹ [Hepburn of Waughton, in Haddingtonshire, was the original stock of the Hepburns, Earls of Bothwell.—E.]

² [Roslin Castle, in the immediate vicinity of the celebrated Roslin Chapel, was the ancient residence of the St Clairs, Earls of Orkney. The old part of the Castle is now a mouldering ruin, approached by a stone bridge thrown over a deep and most romantic ravine, at one time said to have been the bed of the North Esk river, which now half encircles the Castle, over rocky hollow ground.—E.]

³ Three miles north-west of Stirling.—[Doune Castle is eight English miles from Stirling, near the village or town of Doune, in the parish of Kilmadock, Perthshire, on the banks of the Teith, which enters the Forth after traversing the vale of Blair-Drummond. The Castle is now a massive ruin, occupying the summit of a steep bank washed on one side by the Teith, and its lofty towers rise to a great height above the surrounding

in the space of three days: all these under the pain of rebellion.

And by the same Abstracts, on the 10th of September, charge is given to the Lairds of Blanern and Mellerstanes to enter into ward in Edinburgh within three days under the pain of rebellion, because they had disobeyed a former charge (viz. of the 23d of August) to have come to Edinburgh, and there to have given their advice, &c. And this present charge is under the pain of rebellion; and if they fail to obey the charge, immediately to denounce them rebels.

That the intention of the preceding Acts of Council was the same as I have here represented, is not only verified by the account of one of our historians,¹ at that time in the following words—"During the accomplishment of this purpose (viz. the affair of the Castle of Dunbar), all the Noblemen and gentlemen of East Lothian that were expected to be favourers to the Queen, or friends to the Duke of Orkney, were charged under highest pain to subscribe obedience to the new elected Regent, and to give their aid for prosecuting the late King's murder. Certain of them for ease of their bodies, to the effect they should not be spulzied of their rents, consented thereunto, albeit against their hearts; others, disobeyers, were denounced rebels, and their goods confiscated." Now, it is very likely that the paper which this author here intends to be subscribed by these gentlemen has been the paper called the *Second Band*, already set down here, p. 714, since, if the readers will take the trouble to inspect the subscribers of that Bond, as marked in Mr Anderson's

trees, imparting an imposing effect to this grand baronial pile. At one end of the front rises a spacious square tower 80 feet high, and another a little inferior is on the opposite extremity. A strong back wall, near 40 feet in height, forms the whole into an ample quadrangle. Though roofless, the Castle walls are still entire, and are of great solidity and strength. The date of erection is unknown, but it was the occasional residence of two successive Dukes of Albany, Regents of Scotland, and of Queen Margaret, widow of James IV. Her grand-daughter Queen Mary, and her grandson Darnley, after he married Mary, several times resorted to Doune Castle as a hunting seat. It is the property of the Earls of Moray, the lineal descendants of the Regent Moray, to whom it gives the title of Lord Doune.—E.]

¹ Crawford's MS.—[Historie and Life of King James the Sext, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 20, 21.—E.]

Collections,¹ they will there meet with the names of almost all the gentlemen against whom charges were issued on the 23d August and 1st September bypast ; to the subscribing of the which Bond, it is clear like the light they have been driven to save their lives and estates, and so by this means we cannot but perceive what dependence is to be given to the subscribing of bonds, addresses, &c. even none at all.

But as a further and most incontestable proof that there was no small disaffection to the present establishment in the forementioned places, these following things are to be seen in the Register of Privy-Council, viz. — “*1st September*—ACT OF HADDINGTON.—The quhilk day Thomas Pantoun, Provost, and Bernard Thomson, Baillie of the burgh of Haddington, convenit the communitie and inhabitantis of the samyn Burgh, within the Tolbuith of the samyn, and thair, according to the command gevin to thame be the maist Nobill James, Regent of the Realme of Scotland, inquirit at the communitie under-wryttin, gif thai will consent and accept the coronatioun of our Soverane maid befoir ? And siclyke, gif thai will consent to the electing² of the said Nobill — in Regent, and acceptatioun of the Regentrie of this Realme foirsaid, acceptit be him afoir, now as gif thai had bene present at the said coronatioun and electing of the said

¹ [Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scots, 4to. Edin. 1727, vol. ii. p. 233-240.—E.]

² The readers will here observe that this faction of Lords have been at pains to foist in the words *elect*, *electing*, and *election*, in the Earl of Moray's Act of Regency, with a design no doubt to propagate in the kingdom the notion of electing the supreme Governours and Princes by the voice of the people. But nothing is more express than that the Regency at this time proceeded simply upon a Commission from the Queen (no matter how obtained), and that previous to the Earl of Moray's acceptation of it the Queen's Commission was *only* read, and nothing else superadded. And this Nobleman, as we have seen in all his discourse with the English ambassador, mentioned the Queen's Commission *only*, and his willingness to accept the Regency in obedience *only* to her. Upon the whole, our surprize may now cease concerning Buchanan's inserting the word *election* in his account of this business, since it has been plainly a contrivance of that whole faction, whose orator and spokesman Mr Buchanan was. But after all other things, may we not justly inquire *who* were the electors of the Regent ? Since both in Stirling at the coronation of the Prince, and afterwards in Edinburgh at the Regent's acceptation, a very small handful was only present ; nor did we ever hear that those few who were present pretended to have a deputation from the rest of the nation.

Regent, or not ? Quhilkis personis under-wryttin, with ane consent, voice, and mynd, gaif thair express consent and assent thairto, &c.¹—R. M.²

On the same 1st day of September we see a Proclamatioun to all men to be in reddines, viz.—

“ FORSAMEKILL as it hes plesit Almychtie God lauchfullie and rychteouslie to call our Soverane Lord the Kingis Majestie to the royall crowne of this his kingdome, be the demissioun of the Quenis Grace his moder ; and that he, according to the same, is solempnlie investit and possest in the same kingdome, quhair of all his gude and lufing subjectis are debt-bound to prais God that hes so favourablie and gratuslie lukit upoun this natioun, and conforme to His ordainance and will to reverence, obey, and serve his Hienes as thair native Prince and Soverane Lord ; nevirtheles the malicious hartis of sum unnaturall and disobedient personis, legeis to his Majestie, ceis nocht so far as in thame lye planelie to resist and gainstand his Hienes’ authoritie, now in the begynning thair of, contempnandlie plukkand down and stoppand the herauldis and ordinar officiaris of armis to mak proclamatioun and significatioun of his Majestie’s coronatioun ; tending nathing ellis, as weill appears be thair proceidings, bot planelie to disobey his Hienes and nawayis recognosce him as thair Soverane Lord. And lykwayis James Erle Bothuile, denunceit rebell and traitour for the tressonabill, schamefull, and unworthie murthour of

¹ To take this Act apart by itself, there is no doubt but the same would appear little to our purpose ; but when it is taken jointly with what has gone before, and is yet to follow, we may probably enough affirm that some disaffection has been in the town of Haddington, a burgh much under the influence of the Family of Bothwell, as lying in the bosom of their estate, and that of the Lord Seton, a most faithful subject of the Queen, otherwise why should this burgh only have been singled out to make this declaration ? And the compliance of that burgh with a more powerful party, is no evidence at all of its *heartly* assent to the questions proposed. We have seen, and men will hereafter see, unanimous votes, addresses and subscriptions, procured by the authority and countenance of great men, or a domineering faction, or by some powerful self-interest, or other incident motive, when nevertheless it has not only been no secret, but an avowed confession that such deeds, &c. did not at all flow from the inward sentiments and real opinion of the voters and subscribers.

² [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

umquhile King Henrie our Soveraneis derrest fader, being fugitive frae the ordinar lawis, and culpabill be the law of armis for refusall of that singular combat quhairunto of befoir he offerit himself for purgatioun of his allegat innocence, hes bayth stuffit and garnissit our Soveranis castell of Dunbar with men, munition, and utherwayis; and being requyrit to delyver the same, hes planelie refusit, mynding to detein and hald the said castell against our Soverane Lord and his autoritie: And in the mean tyme the said Erle, accompanyit with a greit number of notorious pyratteis, fugitives frae all lawis, and utheris broken men, being past to the sey, daylie committis reiff, depredatioun, plane pyracie and oppressioun on the subjectis of all Christiane Princes, freindis and confederatis of this Realme, evir thynking at his plesour to retyre him to our said Soveranis castell of Dunbar as a saifguard and receptacle to keip him frae justice; and alsua, be the ayd of sic utheris as abstractis thair dew obedience frae his Hienes, to resist his autoritie foirsaid, and eschew the dew punischment quhilk worthielie he deservis for his rebellioun and treassonabill deidis, to the incourageing of sic ungodlie and wickit men to continew in thair mischievous deids, and to the greit hurt of this commoun-weill, gif tymous remeid be nocht providit: Quhairfoir our Soverane Lord, with ayce of his derrest cousing James Erle of Moray, Lord Abernethie, Regent of his Hienes his Realme and legeis, and Lordis of our Secreit Counsall, ordanis letteris to be direct to command and charge all and sindrie our Soverane Lordis legeis and subdittis quhatsumevir, betwixt sixty and sextein zeiris, and utheris fensabill personis, alsweill dwelland to burgh as to land, within regalitie and roialtie, that thai and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of weir, with twenty dayis victualls and provisioun eftir thair cuming, addres and prepair thame to meit my said Lord Regent at Edinburgh, as thai salbe newlie adverteist be Proclamatioun on four dayis warning, and swa to pass furthwort with him, or the Lieutennant, according as thai salbe commandit for furthsetting of our Soveranis autoritie, and persuite of all sic as wald invaid or disobey the same, and to remane for that effect during the space of twenty dayis eftir thair cuming, under the pane of tynsall of lyff, landis, and gudis."—R. M.

On the 3d of September, we find the following large abstract of Council-Register,¹ viz.—“Because the towne of Drumfreis suffered his Majestie’s herauld of armis makand publication of the election² of James Erle of Moray in Regent to be violentlie pluckt off the croce; thairfore ordanis the Provest, Bailzies, Counsall, and communitie of the said burgh, to assist the Sherrif of Drumfreis, his deputis, and utheris officiaris quhatsumevir, to execute his Hienes’ letteris and chairges, and nowayes suffer thame to be impugned or stopped within thair fredome or jurisdiction, under payne of tinsall of thair said freedome perpetuallie, and to be repute and persewed as usurpars of his Hienes’ autoritie, and assistars of the contemnars thairof. And als that the saids inhabitants, before the feast of Michelmes, elect sic personis in Provest and Bailzies, &c., as are affectionate to our soverane’s service and obedience,³ removand all factious personis pretendand the contrarie; and als, that thai send certain honest⁴ men of thair number to the Counsall, authorized with sufficient commission, to give thair advyse in furthsetting our soverane’s autoritie, and establishing justice and quyetnes in the cuntrey, under the payne to be puneist as resistars of the autoritie.”⁵ Thus much for the

¹ Haddington’s Abstracts.—[The Abstracts, MS. in the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, by Sir Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Melrose, afterwards first Earl of Haddington.—E.]

² Still we see *election* shuffled in.

³ What a hainous crime this would have been in the Queen! But it never fails that those who make the loudest complaints against grievances in the lawful magistrate commit the same, and perhaps greater faults themselves, when they are in power.

⁴ That is, well affected to the present Establishment. The proper meaning of words is oftentimes set aside, and to be adjusted according to the circumstances of the speaker.

⁵ Of the same date is the following abstract—“Revocation and annulling of the licence gevin to the Bischop of Dumblane, to pas and remane furth of the cuntrey; and intimatioun thairof ordanit to be maid be proclamatioun at the mercat croce upon sixty dayis wairning.”—(The readers will call to mind that this gentleman was sent into France by the Queen, to impart to that Court her marriage with the Duke of Orkney).—And on the 18th September—“Inhibition agains the Bischop of Dumblane, in respect of his mony offenses and crymes for the which he is callit to underlye the law; Thairfore discharges all his tennentis, fewaris, fermoraris, takismen, and possessouris of the landis, teyndis, and rentis of his benefices, to anser or mak payment to him of ony part thairof, under the payne to be repute as partakaris with him in his wickednes, and that thai sall be compellit to

matter which these Acts and Abstracts are adduced to clear up.

Mr Camden, when speaking of the late proceedings in this country, observes¹ that “this rash procedure in deposing the Queen, joined with the insolent carriage of the Cabal toward the ambassadors (of France and England), was highly stomach’d both by Queen Elizabeth and the French King as an affront to the royal prerogative; so that they began to appear for the Hamiltons, who adhered to the Queen, and Pasquier, the French ambassador, solicited the Queen of England to attempt her restoration by force. But she thought it the better method to put a stop to the trade of the Scottish subjects until their Queen were set at liberty; and by this means to set the Lords and Commons of Scotland at odds, who at present seemed but too firmly united against the royal interest.” The first part of this author’s observation we have already seen to be abundantly well grounded, and for verification of the latter we need only peruse the following

*Letter from the Queen of England to Sir Henry Norris, her Ambassador in France, 27th September 1567.*²

“TRUSTY and well beloved, we greet you well: By our late letter we signified unto you what our ambassador’s proceedings had been in Scotland, and what our pleasure was you should declare on our behalf unto our good brother the French King and to the Cardinal of Lorrain, and other the uncles and friends of our sister the Queen of Scots, touching some honourable means to be devised for her relief and liberty. Whereupon, as we now perceive, Mons. de Pasquier, a gentleman of the order of France, having been sent unto us from the said King, arrived lately here; and being the 25th of this month, accompanied with the ambassador-resident brought unto our presence, he shewed unto us, that upon the understanding of the message that you had on our behalf declared unto the King his master, touching

pay the same over agane. Attour ordanis to arreist all the saids rentis quhill he be tryed of the saids crymes, and the said arreistment dewlie lousit.”

¹ [Camden’s Annals of Queen Elizabeth, 4to. 1625, p. 154.—E.]

² Calig. C. 1, a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

the proceedings in Scotland, and our good will and meaning towards the furthering of the said Queen's relief, his said master and the Queen-mother had thought good to address him hither unto us, as well to give us thanks for the care we shewed to have for the Queen of Scots' liberty, as to confer with us, and to use our advice for his proceeding at his coming into Scotland towards the furtherance of the same, by all such means as should be thought most honourable and expedient, which he had in charge from his master to follow according to our advice and direction. We told him that as we had been always inclined to favour equity and justice as much as in us hath lain, so hearing of the pitiful and hard case that the Queen of Scots our good sister was in, we could not, for the commiseration we had of her woful estate, but procure to ease her thereof to the uttermost we could, and thereupon sent our ambassador into Scotland, who by our order dealt first in all mild and gentle sort with the Lords there for the relief of the said Queen; and perceiving that that manner of dealing, although it had been at sundry times and in diverse degrees attempted, could nothing prevail, we letted not to cause sharp and threatening words to be also used; which profiting as little as the rest, we thought best, seeing the small fruit that had followed upon our good meaning, to revoke our ambassador, and thereupon sent our advice and opinion unto our said good brother by you our ambassador, since which time the state of matters seem to be very much altered in Scotland; for whereas at that time it was thought that the Hamiltons, and certain others of their faction, would have made a good party in that Realm, if they might have been therein assisted by the French King or us, towards the said Queen's restoring to her liberty, now it is certainly advised from thence that they are all come in, and have joined themselves with the rest of the Lords; so as there is now no means left within that Realm to make any party to join with any force that should be sent to make any exploit there. Besides, we were (we said) born in hand, that if the matter should be dealt withall by way of force and hostility, the Queen our sister's life were like thereby to stand in great hazard;¹ and,

¹ We find the same thing said by the English Secretary to this same gentleman, and on this very same day.—“Sir,” says he, “you may perceive

therefore, seeing gentleness had not hitherto prevailed, and that extremity and force might bring danger to her person, whom both the King and we mean to preserve to the best of our power, we said, the matter hanging thus in balance, would be well thought upon, and ripely considered, before any thing were taken in hand. Pasquier, hearing us say thus much, said—That the cause standing now in other terms than it did at his coming from his master, he thought good advisement would be had how to proceed therein; and therefore for his part he thought best to stay here, and not to go forwards until he may write unto his master, and understand what shall be fit to be further done herein; for loth he would be, he said, being called to the degrees he is of, to return with so slight an answer as Lynerol brought. And finding him of that disposition, we did not dissuade him from it. Whereupon he concluded that with speed he would give advertisement of these matters, as well unto the King our good brother as to the Cardinal of Lorrain and the rest of the Queen of Scots' uncles and friends, to the intent that, conferring together, they may advise what shall be the best way to be taken for further proceeding herein. Whereunto we answered—That upon his advertisement, and the resolution of the King notified unto us, we would, in any thing that should be honourable and convenient for us to do, gladly accord to the same as far forth as may stand with our honour. And hereupon the said Pasquier took his leave and departed, intending out of hand to despatch one unto France with this resolution. Nevertheless, since his departure from us we have thought upon a third device, which may be a mean between the gentle dealing that hath been hitherto used, and any hostility or extremity that might henceforth be intended, which is, that by common consent both of the said King our good brother and us order may be taken that the subjects of Scotland may not from hence-

by the Queen's letter (viz. this same letter just now in our hand) how this Nobleman (meaning Pasquier) is, partly of his own mind, partly by perswasion, stayed (from going into Scotland, and in this no doubt this Secretary had a good large hand), and surely if either the French King or the Queen should appear to make any force against them of Scotland for that Queen's cause, we find it credibly that it were the next way to make an end of her, and for that cause her Majesty is loth to take that way, for avoiding of slanders that might grow thereby."—Cabala.

forth be suffered to traffick into any of both our Realms unless they do acknowledge the Queen our good sister to be their sovereign Lady and Queen, and renounce their obedience to her son otherwise than as Prince of that Realm. By which means we think it will easily come to pass, that the people being letted of their traffick, and thereby conceiving an evil opinion of the Lords' doings, they shall easily be brought to forsake the Lords' party, and stand for the Queen their mistress, and to bring the said Lords to yield to some better conformity; and this last matter also we have caused to be signified unto the saids ambassadors¹ since their departure from us, as a third degree thought upon by us since their being here, which we have with the rest required them to advertise over; and this we have done to shew our device for a mean² degree of proceeding, as thereby also to decipher their full intention and meaning on that side. Of all this we have thought necessary to give you knowledge, to the intent that if the King our good brother, or the Cardinal of Lorrain, or any other, shall either be desirous to speak with you herein, or shall take occasion, when you have to deal with other matters, to confer with you thereof, you may not be ignorant of that which hath passed therein here, which you may use as to your discretion shall seem most expedient. Given under our Signet at our Castle of Windsor the 27th day of September 1567, the ninth year of our reign."

Shortly after the surrender of the Castle of Dunbar, the Regent had an intention to employ himself in the south country, as we may learn from this Abstract of Privy-Council on the 7th day of October, viz.—“Proclamation of an Road³ to the south country: *Item*, Command to the Magistrates of Burrows to cause them make ready to the army bread, ale, flesh, and other necessaries, for the payment.” Conformable also to this, Crawford's MS. tells us,⁴ that “Proclamations were made desiring the King's subjects to accompany the Regent for suppressing the disordered thieves on

¹ Namely, the French resident in ordinary, and Mons. de Pasquier.

² Middle.

³ [An Expedition.—E.]

⁴ [Historie and Life of King James the Sext, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 21.—E.]

the South Borders.” Only this author places these Proclamations posterior to the Parliament in the month of December next, at which time it is certain by another Abstract that courts of justice were appointed to be kept in all parts of the kingdom; and with respect to both these businesses performed by the Regent, Sir James Melville, though otherwise his friend, makes a very sharp reflexion against him, which I shall have occasion by and by to insert.¹ However, that the Regent has not gone so very quickly into the south country would appear by Mr Calderwood telling us,² that “on the 14th of October the Lord Herries came in to Edinburgh to acknowledge the King’s and Regent’s authority, and was received, notwithstanding his former stubbornness; for he at the first opposed to the coronation of the King, and the proclaiming of the Earl of Moray Regent.”³ The same author proceeds next to inform us⁴ that “upon the 30th day of October, commonly called *Hallow-Even*,⁵ Thursday, the market-day of *Haick*,⁶ the Regent, accompanied with Morton, Home, and Lindsay, made a privy road, and surprised forty-three thieves in *Liddisdal*, in the town of *Haick*, viz. twenty-two of the surname of *Eliot*, six of the surname of *Crosar*, and the rest of other common surnames; of which number eleven were hanged, seven drowned, one slain in the taking, three or four led to Edinburgh, and the rest cleansed by an assize.”

After what manner the remaining part of the year was spent until the time that the Parliament came to sit, the penury of any public Instructions whatsoever disables me from satisfying my readers, though very probably the same

¹ [See p. 785 of the present edition.—E.]

² [Calderwood’s *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the *Wodrow Society*, vol. ii. p. 387.—E.]

³ This serves to confirm the dissatisfaction which appeared in the south country against the new model of state.

⁴ [*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the *Wodrow Society*, vol. ii. p. 388.—E.]

⁵ This Author is in a small mistake here, for the last day of October only is *Hallow-Even*. Calderwood’s MS.—[Calderwood apparently forgot that there is such a day as the *thirty-first* of October, which is *Hallow-Even*, or the eve before the Festival of All Saints.—E.]

⁶ [The town of *Hawick*, in *Roxburghshire*, fifty miles from Edinburgh. Thursday is still the market-day of *Hawick*.—E.]

has been employed in sounding the minds of the great men, and in making provision for that solemn ensuing meeting. If we may credit Buchanan,¹ and from him Spottiswood, who relates the matter with some more circumstances²—“the Lords who were convened at Hamilton perceiving how matters went, and that all things grew strong on the Regent’s side, upon a new deliberation did write unto him, and the rest that stood for the King’s authority, desiring a conference, and offering to send the Earl of Argile and some others to any place they would for meeting; but because in the superscription they gave not the Regent his due title, stiling him only Earl of Moray, the letter was rejected by the Council, and the messenger dimitted without answer. Argile knowing what had given the offence, resolved to go to the Regent;³ and taking with him the Lord Boyd and the Abbot of Kilwinning,⁴ came to Edinburgh: There it

¹ [Historia Rerum Scoticarum, original edit. 1582, fol. 223; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 352.—E.]

² [History of the Church and State of Scotland, folio, London, 1677, p. 214, 215.—E.]

³ Concerning the Earl of Argile, Crawford’s MS. says thus—“Notwithstanding of this, the Lords finding their faction not so strong as their need required, having potent enemies against them, of which number the Earl of Argile was one”—(this was quickly after the Queen’s imprisonment)—“they thought expedient to send the Earl of Glencairn, either to perswade him directly to be of their faction, or else that he should so abstain as not to be their enemy: whereby he grew so corrupted, that although he shewed himself in outward behaviour a good subject to the Queen, yet in effect shewed himself her enemy, as by consequent shall be sufficiently proven.”—[Historie and Life of King James the Sext, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 15, 16.—E.]

⁴ “The Hamiltons had sent to the Queen of England to crave her—and because she favoured the Queen’s (of Scots) cause as a common cause to Kings and Queens, but they got not such answer as they expected: Therefore, upon the 10th of September, Mr Gavin Hamilton (Abbot of Kilwinning) came in for the Hamiltons, the Earl of Argile, my Lords Livingston and Boyd, who, *first*, protested for the Queen’s liberty; *secondly*, that the crowning of the King should not take away the Hamiltons’ title and right. The Lords answered—They were not minded to deprive any man of his right.”—Calderwood’s MS. “The Queen understanding of this particular dealing, tending greatly to her prejudice, she suborned a faction of her own, of the House and friendship of the Hamiltons, and others in whom she confided, that the Regency of the Realm, if any should be esteemed lawful, uncoacted or compelled, but by her own free motive will, it should rather be given to James Duke of Chastellherault, Earl of Arran and Lord Hamilton, than to any other; and for this cause made and subscribed a free Commission of her own

being declared that the election of the Regent was not made upon any contempt or misregard of the Noblemen who were absent, but upon necessity, to keep the Realm in order, it was agreed that a Parliament should be called for settling all affairs by advice and consent of the Estates, and that the same should be kept at Edinburgh the 15th day of December next." And to this we shall add what Buchanan further says¹—"When the King was set up, and the power of the Regent well nigh settled, there was some respite from outward force and arms, though still the peace stood but on a tottering foundation; men's minds were yet in a ferment, and their indignation, which they could not hide, seemed to portend some sudden mischief. In this great uncertainty of affairs, all men had fixed their eyes and thought on the ensuing Parliament. The time of its sitting was the 25th day of the month of August; and the Assembly was so numerous that no man ever before remembered such a concourse."

It is not a little strange that in the small compass of this last line this so famous a writer should have given the world so glaring a sample of two wretched defects, namely, *inaccuracy* and *infidelity*—both which are still the more chargeable upon him, that he was personally present within

invention to Archibald Earl of Argile, William Lord Boyd, William Lord Livingston, and Gavin Commendator of Kilwinning, to talk with the new elected Regent of this purpose, and for her liberty from captivity: But all their talking came to this effect, that because Duke Hamilton was then forth of the country, it was not expedient that the estate then confirmed as said is should be cast loose, but should remain in the same form that it was of unto the time of the return of the said Duke in the country; whereupon the Queen's Commissioners thought expedient to direct the Commendator of Kilwinning towards France for the speedy return of the Duke."—Crawford's MS. And Secretary Cecil says to Sir Henry Norris, 2d October 1567—"The Duke of Chastelherault is at Diep"—(a sea-port in France, opposite to England, in the narrow part of the channel)—"and meaneth within these ten days to be here, as his servants report: I think he shall not be able to annoy the lowth"—(perhaps the Earl of Moray)—"as he and his, I see, do desire."—Cabala.—[Calderwood's Historie, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 387; Historie and Life of King James the Sext, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 18, 19. By *Duke Hamilton* is meant the Duke of Chatelherault, then in France, as the Dukedom of Hamilton was not created till 1643.—E.]

¹ [Historia Rerum Scoticarum, folio, original edit. Edin. 1582, p. 224; Translation, vol. ii. p. 353.—E.]

the kingdom of Scotland at the time¹ of this Parliament, and without all doubt in the very city of Edinburgh also, and most probably admitted within the walls of the house where the Parliament did meet, so that we may safely aver he has both seen it with his eyes, and heard it with his ears : And yet, after all this good opportunity of knowing, this author says the Parliament sat down *on the 25th day of August*,² whereas nothing is more certain than that the time of the meeting thereof was the 15th day of December.³ But supposing this error not to be attended with much bad consequences, as being only the misplacing of a date,⁴ yet

¹ He was Moderator of the Kirk-Assembly at Edinburgh in the month of July bypast, in this same year.—[See our Historian's Third Book, Chapter VI. forming Vol. III. of this edition, and also Book of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Part I. p. 93.—E.]

² [Bishop Keith is here unnecessarily severe on Buchanan, who in his original Latin, uses the word *conventum*, which his translator rendered *Parliament*. Buchanan probably intended no more than the fact that a *Convention* was held at Edinburgh on the 25th of August, in which Moray's authority as Regent was confirmed.—Calderwood's *Historie*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 386. Lord Herries, however, calls it, though erroneously, a *Parliament*. "The 25th of August," he says, "was the day appointed for the Parliament, where little was done but confirming the Earle of Moray in the Regencie, and a vote passed for the Queen's imprisonment."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 100.—E.]

³ Abstract of Privy-Council, 13th December—"Proclamatioun befor the Parlement, That nane inuaid, troubill, or persew uther in worde, deid, or countenance, bot observe the Kingis peace ; and wear na waponis aither offensive or defensive, except swords and whingars, under the payne of deid. Certifieand thame that dois the contrare, that the payne of deid sall be execute upon thame." *Item*, Printed Acts of this Parliament immediately after its rising. *Item*, List of the Parliament, 15th December 1567, Cotton Library, for which see Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. *Item*, Crawford's MS. "After this a Parliament was proclaimed to be holden at Edinburgh the 19th (erroneously for 15th) December."—[See Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 228, 229, 230; and Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 3, 4. In the genuine narrative, as it respects the erroneous date in Crawford's MS., it is thus written—"Heirafter a Parliament was proclamit to be haldin in Edinburgh the *saeterne* day of December."—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 21.—E.]

⁴ And it cannot be deemed an error of the print only, since not only is there no copy (not the first edition excepted, which was printed in the author's own lifetime) but what bears this date ; but, moreover, the original words are written out in such length, and in so plain an expression, that no tolerable excuse can well be made in favours of the author.—"*Ejus habendi*

the other falsehood he asserts has been visibly obtruded, to create in the minds of posterity an idea of the high and mighty approbation the Regent and that faction met with from all the representatives of the nation, and consequently, as he would infer, the low and poor regard of the Queen throughout the whole Realm. "The Assembly," says he, "was so numerous, that no man ever before remembered such a concourse."¹ Now, as Mr Buchanan was a contemporary writer of what he delivers here, he may upon that account seem justly to claim and deserve credit at home in our own as well as abroad in foreign countries; and no question but many, very many, people have made no scruple to give faith to this his narration: And nevertheless this is as barefaced an imposition as any this author could have put upon mankind. Buchanan could not be ignorant that no more than seven years were elapsed since a *Scottish Parliament* (I say, a *Scottish Parliament* in his judgment) had consisted of more than double the members, viz. the Parliament in August 1560, "*not out of the memory of man,*" surely. And though it may be true that this present Parliament in December 1567 was a right numerous meeting, yet when the reader sees a list of this Parliament, and compares it with other preceding Parliaments, he will not find so much ground for this flourish of Mr Buchanan's as he designs to impress upon his readers.

For the satisfaction, therefore, of other persons, I shall only set down a view of this Parliament in December, and of the Parliament in the month of April immediately preceding, at which time it is certain the Queen cannot be said to have been in the high tide of her fortune; that so the one standing in sight of the other, the difference may the more easily be discerned. Members of Parliament in April 1567 were Bishops, 9; Abbots, 13; Earls, 12; Lords, 16; Burrows, 9; Officers of State, 6; in all, 65. Members of Parliament in December 1567 were, Bishops, 4; Abbots, 14; Earls, 12; Lords, 15; Masters, 3; Burrows, 30; Officers of State, 5; in all, 83.² Now, that there is a considerable difference

das," inquit, "*erat vicinus quintus Augusti mensis.*"—[*Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 223.—E.]

¹ "*Is (convntus) tanta frequentia est celebratus, quanta nullum ad eum diem hominis nominerant.*"—[*Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, fol. 223. E.]

² [The Regent Moray presided at this Parliament. Those who attended

betwixt 65 and 83 is very true ; but then to balance this difference, we are to take notice that the principal members which compose the Parliament, and who had a personal right to sit in Parliament, viz. Bishops, Earls, Lords, and Abbots, together with the Officers of State, do exceed by *two* in the Parliament holden in the month of April, above the Parliament holden in December. And as to the excess of the Parliament in December, when the whole members are taken together, this ariseth purely from the vast number of Burrows being present at this time. Now, every body knows that the representatives of Burrows are commonly under the direction of the regnant Ministry, by which means it was most easy for the Earl of Moray to draw as many of these low-rate members as he pleased into his Parliament, with an intention not only to make his own party appear the stronger in the kingdom, but likewise that he might render himself secure to carry the great matters he projected to bring before this Parliament, by a majority of their voices, which otherwise he was not sure to have got done, and most

were Bishop Hepburn of Moray, Bothwell's grand-uncle, the renegade Bishops Bothwell of Orkney and Gordon of Galloway, and the Titular Bishop Campbell of Brechin : The Commendators of Dunfermline, Melrose, Cambuskenneth, Newbattle, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, Kinloss, Balmerino, St Colm, Culross, Pittenweem, St Mary's Isle, Coldingham, and Portmoak. They represented the "Spiritual Estate," though with the exception of the Bishop of Moray, and the ex-Bishops of Orkney and Galloway, they were all laymen—the Prior of Pittenweem, for example, being the notorious Sir James Balfour of Pittendriech, the copartner of Bothwell in infamy. The Nobility present were the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Argyll, Crawford, Erroll, Atholl, Morton, Glencairn, Mar, Caithness, Menteith, and Buchan ; Lords Home, Ruthven, Glamis, Gray, Lindsay of the Byres, Sempill, Saltoun, Lovat, Innermeath, Cathcart, Herries, Yester, St John (Torphichen), Methven, and Ochiltree ; the Masters of Montrose, Sinclair, and Drummond. The Lord High Treasurer ; Secretary Maitland of Lethington ; Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, Comptroller ; the Clerk Register ; Sir John Bellenden of Achnoul, Lord Justice-Clerk—as Officers of State ; Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, James Barron and John Preston ; Patrick Murray, commissioner for Perth, and the Provosts of Stirling, Dundee, Aberdeen, Montrose, Haddington, Linlithgow, Glasgow, Ayr, Irvine, Dumfries, Inverness, Elgin, Forres, Cupar, Inverkeithing, Lanark, Jedburgh, Selkirk, Banff, St Andrews, Crail, North Berwick, Lauder, Dunbar, Nairn, and Tain. They are all above enumerated as they are classified in the list of the Parliament. Such was the "First Parliament of King James VI." See *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. iii. p. 3, 4.—E.]

certainly had not been able to effectuate. It is, therefore, to no purpose for Mr Buchanan to institute a comparison betwixt the frequency or infrequency of Parliaments, from the temporary members thereof; this, I humbly conceive, is only to be made from the capital and ordinary members. The representation of Burrows in the Parliament in December is no less than 30, and all the other members make up but 53, even with the addition of 3 Masters, or elder sons; and, therefore, by propriety of speech and justness of the thing this Parliament may properly be called the *Parliament of Burrows*: And Buchanan might, if he had pleased, have justly said, that “the Burrows in the present Parliament were so numerous, that no man ever before remembered such a concourse;”¹ and, indeed, may be, this is the thing he has meant by his formidable bravado. Any one that will be at the pains to inspect the registered Rolls, will meet but with a very small number of that *Estate* in the most part of our Parliaments preceding this date.

The Register of this Parliament having been lost in the year 1661,² as would appear, we have however the Acts thereof preserved in print, published by authority immediately after the rising of the Parliament; and because there are two or three Acts in the first edition (commonly called the *Black Acts*,³ because printed on a *Saxon* type) which

¹ As other historians have followed Buchanan in his account of this Parliament, so Mr Anderson in the General Preface to his Collections sets himself to make the truth of that assertion appear; but how far all that he says there is of any weight, after what I have here observed concerning the Burrows is taken into the consideration, I must submit to our common readers. That gentleman's whole inquiry relates to those only that had a personal title or right to sit in Parliaments. The case of the Royal Burrows he does not concern himself with, and if these be once turned out of the computation, with what truth can he affirm that “in all Queen Mary's other Parliaments there is a smaller number of persons present than in the Parliament in December 1567?” And when it is moreover considered that in all the kingdom there were at this time but twenty-one Earls, and that five ancient and capital ones were absent—viz. Sutherland, Marischal, Rothes, Cassils, Eglington—what wonder is it that some writers should have observed that this Parliament was a packed meeting only, and consisted of persons picked out for the purpose, namely, *Burrows* to over-vote the *Peers*, &c. ?—[See Anderson's General Preface to his Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland, vol. i. p. xxiv. xxix. xxx.—E.]

² See p. 1.—[Also p. 1, 2, of the present edition.—E.]

³ In one of the Acts in this edition we see the Lords of Articles to

are to be met with in the subsequent editions of the Acts of Parliament, and which are nevertheless worth the noticing, I shall put them in the APPENDIX,¹ for the benefit of those that may not have the former edition at hand. Archbishop Spottiswood informs that in this Parliament “the Honours accustomed (i. e. the royal ensigns), Crown, Scepter, and Sword, were carried by the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Argile; and every thing done with the greatest shew of solemnity that could be used.” But howsoever great solemnity might be used, yet it would seem the men in power were afraid to allow the Parliament to be a free meeting; for another author² acquaints us, that “the burgesses of Dundee and Perth were in armour the first day with the town of Edinburgh; but the second day the burgesses of Dundee and St Johnstoun striving for the nearest place to

have been these following persons, viz. “Alexander Bischop of Galloway, Adam Bischop of Orknay, Robert Commendatour of Dunfermling, Mark Commendatour of Newbottill, Johne Commendatour of Balmerinloch, and Schir James Balfour, Priour of Pettinweme, for the Spiritual Estate. George Erle of Huntlie, Archibald Erle of Argyle, Johne Erle of Atholl, Johne Erle of Mar, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, and Patrik Lord Lindesay of the Byris, for the Baronis. Schir Symon Prestoun of that ilk, Knight, Provost of Edinburgh; Maister James Halyburton, Tutor of Peteur, Provost of Dundie; Williame Lord Ruthven, Provost of Perth; Johne Ereskin of Dune, Provost of Montrose; Thomas Menzies of Pitfoddels, Provost of Abirdene; and Patrik Lermonth of Dersie, Knight, Provost of Sanctandros, for the Commissaris of Burrowis.”—[This enumeration of the Lords of the Articles in the edition of the “Black Acts” quoted by our Historian is at variance with that in *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. iii. p. 4. According to that list of “*Domini electi ad Articulos*,” those of them, “*pro Clero*,” were the Bishops of Moray, Galloway, and Orkney, and the “*Abbates*,” were the Commendators of Dunfermline, Melrose, Newbattle, Balmerino, St Colm, Pittenweem, and Portmoak. The Nobility *pro* “*Baronibus*” were the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Morton, Atholl, Glencairn, Mar, and Caithness, and Lords Home, Lindsay, and Sempill. The commissioners from the Burghs were Sir Simon Preston, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and James Barron, Patrick Murray for Perth, and the Provosts of Dundee, Stirling, Aberdeen, Montrose, St Andrews, Ayr, and Cupar.—E.]

¹ Numb. XXV.

² Calderwood's MS. and it seems the proclamation emitted on the 13th December, set down in the preceding page, has been only intended against the enemies of the Government, not their friends.—[Calderwood merely states—“The burgesses of Dundee and Perth, striving for the nearest place to the Tolbuith, whill they were to stand in armour, were charged to depart the town.”—*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 388.—E.]

the Tolbooth, there was appearance of great stir and commotion, if it had not been prevented by charging them to depart off the town."

On the 29th of December a close was put to the Parliament,¹ and next day we see the following abstract of Privy Council—" *Conclusion to hold Justice-Airs in all the parts of the kingdom, quhilk the Nobility promises to assist.*"

And on the 3d day of January, as a prelude to these Courts of Justice, the Regent ordered the execution of four persons convicted of assisting in the King's murder, and detained in prison for a good space bygone. Their names were Dalgleish, Powrie, Hepburn, and Hay, and their several confessions, with the manner of their death, may be seen as lately published by Mr Anderson.²

¹ [In this Parliament the three Estates sanctioned the Queen's demission of the Crown, the coronation of the infant Prince as King, and the Queen's compulsory appointment of the Earl of Moray to be Regent. The authority of the Pope in Scotland was abolished, and the Act to that effect of the Parliament of 1560—a Parliament the legality of which had been much disputed, was ratified. The "Confession of Faith," presented to the same Parliament of 1560, was sanctioned and inserted among the legislative Acts. Such persons as opposed this Confession, or refused the sacraments after the new Form, were declared not to be members of the Christian Church. The most violent denunciations were promulgated against the Roman Catholics, who, by a curious reversion of the word, were now in turn designated "*heretics*." For hearing Mass confiscation of property was to be inflicted for the first offence, banishment for the second, and *death* for the third. Various Acts were passed in reference to universities, schools, parish churches, manses, glebes, stipends, and the ecclesiastical property which had been seized at the outbreak of the Reformation; but in this last business the preachers were not so fortunate, and it was with difficulty the possessors consented to restore one-third of the benefices for the support of the Reforming preachers. In a word, the Reformed System, ratified in this Parliament, received from its supporters the title of the "Immaculate Spouse of Jesus Christ," as stated by our Historian at the commencement of Chap. I. of the present volume. One of the Articles discussed in the Parliament was to introduce the Salic law into Scotland. In the Records it is set forth—"Als it is thoct expedient that in na tymes cumyng ony women sal be admittit to the publict authoritie of the Realme, or function in publict government within the same;" and on the margin is written—" *fund qude*," but it appears to have proceeded no farther. See Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 3-45, for all the Acts of this Parliament which were printed on the 6th of April 1568 by Robert Lickprevieck, designated "Printer to the King's Majestie," and again in 1575.—Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 392.—E.]

² [Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland,

And besides this punishment, so speedily taken after the rising of the Parliament—which, however, was deservedly enough inflicted—it is not improbable that the Regent had given some other indication of farther severity to be used against those that might be suspected not friendly enough to his new Government; and this might have been the ground of the Abbot of Aberbrothock's hasty journey into France about this time, concerning whom we see this *Conclusion*, so called in the Register of Privy Council.

“ *Edinburgh, 7th February 1567-8.*

“ THE quhill day the Lordis of Secreit Counsall find gude that the Ordour of law be set fordwart and usit aganis Johne Commendator of Aberbrothock,¹ in caice he be past furth of the Realme without licence.”²—R. M.³

Another thing that possibly might create some suspicion and displeasure in the minds of some men was an Act of Council on the 14th February, in which it is declared, that

vol. ii. p. 165-192; also Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 491-501. William Powrie made two confessions, one on the 23d of June, and the other on the 3d of July 1567, before the Privy-Council; George Dalglish emitted his confession on the 26th of June before the Earls of Morton and Atholl, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Halyburton, Provost of Dundee; John Hay, on the 13th of September, in presence of the Regent, the Earl of Atholl, Lord Lindsay, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden. They were all executed on the same day, 3d January 1567-8.—E.]

¹ He was second son to the Duke of Chastellherault, but succeeded afterwards heir of the family, and was the first Marquis of Hamilton.—[Lord John Hamilton is repeatedly mentioned as the second son of the Duke of Chatellherault, whose eldest son, the Earl of Arran, became insane, and died without issue in 1609. Lord John was created Marquis of Hamilton, in 1599, with great ceremony at the Palace of Holyrood, and was the grandfather of James third Marquis, created Duke of Hamilton in 1643, whose fate was as disastrous as that of his royal master Charles I.—E.]

² “ The Lord of Arbroath came lately out of Scotland this way, and spake with the Queen's Majesty, pretending to go into France to sollicite aid for the delivery of the Queen of Scots. He came out of Scotland without the license or knowledge of the Regent there”—(here follows something in cyphers)—“ this way of late, but I trust shortly to hear from”—(more cyphers)—“ of such things as he carried with him.”—Cecil to Norris, 26th February 1567-8. We may here discern the fast friendship of the English Secretary to the Scottish Regency.

³ [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

seeing “provision must be maid for the interteining of the men-of-weir quhais service cannot be sparit, quhill (until) the rebellious and disobedient subjectis, troublaris of the Comounweill in all partis of this Realme, be reduceit,” &c. Therefore appointing the lead to be taken from the cathedral churches in Aberdeen and Elgin¹—“sauld anddisponit upoun for sustentatioun of the saids men-of-weir;” prohibiting all the lieges from giving any molestation in the down-taking of the said lead. “Attour,” says the Act, “to command and charge the Erle of Huntly, scheriff-principall of Abirdene, Williame Leslie of Balquhane, scheriff-deput thairof, and utheris scheriff-deputis of the samyn; Alexander Dunbar of Cumnock, Knight, scheriff of Elgin and Forres, and his deputis; Williame Bischop of Abirdene,² Patrik Bischop of Moray; Thomas Menzies of Pitfoddels, Provost of Aberdene; Johne Annand, Provost of Elgyne; the Bailzies of the saids burrowis, and als the Bailzies and inhabitantis of the towne of Auld Abirdene, that thai fortifie, mentein, defend, assist, and further the saids Alexander Clerk and Williame Birnie, their factouris, pertinaris, and servandis, in thair names, in the doun-taking, intromissioun, keiping, carying, convoying, and disponing of the said leid, and nawayis to suffer thame be hinderit, stopit, or delayit, or to ressave ony harme, greiffe, or injurie thairin, in bodie or gudis; but cause thame be furnissit of meit, drink, servandis, workmen, and utheris thingis necessar at thair ressonabill expens; certifying the personis quhatsumevir doand in the contrair, or that beis fund remis or negligent in the premisses, thai salbe estemit, callit, persewit, and puneist na utherwayis nor gif thai committit the offence thameselffis in thair proper personis; and farther, to answer upoun thair dewtie and alleadgance,

¹ [It is some consolation to know that the sacrilegious order to strip the roofs of the Cathedrals of Aberdeen and Elgin of the lead—an act disgraceful to the Regent Moray—was condignly punished. The order was duly carried into effect, and the lead was shipped at Aberdeen to be sold in Holland, but the vessel had scarcely left the harbour when it sank near the Girdleness, and became a total wreck, the crew narrowly escaping with their lives. A local tradition at Elgin alleges that the master of the vessel was a Roman Catholic, and that he purposely sunk the ship.—E.]

² [Apparently William Gordon, fourth son of George fourth Earl of Huntly who fell at the battle of Corrichie. He was the last Bishop of Aberdeen of the Ante-Reformation succession.—E.]

according to the lawis of this Realme, and band contenit in the general band."¹—R. M.²

Now, that this latter part of the Act would in a special manner be disagreeable to the Earl of Huntly and the other persons therein concerned we may reasonably enough conclude, and that this and the like proceedings in different parts of the kingdom have raised and augmented the former dissaffection. But to free us of guess-work only in this particular, I shall now reckon it time to insert here Sir James Melvil's reflexion, which I had already mentioned.³ It is thus—"Then he (the Regent) took great pains to steal secret roads upon the thieves on the Borders, tending much to the quieting thereof. He likewise held justice-airis in the in-country, but was not so diligent as he might have been in settling the differences among the Nobility, and to draw them, by a sweet and discreet equitable behaviour, to the obedience of the King's authority, which might have been easily done if they had gotten security for their persons and estates. But such as were about him, having their own ambitious and covetous ends, counselled him otherwise, thinking by the wreck of others to make up themselves. They were so blinded by their affections and greedy appetites, that they thought all would succeed prosperously according to their desires without any resistance. Thus rushing forward, the Regent's rough proceedings gave occasion to many to draw to the contrary faction;⁴ and they to strengthen themselves,

¹ The members of this *Sederunt* are—"Moray, Morton, Atholl, Caithness, Master of Graham, Lindsay, Glamis, Boyd, Cathcart, Salton, Uchiltree, Episcopus Orchaden. Episcopus Galloway, Commendator of Coldingham." And the Act of Council narrates how that it proceeds upon the authority of an Act of Parliament made thereupon, which Act of Parliament would, no doubt, be equally disagreeable as the Act of Council. However, I see nowhere such an Act of Parliament.

² [The initials of Robert Miln.—E.]

³ [See p. 774 of the present volume. This passage is extracted from Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, folio, edited by his grandson George Scott, p. 90. The authentic narrative is in Sir James Melville's "*Memoirs of his own Life*," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 198, 199.—E.]

⁴ The Laird of Tullibardine was one of those who now deserted the Regent, though formerly a great stickler against the Queen. As for the Earls of Huntly and Argile, their compliance with the Regent was all along but constrained.

under the name of *authority*, devised how to draw the Queen's Majesty out of Lochleven, to be their head before the time was ripe: whereof the Regent was oft and frequently warned, even by divers who were upon the council of her out-taking, who desired that way to win thanks at his hands. But he would credit nothing but such things as came out of the mouth of those who had crept into his favour by flattery." And to confirm this reflection and testimony, another good friend to the Regent, even Buchanan himself, acknowledges¹ that the Regent's design of going round the country to hold courts of justice was variously interpreted according to men's several humours and situations; and that those that were opposite to him complained of the cruelty which he used in these courts, and his other management. And this author is even forced to mention the words *rigour* and *severity* in his patron.² By both which contemporary³ testimonies of men that were natives of the country, and fast friends likewise to the Regent, we have surely conveyed to us a juster character of the Regent, and his proceedings at this time, than what the English Secretary gives of the *one* and the *other* in his letters to the ambassador of that crown residing in France. "In Scotland," says he, "all is quiet—and the Earl of Moray ruleth quietly as Regent." And again—"In Scotland things are

¹ [Historia Rerum Scotticarum, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 224; Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 354.—E.]

² [Buchanan, however, does not admit the charge. He merely states that the Regent Moray's opponents every where denounced his great severity, or, as they called it, cruelty, which was stringent enough to persons whose flagrant offences were such as to render them impatient of legal restraint, and who had long been habituated to turbulence. The passage in the original of Buchanan's History is—"Nam adversæ factionis homines vulgo passim Præregis severitatem, vel, ut ipsi dicebant, crudelitatem non eis modo, qui propter scelorum magnitudinem leges, et æquum jus ferre non possent post tantam proximè superioris temporis licentiam formodosam prædicabant."—E.]

³ Indeed Archbishop Spottiswood represents the Regent acting a quite different part at this time, but as that Prelate was not then born, and besides had never the opportunity of seeing Sir James Melville's Memoirs (so far as we know), what he relates on that or any other head can merit no further faith than the author does from whom he takes his information. And in general we may rest assured that the preceding letters of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton do convey to us by far the best view of this kingdom after the home coming of the Earl of Moray.

quietly governed by the Regent, who doth acquit himself very honourably, to the advancement of religion and virtue, without respect of persons.”¹

¹ Cabala, 3d November 1567, and 12th February 1567-8.—[This alleged popularity of the Regent Moray's government is contradicted by Drury in his letters to Cecil, preserved in the State Paper Office, and cited by Mr Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 206-210). The proceedings of the Regent's Parliament disappointed the people, who saw Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, Dalgleish, and Powrie, convicted, and the three latter executed on the same day, and it appeared that the trials of those men, to which all looked with intense anxiety for disclosures, were hurried over in an extraordinary manner. It was also well known that Captain Cullen, who had been employed by Bothwell in his most secret concerns, had revealed the whole circumstances of the murder of Darnley, and it could not be supposed that the Regent and his Privy Council were ignorant of Cullen's confession. Sir William Drury also wrote to Cecil that the life of Hay of Tallo had been spared for a little, only until some of the great personages acquainted with the murder were apprehended. Hepburn of Bolton, in his speech on the scaffold, explicitly declared that Argyll, Huntly, and Maitland of Lethington, had subscribed the Bond for the murder, yet the Regent allowed those persons not only to be unmo-
lested, but the confessions of the criminal and his accomplices were suppressed at the time, and when subsequently produced in England they were found to contain evidence only against themselves and Bothwell. Ormiston, another of the guilty perpetrators who was executed, solemnly asserted that in the Bond for Darnley's murder Bothwell had pointed out to him certain signatures, which he affirmed were those of Argyll, Huntly, Maitland, and Sir James Balfour, the confidant of Bothwell. Balfour kept the Bond, along with the Queen's jewels and other valuable property, in the Castle of Edinburgh, of which he was governor, and when he betrayed the Fortress to the Regent, it was thought that the said Regent, invested as he then was with absolute power, might have stipulated for the delivery of that document, and of all the evidence which could elucidate the plot. Queen Mary's alleged letters and sonnets to Bothwell—"divers her privie letters written halelie with her own hand" (*Anderson's Collections*, vol. ii. p. 221), "and sent by her to James sumtime Erle of Bothwell," and "divers her privie letters written and subscribed with her own hand"—had been delivered to the Regent by Morton in the celebrated box or casket intercepted in its transit from the Castle of Edinburgh; and the Parliament had signed and sealed a declaration that the actions of the Confederates from the day of Darnley's murder till that moment were lawful and loyal, and that they would never be prosecuted for what they had done, as the Queen's own conduct had caused her imprisonment, and it was certain that by several of her private letters, in her own hand-writing, and sent by her to Bothwell, and by her "ungodly and pretended marriage" with him, she was cognizant "art and part" of her husband Darnley's unhappy fate. As such documents might or might not be original, it was only common justice that the Queen should not be condemned, and that the letters should not be received as evidence against her, until she had an

For farther information of affairs at this juncture, I have nothing better to impart to my readers than this following

opportunity of examining, either personally or by her counsel, the evidence produced against her. But while those documents were carefully preserved, and prominently noticed in the Acts of the Parliament and of the Privy Council, the all-important Bond, in the possession of Sir James Balfour, was destroyed. That guilty man delivered the Queen's jewels and her apparel to the Regent, but the Bond, which connected himself and his friends with the murder of Darnley, was secured by Maitland, who consigned it to the flames. "The writing," says Drury to Cecil, on the 28th of November, "which did comprehend the names and consents of the chief for the murdering of the King, is turned into ashes—the same not unknown to the Queen, and the same that concerns her part kept to be shown, which offends her." It is not asserted that Moray himself threw the Bond into the fire, but it was the interest of Maitland and Balfour, whom the Bond deeply implicated, to have it destroyed, and it can scarcely be doubted that the Regent consented to its destruction, while at the same time he kept careful possession of any evidence against the Queen. Those proceedings, and especially the extraordinary haste in which the trial and execution of Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, and the two others, was conducted, were loudly condemned by the people, and placards and satirical poems were fixed to the doors of the Privy Council and of the Regent's own residence, upbraiding his partiality. Let it be remembered, too, that the Earl of Argyll, then Lord Justice-General, the head of the criminal jurisprudence, was a principal accomplice in the murder of Darnley, and yet the trials were superintended by his deputy—and that the confessions were made before the Lords of the Privy Council, of whom were Morton, Huntly, Maitland, and Balfour—the very men who had placed Moray in the high office of Regent, and who would not have scrupled to form a dangerous coalition to overthrow him. By his partial conduct, therefore, Moray not only alienated the people from him, but it was perceptible that all his efforts could not long keep his supporters together. His legislation on religion in the Parliament had been condemned by the Earls of Atholl and Caithness, and Bishop Hepburn of Moray. He had, indeed, endeavoured to secure the support of the leading Nobility and his friends by rewards and favours. Lord Home had received the Sheriffship of Lauderdale or Berwickshire, and Maitland that of Lothian; Morton was to be Moray's Lord Chancellor, and was promised the office of Lord High Admiral vacant by the forfeiture of Bothwell; Kirkaldy of Grange obtained the command of Edinburgh Castle, and Huntly and Argyll were courted by a projected matrimonial alliance—Huntly's son to marry the Regent's daughter, though then a girl of seven or eight years of age, which of course implied a mere contract in the meanwhile, and Argyll's brother to marry the Regent's sister-in-law. "But even these prizes and promises," observes Mr Tytler, "sometimes failed in their effect, every one being ready to magnify his own merit, and to anticipate a higher distinction than was bestowed. Nor did it escape observation that his conduct since his elevation had become haughty and distant to those proud Nobles who had so recently been his equals, whilst he was open to flattery, and suffered inferior men to gain his confidence. Even the vigour with which he punished the riot and lawlessness of the

*Letter from Sir William Drury¹ to Sir William Cecil,
3d April 1568.²*

“ It may please your Honour : Since the dispatch of Nicholas Arrington, I have understood of some more certainty of such matter as passed between the Queen and the Earl of Moray at his being with her now lastly at Lochleven,³ where at the first she burdened him of the rigour that was used unto her at this last Parliament. And he answered, That he and the rest of the Nobility could do no less for their own surety, in respect they had enterprized to put her into captivity.⁴ From that she entered into another purpose, being marriage, praying she might have a husband, and named one to her liking, George Douglas, brother to the Lord of Lochleven.⁵

Border district failed to increase his popularity, the kingdom having been so long accustomed to a more relaxed rule that justice was construed into tyranny. Owing to such causes it was apparent that Moray's government, soon after the dissolution of Parliament, was in a precarious state. The Hamiltons hated him ; to Lethington intrigue and change seemed to be the only elements in which he could live ; Herries and the Melvilles were strongly suspected. Balfour, who knew many secrets, and was capable of any treachery, had left Court in disgust ; Atholl was beginning to be lukewarm ; the friends of the Romish religion resented his late conduct ; and the people, never long in one mind, began to pity the protracted imprisonment of the Queen. All these circumstances were against him, but they were trivial to the blow which now fell upon him, for it was at this very crisis that Mary effected her escape in a manner that almost partakes of romance.”—E.]

¹ He was Marshal of the garrison of Berwick.

² Calig. C. I, an Original.—[British Museum ; also printed in Wright's “ Queen Elizabeth and her Times,” vol. i. p. 266, 267, 268.—E.]

³ [This was the second visit of the Regent Moray to Queen Mary, but the object of it is not very apparent.—E.]

⁴ This was surely a very honest confession, suitable to the character given the Earl of Moray by some people, viz. that “ *he was a plain blunt man,*” though I see not much ground to think that he always kept up to it.

⁵ And uterine brother to the Regent.—[George Douglas, afterwards Sir George Douglas of Helenshill, was the third and youngest son of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven and Lady Margaret Erskine, Moray's mother, and he was consequently the Regent's uterine half-brother. This George Douglas is a prominent personage in Sir Walter Scott's romance “ THE ABBOT.” It has been most absurdly alleged that Mary had a son by George Douglas, then a very young man, and that son was the father of Mr Robert Douglas, a celebrated Presbyterian preacher during the Covenanted reign of terror in Scotland after the Glasgow General Assembly of 1638. Although nothing is known of the parentage and early history of Mr Robert Douglas, who survived the Restoration of Charles II., the assertion

Unto the which the Earl replied, That he was over mean a marriage for her Grace, and said further, that he, with the rest of the Nobility, would take advice thereupon.¹ This in substance was all that passed between the Queen and the Earl of Moray at that time; but after, upon the 25th of the last, she enterprized an escape, and was the rather nearer effect, through her accustomed long lying in bed all the morning. The manner of it was thus:—There cometh in to her the landress early as other times before she was wonted, and the Queen (according to such a secret practice) putteth on her the weed of the landress, and so with the fardel of cloaths and her muffler upon her face passeth out, and entereth the boat to pass the Loch; which after some space, one of them that rowed said merrily—“*Let us see*

that he was the grandson of Queen Mary, though illegitimate, by a supposed amour with George Douglas of the Family of Lochleven, is altogether unfounded. Wodrow, however, notices it, and says that he was born in England.—Wodrow's *Analecta*, printed for the MAITLAND CLUB, 4to. 1842, vol. ii. p. 166. Sir George Douglas of Helenshill was married, but the lady's name and family are not recorded in the Peerage lists, and it is incidentally mentioned by Chalmers (*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 277) that she was the “Lady Barery” near Lochleven. His only child Margaret married Sir George Ramsay of Dalhousie, created Lord Ramsay of Melrose in 1618, the title of which Peerage was changed to that of Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie in 1619. William, the only son by this marriage, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Dalhousie by patent, dated Holyroodhouse, 29th June 1633.—E.]

¹ [It is curious that no contemporary writer notices this alleged partiality of Mary to George Douglas, and her proposal to the Regent Moray to marry him. Buchanan, who would not have failed to record such a circumstance to the Queen's disadvantage, describes him simply as “the Regent's youngest brother, a young man ingenious enough, and by reason of his age apt to be imposed upon by female enticements”—adding that he was “something familiar with her, on pretence to attend her in such sports as Courts at idle times refresh themselves withall.”—*Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 225; Translation, Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 356. Mr Tytler, however, states that George Douglas, “smitten by Mary's beauty, and flattered by her caresses, enthusiastically devoted himself to her interest; it was even asserted that he aspired to her hand, and that Mary, never insensible to admiration, solicitous to receive his services, did not check his hopes.”—*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 210. All this is directly contrary to Buchanan's statement that George Douglas, having a “promise of indemnity from the Queen for himself and his partizans, and being excited with the hopes of great wealth and power for the future,” had resolved to achieve the deliverance of the Queen. We must, therefore, view the assertion that George Douglas, who was nine years younger than Mary, aspired to become the husband of his sovereign as a mere fiction.—E.]

what manner of dame this is ;" and therewith offered to pull down her muffler, which to defend she put up her hands, which they spied to be very fair and white, wherewith they entered into suspicion whom she was, beginning to wonder at her enterprize: Whereat she was little dismayed, but charged them, upon danger of their lives, to row her over to the shore; which they nothing regarded, but eftsoons rowed her back again, promising her that it should be secreted, and especially from the Lord of the house under whose guard she lyeth.¹ It seemeth she knew her refuge, and where to have found it, if she had once landed; for there did, and yet do linger at a little village called Kinross,² hard at the Loch-side, the same George Douglas, one Sempil, and one Beton;³ the which two were

¹ [It seems that the "Lady Lochleven," the Regent's mother, was actually in the secret to favour the Queen's escape. We have seen that Mary's imprisonment, when first consigned to Lochleven Castle, was most rigorous, and was rendered more harassing by the insolent and domineering conduct of "Lady Lochleven." Mary wrote to Catherine de Medici—"I am so closely watched that I have no leisure but during their dinner, or when they sleep, that I get up, for their daughters sleep with me." Previously she had written to the Archbishop of Glasgow—"I have neither paper nor time to write further, except to beg the King, the Queen, and my uncles, to burn my letters, for if they know that I have written it will cost the lives of many, and put more in danger, and cause me to be confined more closely." But after her first interview with the Regent the Queen exerted those powers of fascination which she remarkably possessed to gain upon her keepers, and even the severe temper of Lady Lochleven had been mollified to kindness. Whether the Regent's mother really cherished some ambitious project in connection with her son George Douglas it is impossible to say, but she talked of Mary divorcing Bothwell, and had altogether become mild and compassionate.—MS. Letters, State Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, dated Berwick, 30th September 1567, and 9th May 1568, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 210.—E.]

² [Kinross, the county town of the small shire of its name, and is pleasantly situated on the north-western shore of Lochleven. See the note on Lochleven Castle, p. 642 of the present volume.—E.]

³ [After the failure of Mary's first attempt to escape George Douglas was expelled from Lochleven Castle. When the Regent was informed of the affair he hastened to Lochleven, but with the exception of turning his half-brother out of the Castle, he considered it unnecessary to adopt any measures to prevent a similar effort. The persons designated by Drury "one Sempill and one Beton," were John Sempill of Belltrees, who married Mary Livingstone, one of the Queen's "four Marys" (see the note, p. 559, 560, of the present volume), and Sir John Beaton or Bethune, subsequently mentioned by our Historian, brother of Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, the Queen's ambassador at Paris.—E.]

sometime her trusty servants, and, as yet appeareth, they mind her no less affection.

“ The Lord Fleming, notwithstanding he still victualleth and maketh provision,¹ he hath offered three personages of as great livehood as himself to enter caution and surety unto the Earl of Moray, that he shall only hold the place at the devotion and service of the young King, and to no other. Which of the wiser sort is judged but delay, and therefore not accepted.

“ William Leslie is still in the Castle of Edinburgh, and hath been divers times examined by the Secretary,² the President,³ Mr James Macgill, and Mr Henry Balnaves, but nothing of effect can be tried from him. The writings that he had, as they say, were of no great consequence, directed for the most part from the Bishops of Glasgow, Dumblain, and Kilwinning,⁴ to their friends, containing no notable purpose; nevertheless he shall not yet be set at liberty till he be better tried.

“ The Earl of Moray hath, upon understanding of the two appointments past to be frustrated, sent Mr Nicholas Elphinston into Teviotdale, to Cessford⁵ and others, to spur them to justice; and, as seemeth, he taketh their remissness in such good work in very displeasing sort, and thinks himself ill handled in particular.⁶

“ There hath suffered since the Earl of Moray's sessions at Glasgow six Lennox men;⁷ and the other day one of

¹ His Lordship had the strong Castle of Dunbarton in keeping.

² [Maitland of Lethington.—E.]

³ [This was the notorious Sir James Balfour of Pittendreech, who had succeeded William Baillie of Provand as Lord President of the Court of Session.—E.]

⁴ [The Abbot of Kilwinning is meant.—E.]

⁵ [Elphinstone was sent to Ker of Cessford and other Border Chiefs on the business specified.—E.]

⁶ By this part of the letter, and the foregoing observation made by Sir James Melvil and Mr George Buchanan, we may easily collect that the remissness here complained of has respected some rigorous proceedings appointed by the Regent, and which the gentlemen here mentioned have been averse from executing.

⁷ Mr Buchanan, therefore, is in the wrong to say that at the first Court in Glasgow the Queen escaped in the month of May. The Archbishop takes the story from him too.—[Our Historian misunderstood Buchanan and Archbishop Spottiswoode. The former evidently mentions the Regent holding his “first Court,” or justiciary assize, at Glasgow during

the Hamiltons and Stewarts, of purpose awaiting one of the Sempils, met with him upon the way, and there killed him.

“ The Earl of Cassils makes means to come to the Regent, so he might be earnestly sought unto, which the Earl of Moray will not grant unto.

“ And thus I commit your honour to the tuition of God. From Berwick, this 3d of April 1568.

“ Your Honour’s humbly at commandment,
“ WILLIAM DRURY.”

Our Historians take notice that about the end of April, on the 22d^l day thereof, arrived in this kingdom Mons. Beaumont, ambassador from the King of France, agreeable to which date we see that Cecil acquaints Norris thus, 14th April 1568—“ The gentleman that lately came hither, named Mons. de Beaumont, one of the late disorder² of France, passeth into Scotland, which is not much to be liked.”³ Buchanan informs us that this French gentleman demanded in the name of the King his master to be allowed to visit our Queen, and that he threatened to be gone forthwith if this thing was not granted him. To which the Regent should have replied, That this lay not in his power, but in theirs who had first sequestered the Queen and afterwards approved the same in Parliament, but that he promised to introduce him into an assembly of the Nobility on the 20th day of May ; and with this answer, this author adds, the ambassador seemed to be somewhat pacified. But Crawford’s MS. tells something more of this matter,⁴ namely, that this minister had a message to the Regent, “ desiring him

the time of Mary’s ineffectual attempt to escape on the 25th of March, as he immediately afterwards records the Queen’s successful deliverance from Lochleven. The “ six Lennox men” who were executed at Glasgow by command of the Regent belonged to the district of Lennox, in the county of Dunbarton.—E.]

¹ Crawford’s MS.—[*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BASSATYNE CLUB, p. 22.—E.]

² This is said ironically, for Sir James Melville calls him *Knight of the Order of the Cockle*—an order of Knighthood of the best esteem in France.—[See the note on the “ Order of the Cockle” in p. 390 of the present volume.—E.]

³ Cabala.

⁴ [*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BASSATYNE CLUB, p. 22.—E.]

to satisfy *that* his promise made to the King of France at his departure, which was to relieve the Queen from prison, and to set her at liberty ; and he being constitute Governour of the Realm, and accepting the same upon him, might sufficiently perform the samen by himself, without any tumult or danger that might ensue ; but he (the Regent) carefully excused the matter, saying that he could then neither give sufficient answer thereunto, neither could he perform the same, without consent of the three Estates of the Realm to be convened in Parliament ; and because there had been a Parliament so lately concluded before his arrival in Scotland, he could not goodly make a new assembly so suddenly without their grudge ; and thus shiftingly postponed the ambassador, to his great grief." Thus we find here a heavy charge laid to the Regent's door, which, however, must rest upon the faith of the narrator. The two forenamed authors do both seem to agree, that the French ambassador was not allowed to see the Queen ; and yet Sir James Melvil says in express words that " he himself had procured to this ambassador a sight of the Queen while captive."¹ I shall not pretend to reconcile these different accounts, but proceed to narrate the great events which fell out in a few days after.

We have been told already that the Earl of Moray had been advertised of an intention to fetch the Queen out of prison, and of an attempt which had likewise been made for that end, which, notwithstanding, did at that time prove unsuccessful. We find also that upon account of the late attempt George Douglas, brother to the Regent, a young lad not yet eighteen years of age, had been put out of the Castle of Lochleven, thereby to extinguish all hopes of a future escape ; yet this young gentleman having been heartily

¹ [Bishop Keith is here in error respecting Sir James Melville, though he quotes from the interpolated edition of his "Memoirs" edited by George Scott (p. 90). Sir James Melville simply states that he "conveyed" the French ambassador to Glasgow, and his words—"had procured to him a sight of the Queen while captive," evidently mean that he would exert his influence with the Regent to allow the ambassador to have an interview with the Queen. This is proved by the statement in the genuine MS., in which the words are—"And procured that he might see the Queen captive in vain."—Sir James Melville's *Memoirs of his own Life*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 200.—E.]

engaged to procure the Queen's release, either from the motive of *compassion* or *interest*, or perhaps both,¹ had so far prevailed with the Queen's keepers and other servants about the house, that while his mother, brother, &c. were sitting at supper, about seven of the clock in the evening of the second day of May, being Sunday, her Majesty, together with one waiting maid, got safely out of her place of confinement into a small boat, which was rowed to the shore by the said George Douglas.²

¹ [It is severally said of George Douglas—"But as the exceeding hunger of gold had before tymis intoxicat the harts of dyvers valiant men, so this George was verie loth to want the benefite thereof—a fatall famine appearantlie in that clan (Douglas). For altho' the eldest brother obtenit na benefite of this libertie, brocht to pass besyde (without) his knowledg, yet within short tyme thereafter he recompansit that loss with the selling of the Noble Erle of Northumberland to the schambles, and the Erle of Mortoun and he devydit the pelf amang them, so as it is hard to tell who of thir three had either the greatest honour or profit in sic doings."—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 23. Chalmers, however, is more charitable in his estimate of the conduct of George Douglas. Though expelled from Lochleven Castle after the failure of the first attempt to procure the Queen's release—"yet did he persevere in his generous purpose of rescuing a captive Queen, owing to whatever motive of interest, or commiseration, or attachment to an elegant Princess of five-and-twenty."—*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 276. Lord Herries says that George Douglas was known by the soubriquet of *Prettie Geordie*—"my lady's youngest sone," and that he "made none but the Lord Seatoune privie to his device." His Lordship farther observes—"The Queen herselfe was the principal instrument of her own release."—*Historie of the Reigne of King James the Sixth*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 101.—E.]

² Here Blackwood tells somewhat that differs from our other historians, viz. that "George Douglas, uterine brother to the Regent, commiserating the Queen's misfortunes, prevailed with some of her keepers to favour her escape, and among the rest, one William Douglas, a young lad about sixteen or seventeen years of age, who stole out the keys of the Castle that were lying on the table while the Laird of Lochleven was at supper; that with these he locked the gates behind him, and thereafter conveyed the Queen by boat to the shore." Calderwood's MS. calls this William Douglas the Laird's bastard brother.—[See "*Martyre de la Royne d'Escosse Dovairiere de France*," by Blackwood, 12mo. 1588, p. 170, 171; Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 403. Our Historian was evidently not aware that Calderwood calls this William Douglas the *Laird's bastard brother* merely by report, adding that he was "in truth a foundling, and no Douglas." It is evident that he could not have been the "Laird's bastard brother," and at that time a lad of sixteen or seventeen, for Sir Robert Douglas, the Laird's father, fell at the battle of Pinkie, in 1547, twenty-one years previous. This William Douglas was apparently an orphan boy who had

“The rest of the Queen’s liberty¹ was performed by a

been brought up in the Castle, and waited on “Lady Lochleven” in the capacity of a page. He was afterwards, from his small stature, known by the appellation of *Little Douglas*.—Chalmers’ *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i. p. 275. The part which George Douglas sustained in the Queen’s escape is not very clear. Bishop Keith says that Mary “was rowed to the shore by George Douglas, who, we have seen, had been expelled from Lochleven Castle after the attempt of the 25th of March by the command of his half-brother the Regent and of his brother the Laird of Lochleven. Calderwood states that he loitered at Kinross, at “the Loch side, and had no less intelligence than before”—that he maintained a constant communication with William Douglas, the page in the Castle—and that when the Queen was rowed to the shore she was received by George Douglas (*Historie*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 403, 404). This is also Mr Tytler’s account (*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 212). Lord Herries says that the Queen was landed in a “boat which George had reddie,” thus intimating that the foundling page had rowed the Queen, which, however, was a matter of no great difficulty, as the island even at that time was not far from the shore of the lake.—*Historie of the Reigne of King James the Sext* by Lord Herries, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 191. On the other hand Sir James Melville says—“The Queen was conveyed out of Lochleven by George Douglas, the Laird’s brother and the Regent’s half-brother, who was for the tyme in some evil termes with them.”—*Memoirs*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 199. The contemporary diarist also states—“Our Souerane Ladie being in captivitie in the Castell of Lochleven, was delyverit thairfra throw the helpe and convoy of George Douglas, broder to the Laird of Lochleven.—The convoys of the Queen’s Grace furth of captivitie were George Dowglas foirsaid (and) ane boy callit Crawford.”—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrences in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 129. It is curious to find the Regent’s mother accused of conniving at the Queen’s escape. “The auld Lady his mother,” says Sir James Melville, “was also thocht to be upoun the consaill.” Calderwood states that George Douglas undertook to “work the Queen’s libertie *not without knowledge of his mother*,” and Buchanan alleges that it was done “not without the consent of his mother, as was verily thought.”—E.]

¹ Crawford’s MS.—[*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 24. This account of the Queen’s escape from Lochleven by our Historian is very meagre. The following is Mr Tytler’s animated narrative. After mentioning that *Little Douglas*, the page, had undertaken the Queen’s liberation, Mr Tytler proceeds—“On the evening of the 2d of May this youth, in placing a plate before the castellan, contrived to drop his napkin over the key of the gate of the Castle, and carried it off unperceived. He hastened to the Queen, and hurrying down to the outer-gate they threw themselves into the little boat which lay there for the service of the garrison. At that moment Lord Seton and some of her friends were intently observing the Castle from their concealment on a neighbouring hill; a party waited in the village below; while, nearer still, a man lay watching on the brink of the lake. They could see a female figure with two attendants glide swiftly from the outer gate. It was Mary herself, who breathless with delight

gentleman called John Bethune,¹ who passed oftentimes betwixt Lochleven, Hamilton, and Seton, with intelligence; and so when as all things were perfectly and privily agreed upon within the house, there was a certain day prefixed to George Lord Seton, James Hamilton of Rochbank, either of them having several companies to attend upon her out-

and anxiety sprung into the boat, holding a little girl, one of her maidens, by the hand, while the page, by locking the gate behind them, prevented immediate pursuit. In a moment her white veil with its broad red fringe, the concerted signal of success, was seen glancing in the sun; the sign was recognized and communicated; the little boat, rowed by the page and the Queen herself, touched the shore; and Mary, springing out with the lightness of recovered freedom, was received first by George Douglas, and almost instantly after by Lord Seton and his friends.”—History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 211, 212. The contemporary diarist states that in addition to Lord Seton and George Douglas, the persons waiting to “convoy” the Queen, were Alexander Hepburn of Whitsone, James Hamilton of Rochbank, Sir John Bethune, or Beaton, Archbishop Beaton’s brother, and their “partakaris,” the number of whom he leaves unspecified.—Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 129. Lord Herries merely asserts that on the other side of the lake Lord Seton and a “great convention of gentlemen” were in attendance. It is traditionally stated that as soon as the Queen’s flight was discovered a shot was fired from the Castle in the direction of the boat, which fortunately missed the Queen and her companions. The page threw the keys of the Castle into the water, and they lay in the bed of Lochleven till 1805, when they were found by a boy wading on the brink of the lake, at the close of a very dry autumn when the water was uncommonly low. The keys were covered with rust, and fastened by an iron ring which mouldered when rubbed by the hand. The boy carried them to Mr John Taylor, parochial schoolmaster of Kinross, who sent them to George sixteenth Earl of Morton, Heritable Keeper of Lochleven. His Lordship generously rewarded both the finder and the schoolmaster, and sent £5 to the poor. The keys of Lochleven Castle are now in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society in Edinburgh. The spot where the Queen landed is on the south side of the lake, and is still known as *Mary’s Knowe*. At the east end of the adjoining parish of Cleish, near the village of Gairney, the late Right Hon. William Adam, Lord Chief Commissioner of the Jury Court in Scotland, inserted a stone in the bridge over the Gairney rivulet which falls into Lochleven, with an inscription marking the route by which Mary fled with her friends after her escape, and in the adjacent pleasure-grounds of Blair-Adam are the Keiry Craggs, a most romantic spot immortalized in THE ABBOT as the *houff* of John Auchtermuchty the carrier.—E.]

¹ He had the title of Pitlochrie, and was a near relation of the Family of Balfour. I have seen his picture in that house, and he wears the ensigns of the Knights of the Thistle.—[Pitlochrie is in the parish of Strathmiglo, county of Fife, between Kinross and Auchtermuchty.—E.]

coming; and if she should happen to be within the boat she should give a sign unto them for their assurance, which was presently performed when she was coming to the land. They horsed her with gladness—and the Queen was first conveyed to Niddry (in West-Lothian,)¹ my Lord Seton's house, that night, and within three hours thereafter was transported to Hamilton." Whither repaired upon the joyful news of her escape the Earls of Argile, Cassils, Rothes and Eglinton; the Lords Somervell, Yester, Livingston, Borthwick, Herries, Maxwell, Sanquhair, Ross, Fleming; and many other Barons and gentlemen, who together with their friends and attendants, and other incomers, made up an army very quickly of about 6,000 men. Certain it is that the French ambassador, having gone to wait on the Queen at Hamilton, did confess that he had never seen so many men so suddenly convened.² The news of her Majesty's escape was, on the first report, not credited in Glasgow, where the Regent then was holding a justice-court; but in a few hours there was no room left for hesitation.

¹ [Niddrie Castle in the Linlithgowshire part of Kirkliston parish, is a large massive square tower several storeys high, and the walls of great thickness, although it is tolerably entire, and is a striking memorial in that district of baronial desolation, surrounded by gloomy plantations and old trees, in the immediate vicinity of the Union Canal and of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway. In the time of Queen Mary this Castle was the property of Lord Seton, but it has long been in the possession of the Earls of Hopetoun, who since 1814 are Barons Niddrie of Niddrie Castle in the Peerage of Great Britain. This was the first place at which Mary rested after her escape from Lochleven, and she reached it by the Queensferry. Here she wrote a hurried despatch to France, and sent Hepburn of Riccarton to Dunbar to obtain possession of the Castle in her name, after which she commanded him to proceed to Denmark, and convey to his master Bothwell the tidings of her deliverance (MS. Letters, State-Paper Office, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 212). As the Queen intended to proceed towards Hamilton, Niddrie Castle was in a tolerably direct route. Mary must have arrived at the Castle very late, when it is recollected that it was nearly eight in the evening before she escaped from Lochleven, and that the direct distance between it and Niddrie, including the crossing of the Frith of Forth at the Queensferry is probably eighteen miles. If Mary literally rested only three hours in Niddrie Castle, and then mounted on horseback to join her adherents of the House of Hamilton, she must have arrived completely exhausted, as she had to ride probably upwards of twenty miles, and long after her time the roads were in the most wretched condition.—E.]

² Melvil's Memoirs.—[Edited by Scott, folio, p. 90; Memoirs of his own Life, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 200.—E.]

And then a strange alteration might have been discerned in the minds and faces of a great many. Some slipt privately away; others sent quietly to beg the Queen's pardon; and not a few went publickly over to her Majesty, insomuch that the Regent was advised by his friends to leave the city of Glasgow, which is within eight miles of Hamilton,¹ and retire to the town of Stirling, where he would be in greater security until he might gather some forces about him. But this advice his Lordship prudently, rejected upon the account that his retreat would be interpreted a flight, and would thereby discourage his friends, and strengthen his enemies. The particular reasons, both *for* and *against* the Regent's withdrawing to Stirling, as they were proposed in his Council, may be seen set down by Mr Buchanan.²

The first step taken by the Queen was to send a message to the Earl of Moray, desiring him to desist from his Regency, and to reponer her Majesty in her just government, which thing that Earl simply refused to comply with. Whereupon the Queen finding herself now at liberty, and so many Lords and gentlemen about her, declared in presence of them all that the *Writs* which she had subscribed in the prison at Lochleven, bearing her resignation of the Crown, &c. were all extorted from her by fear, and this declaration she supported by the testimony of Robert Melvil, now present at Hamilton, and who had been with her in Lochleven about the time these *Writs* were subscribed, and of certain others, and therefore a sentence was pronounced by the great men now with the Queen, importing that the Resignation, &c. extorted from her Majesty under her fears in prison, was *ipso facto* null and void, of which the Queen's oath was a sufficient confirmation.³ The issue of the Earl of Moray's

¹ [Hamilton is eleven English miles from Glasgow.—E.]

² [Historia Rerum Scotticarum, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 225; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 359.—E.]

³ Sir James Melvil acknowledges the French ambassador "dealt between the parties for peace, but was not heard." And I suppose this gentleman's authority, who was now present with the Regent, is preferable to Mr Buchanan's, who had his accounts most probably by hearsay only.—[Sir James Melville's Memoirs, folio, p. 90; Memoirs of his own Life, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 200. Buchanan alleges that the French ambassador behaved rather as a spy than a peace-maker, though he pretended to be the latter.—Historia, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 225; Translation, vol. ii. p. 359.—E.]

denial to reponc the Queen, and of her Majesty's declaration, and sentence of the Lords thereupon, was a hasty preparation for war, for levying whereof Proclamations were emitted by both sides;¹ and the Queen sent John Bethune into England and France to give notice of her escape out of prison, and to sollicit succour from these Princes in her behalf.² But before we advance to the narration of what followed very quickly, even before this gentleman might be got into France, it is proper to cast our eyes on the following letters, viz.—

¹ Crawford's MS. mentions the Queen's Proclamations to have been published at Hamilton, Lanark, and some other capital burrows, but I can no where see a copy of these Proclamations. But of the Regent's Proclamations we have not only a copy preserved by Sir William Drury, but a more authentick one in the Registers of Privy Council, which the readers will find in the Appendix, Number XXVI.—[*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 25.—E.]

² Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, 16th May 1568—"Sir, By the Queen's Majesty's letter you may perceive what is her pleasure at this time. Beaton is passing thither (into France) so as I think he will be at the Court before the coming of this bearer. In your speaking with the King, you may not by your speech seem to utter that you know of Beaton's coming for aid there, upon advertisement given from hence; for he being advised not to seek aid there, and promised aid here for his mistress, hath in words allowed thereof, and sheweth that he will forbear to require aid from thence, and will only but notify the Queen's liberty. But yet surely I am not bound to believe him; but he hath required us here to say nothing of that which he at his first coming told us, That the Queen, his mistress, sent him to France to require aid of one thousand harquebusiers and a sum of money, with some ordnance. Wherefore, except you shall learn there that he demandeth aid, you shall not speak thereof; but if he do, then shall ye do well to make mention thereof to the King."—Cabala.

Upon Mr Bethune's arrival at the Court of England, that Queen caused immediately Instructions to be drawn up in order to be sent into Scotland, as an answer to our Queen's message by Bethune; but the misfortune of our Queen, which followed so quickly, hindred Mr Leighton from coming hither with the Instructions. However, I have thought it not amiss to lay these Instructions here before the readers for their more ample satisfaction, viz. *Instructions given to Mr Thomas Leighton, sent into Scotland by the Queen of England in May 1568*;—"You shall make your repaire with our lettres to the Queene of Scotts our good sister, and shall deliver to her our lettre; and, with our most heartie commendations, use such speech as shall be meetest to express our rejoicing for her delivery out of the captivitie wherein she was. *Item*, You shall declare to her, That upon the certayne knowledge which we had of her delivery, by her owne lettres sent by her servant Mr Betton, and by his report, we did at length conferr with him upon her estate; and, upon his messages to us commu-

*Letter from Sir William Drury to Sir William Cecil,
6th May 1568.*

“ IT may please your Honour, since the dispatch of my

nicated, we did determine thus to proceed. *First*, with all speed to send to understand of her state, and according to the same to will you, if she should so like thereof, to charge her subjects to submit themselves to her as naturall subjects ought to doe; and if they would not conforme themselves thereto, to let them plainly understand that for our part she should not want for her relief the assistance of that power which God hath given to us. And so you may assure, we meane to give her aid, and have sent you specially to understand whether she will content herself to stand to our order in the composition of the controversies betwixt her and her subjects, without sending, soliciting, or receiveing of any foraigne power from France for this purpose; which, if she will do, she shall be then assured that we will have the principall regard to her state, so as her subjects may be reduced to acknowledge their duties without shedding of blood or trouble of her Realme. And if they will not yield to reason by treaty or perswasion, we will give to her such aid as shall be requisite to compell them. And if the Queene, our good sister, shall like of this manner in our proceeding, you shall offer to her in our name also to resort to her contrarie partie, and to understand of them whether they can be content to be advised and ruled by us in all matters stirred up betwixt the Queene and them; which if they will, upon knowledge thereof be you, we will speedily send some honourable personages of wisdom and credite in that Realme to attend upon her where she will assigne them, and to treat betwixt her and her subjects, and procure such an Accord as shall stand with her honour and be profitable for her country. And as she shall like hereof, so we will that you shall repair to the other partie; and haveing delivered to the Erle of Moray our lettres of credence, you shall shew him the cause of our sending of you thither, and move him with others combyned with him, to be content to compromitt their whole controversies to us, with such reasons as are meete to assure him of our principall intention to conserve that Realme from further danger by this civill war; in whom, if you find conformity, you shall let both the Queene and them understand that we will not faile, but send such an ambassade as we trust shall satisfie all partes; and in the meantime we think it good that all force do cease on both partes, and no new collection of power. And so for that purpose you shall make heast to returne. You shall also saie to the Queene of Scotts, That the causes why we speciallie require that we may deale in this great matter betwixt her and her subjects, are many. The *first*, Because we are, of all other Princes, the next to her both in blood and neighbourhood. The *second* is, Because we are most interested to do it for the opinion we have of our subjects, that either they will be advised by us, or that we have most commoditie to compell them by reason of our nearness to them by land, without lett of sea. The *last* is, We see evidently that, if the Queene, being offered ours, and will sollicite the aide of France to bring in men of warre into Scotland, and that they shall come thither, we must needs conclude, that under pretence of aiding of her, the principall intention shall be to renew old quarrels and troubles betwixt us and France, and also betwixt us and Scotland. Upon which

last I cannot hear of any more, than that the Queen continued still at Draffen¹ among the Hamiltons, and all the dependers thereupon. She came thither accompanied with threescore horse, or somewhat more, and now increaseth.

weighty considerations we have made this choice, upon our own charges to procure to that Queene the restitution of her estate and the obedience of her subjects. Which offer if she shall refuse, you may say she shall be very sorry for that we shall be moved to alter our mind contrary to our naturall desire; and so, as you shall find cause, we would have you to returne with speede.”—Calig. C. I. a Copy. If the readers think by the latter part of these Instructions especially, that there appears to be some alteration in the Queen of England, they may observe that these Instructions are said to be drawn by Secretary Cecil in the place here referred to; and they will there likewise find another paper, intituled “Considerations upon the Troubles in Scotland, when Mr Thomas Leighton was sent thither from the Queen of England in May 1568,” &c. in *Secretary Cecil's own hand*, in which paper this gentleman forms a discussion concerning the aiding of the Queen of Scots either by English or French power, and seems inclined to keep our Queen at under by all means whatsoever. See also Anderson's Collections, vol. iv.

¹ [Draphane or Craignethan Castle, the Tillietudlem of OLD MORTALITY, was one of the strongholds of the Hamiltons in the parish of Lesmahago. According to tradition Draphane Castle was erected by one of the early ancestors of the House of Hamilton, and the strength of the pile so much roused the suspicions of the Scottish King, whose name, however, is not given, that the builder was apprehended and executed on a charge of meditated rebellion. The ruins occupy the summit of a steep bank encircled on the east by the Nethan Water, which enters the Clyde nearly two miles below, and on the west by a craggy torrent. The site is so strong that before the invention of artillery the fortifications must have been almost impregnable. A high and solid wall of hewn stone, a considerable part of which is tolerably entire, flanked with massive towers, and perforated with loop-holes in all directions, surrounded the principal building, or “keep,” enclosing a spacious court-yard, intersected with a deep moat faced on each side of hewn stone, over which was thrown a draw-bridge, defended by two parallel vaults still accessible, but deeply buried in the rubbish of the moat. The Castle is much dilapidated, having been used as a quarry for the neighbouring farm-houses. Two towers remain, crowned with hazel, ash, hawthorn, bourtree, brier, and rowantree, and sufficiently intimate the extraordinary massiveness of the structure when entire. It appears that Queen Mary, when she left Niddrie Castle early on the morning of the 3d of May, rode to Draphane, while the rendezvous of her supporters was at Hamilton, nine or ten miles distant. A large vaulted hall is shewn, called *Queen Mary's room*, which she is said to have occupied previous to the battle of Langside. Over the entrance to the principal building is a much effaced escutcheon, containing the armorial supporters of the House of Hamilton; and the arms of the Hays, and other families connected with, or who had possession of, this Castle, are on various parts of the walls. The whole is now a most romantic ruin.—E.]

The Earl of Moray, upon Tuesday at five hours after noon, published a Proclamation for the gathering of men, a copy whereof I send herewith. He is yet at Glasgow, and not idle on any side to provide for the King's surety and his own. The Queen hath dispatched one of the Betons into France, or else to our Court.¹

“ Upon Monday, Dunbar had like to have been surprised; for at one instant there arrived into the town the Parson of Auld Hamstock² with a xx,³ and as many sent from the Lord Hume; but the town more affected to the Lord Hume increased his strength so much, that the Parson desisted from his enterprize, and so returned.

“ Of this reversion of the State the March-men⁴ contrary to the Lord Hume are marvellously glad, and in like manner the thieves of Teviotdale our troublesome neighbours, and begin to take courage hereupon to enter into their tristes,⁵ to enterprise outrages against the inhabitants of this March; whereunto what vigilant regard it behoved me to have your Honour may suppose, which to my uttermost shall be cared for. Howbeit something perchance hindred through lack of money, whereof here is no store for any such

¹ [Sir John Beaton, or Bethune, brother of Archbishop Beaton, previously mentioned, p. 797 of the present volume, as actively assisting to facilitate the escape of Mary from Lochleven. He is mentioned by Sir William Drury in a letter to Cecil, dated 15th May 1568, as having passed through Berwick. Beaton is said to have carried a ring from Mary to Elizabeth, and requested an asylum for her in England, but it appears from the letter now mentioned that he was sent by Mary before she could have any intention of retiring from Scotland.—Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 271. Mary's object in deputing Beaton to the English and French Courts was to obtain support.—E.]

² [Properly Oldhamstocks, a parish partly in the counties of Haddington and Berwick, bounded on the north-east by the German Ocean. The “Parson of Auld-Hamstock” was named Hepburn, and was connected with the Earl of Bothwell. He is frequently mentioned in our Historian's documents in the text.—E.]

³ [Apparently twenty men, the party headed by the Parson of Oldhamstocks, who attempted to obtain possession of Dunbar for the Queen, and was unsuccessful. Mr Tytler states that the leader of this enterprize was Hepburn of Riccarton, whom the Queen had sent from Niddrie Castle to secure the stronghold of Dunbar. Lord Home not only foiled him in his attempt, but kept the Merse Borderers from declaring for her, and soon joined the Regent with 600 men, while the city of Edinburgh sent a small force of hackbutters.—E.]

⁴ [The Borderers.—E.]

⁵ [*Tristes*, or *un-laps*.—E.]

extraordinary chances; wherefore, if further occasion shall appear where money must be used, the better to amayne the Queen's service here in such doubtful storms I shall send up my servant to sollicite the same, except your wisdom shall think it impertinent. Thus knowing nothing else, I commit your Honour to God. From Berwick, this 6th of May 1568.

“ Your Honour's humble at commandment,

“ WILLIAM DRURY.”

“ This Proclamation was also proclaimed at Haddington and Laughton yesterday.”—(Though the Proclamation here intended be likewise preserved, yet I chuse, as I said before, to omit inserting it here, and to remit the readers to the more authentick copy in the APPENDIX, Number XXVI.)

“ *Another Letter from Sir William Drury to Sir William Cecil, 7th May.*¹

“ IT may please your Honour: Seeing that hourly (through these troubles thus reverted in Scotland) matter is brought me worthy the imparting, I intend, God willing, to spare no diligence to advertise the same accordingly. And now approacheth, in mine opinion, a more dangerous affliction of their State than long before hath been seen; for besides the great preparations of forcible provision for mischief that is used on both sides, each party voweth with great passion to defend the quarrel to the last power of resistance.

“ The Queen, the day after she came to Hamilton,² where now she resteth, sent a gentleman to the Earl of Moray and other the Lords, to declare that she was delivered by God's providence out of captivity, and albeit she had consented to a certain kind of approving their authority, she was thereunto, for defence of her life, compelled; which now, seeing God had thus mercifully relieved her, she desired

¹ Calig. C. I, an Original. — [British Museum.—E.]

² [Mary had left Draphane Castle, and proceeded to the rendezvous of her supporters at Hamilton. It is probable that she lodged in the now ruined Castle of Cadzow, which is perched on the summit of a lofty rock, nearly 200 feet above the bed of the Avon, a tributary of the Clyde, and opposite the deer park and chateau of Chatellierault built about 1730. The Regent Moray's troops dilapidated Cadzow Castle after the battle of Langside, and it was scarcely ever inhabited afterwards.—E.]

them that they would restore her with quietness to her former dignity and estate, and she would in like manner wholly remit and pardon all manner of actions committed against her honour or person. Whereunto the Earl hearkned, and sent one Patrick Hume to her Grace, to know if the same messenger and message was sent by her order and commandment. But what thereof followed I yet know not.

“ One Johnston, a pursevant, being sent by the Queen to proclaim her royal estate again, was apprehended and imprisoned, with irons, at Glasgow.

“ There are already four or five field-pieces of ordinance coming to Glasgow from Stirling, whereby it appeareth, though at the first the Earl was minded to retire to Stirling, he is now determined to stay in Glasgow.

“ The Earl of Mar hath sent unto him some supply of men,¹ and prepareth more; and it is doubtful whether the young Prince shall be in the field, but if he be not, his banner shall be, under the which they resolve themselves either to die, or to keep the hold they have of government.

“ There were intercepted certain letters of the French Ambassador; he was licensed upon the 5th hereof to go and speak with the Queen. The Lord Hume in these storms hath taken one course which in no division before he ever used, which is, to yield to have conference with divers who have long been his enemies. But whoso marketh the necessity of the time, and the sudden chance of these stirs, may in the greater part apply it to his commendation; for he protesteth never to crave pardon as a notorious and contemptuous offender, but constantly to assist in holding that which godly order (as he saith) first entred into. And surely I take it that in case the Earl of Moray shall so allow, the greater part of his intention will be to expell all the Earl's contraries out of their own houses within the Merse, and therein to lodge his friends. Whereby what loss of their goods and spoil of their houses will follow, may as a bridle restrain their bodies to execute their affections.

“ There hath been some little bickering by some of Glasgow against others favourers of Hamilton; but I hear

¹ Viz. From the Castle of Stirling, of which he was Keeper.

of little harm thereby as yet, only that a gentleman named Caldwell was apprehended going to the Queen.

“ There are already appointed 500 men to go out of Edinburgh to Glasgow ; and those of Glasgow are stirred with great heat and choler to encounter with the Hamiltons, the rather to acquit themselves for so sundry injuries as have been by the Hamiltons inflicted upon them ; and hereto they do much desire the Earl of Lenox’s presence amongst them.

“ One thing may breed some inconvenience, the lack of money, for the which the soldiers use importunation, with declaration that if they be not paid they stand doubtful what to do.

“ I hear that George Douglas, notwithstanding his great merit for her liberty, is now but little accounted of.¹

“ Our trusty neighbours of Teviotdale are holden occupied only to attend the pleasures and calling of their heads, to make some party in this division.

“ Your Honour’s letter of the last of April I received but this present morning, wherein appeareth how slow speed the post makes. From Berwick this 7th of May 1568.

“ Your Honour’s humble assured at command,

“ WILLIAM DRURY.”

It seems, I think, to be acknowledged on all hands that the prevailing intention of the Queen’s friends now about her was to have conducted and placed her Majesty in the strong fortress of Dunbarton, until their other friends in the remoter parts of the kingdom had time and opportunity to

¹ [Mary was not in a situation to bestow any favour or honours on George Douglas. She had no money, and she was even destitute of a humble wardrobe. The result of the battle of Langside, and her flight into England, completely annihilated every intention of rewarding her friends. Nevertheless George Douglas and the foundling page “ Little Douglas ” had pensions from Mary, who never forgot their services, and they both accompanied her to Carlisle. In 1571, the Queen wrote from Sheffield to Elizabeth requesting her protection to George Douglas, who was about to proceed to Scotland ; and in July 1573, after an interview with Mary as he passed through England, he went to France to obtain the money or pension there due to him, which he received. In July 1580, George Douglas was sent ambassador to the French Court by James VI., and in July 1581 the Queen wrote to him, entreating him to induce her son openly to espouse their cause.—E.]

come into them, and by that means they should all together be in a capacity to have established her on the throne again in a formal parliamentary manner, or else by the power of military force ; and for this purpose they began very quickly after the Queen's coming to Hamilton to form an association for mutual defence in favour of her Majesty's preservation and rights, a copy whereof I suppose my readers will not be displeased to see inserted here.

The Bond of Nine Earls, Nine Bishops,¹ Eighteen Lords, and others, for defence of the Queen's Majesty, 8th May 1568.²

"TILL all and sindrie quhome it effeiris, to quhais knowlege thir present letteris sall cum ; we the Prelatis, Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Gentilmen, and Burrowis eftir specifiēt, having considerit that it has pleisit God Almichtie of His infinite power to put to libertie our Soverane Lady the Quenis Majestie furth of the handis of hir Hienessis disobedient and unnaturall subjectis, quha have presumit and preisit themselfis to hald hir maist nobill persoun this lang tyme past, for thair awn preheminnence and particularities, menassant and boistand frae tyme to tyme to tak hir Majestie's lyff maist unjustlie from hir, express against all luifable lawis of God and man : for quhilk His greit benefite grantit to us hir trew subjectis, and delyverance fairsaid, we render to Him all thankis and hartie praise. And seeing alswa that it is the bounden dutie of all trew subjectis with thair bodies, landis, and gudis, to serve and obey thair native Soverane, in the quhilk cais undoubtedlie Almichtie God hes gevin hir Hienes abufe us to reign, quhilk we maist earnestlie pray

¹ [The enumeration of the "Nine Bishops" among the signatures in this Bond for the defence of Queen Mary is most inaccurate ; at least in our Historian's "Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops," no such Prelates are recorded as "John Bp. of Dunkeld, Alexander Bp. of Aberdeen," and "Robert Bp. of Brechin." John Bp. of the Isles, and James Bp. of Argyll, were merely Titulars. The former was John Carswell, and the latter was James Hamilton, brother of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and, like him, an illegitimate brother of the Duke of Chatelherault. The Archbishop himself, John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, and "John Hepburn," Bishop of Moray, whose proper name, however, was Patrick, were Prelates of the prostrated Hierarchy. So was Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, but he had become a Protestant preacher. The whole list appears to be full of errors and misprints.—E.]

² Calig. C. 1, a Copy.—[British Museum.—E.]

his Godhead may lang continew to His glorie, and alsua our warldlie comfort ; we thairfoir, and everie ane of us, promise and oblige us, in the name of the eternall God, faythfullie and trewlie upon our lawtie and honours in the world, that we sall serve and obey trewlie our said Soverane Lady, our naturall Princess, as hir Hiennesis faythfull liegis and subjectis, against all hir enemies, and utheris hir Grace's disobedient and unnaturall subjectis, with our bodies, landis, and gudis, friendis, servandis, assistants, and partakeris, to the setting forward of hir Hiennesis autoritie, honour, commonweill of our native Realme, and liegis thair of, unto the uttermaist of our power to our lyffis end : And alsua, because wee see the greit disobedience presentlie pretended against hir Grace and her trew and obedient subjectis, we thairfoir, in manner foirsaid, binds and obliges us, and everie ane of us, trewlie and faythfullie to tak ane trew and anefald plain part with utheris in defence of ourselfis, bodies, gudis, landis, rowms, possessions, men, tennentis, servandis, friendis, and assistaris, and in persuit of thame that beis founden disobedient to our said Soverane Lady and hir autoritie ; and to that effect that na distance nor grudge sall remaine amangis us, our friendis and servandis, for ony action or cause criminal or civil bipast ; we alsua, be thir presentis, refer all sic actionis and causis that presentlie is or shall happin heireftir to be amangis us to the orders and commandment of our said Soverane Lady, or the Lordis of hir Hiennesis Counsall, or ony three or four of thame that hir Hiennesis pleisis to command, to accept the decision thair of upon thame : and however thai decern thairintill, we oblige us faythfullie to stand and abyde thairat, and sall on nawayis persew ony actionis against utheris without hir Hiennesis liecnee, unto the tyme that hir Majestie hald Parlement, and be fullie establissit in hir queenlie honour and obedience ; obligeing ilk ane of us to utheris, bot¹ fraud or guile, upon our lawties, honours, and fidelities, and nevir to have faith nor credit, bot to be reputit and haldin as opin and manifest traitoris, gif we come in contrare the tenour of the premisses in ony sort. In witness of the quhilk we and everie ane of us hes subscriyvit thir presentis with our hand at Hamilton

¹ Without.

the aucht day of Maij, the zeir of God ane thousand fyve hundred threscoir and aucht zeiris.

“ Archibald E. of Argile, George E. of Huntly, Hugh E. of Eglinton, David E. of Crawford, E. of Cassils, E. of Rothes, E. of Montrose, E. of Sutherland, E. of Errol, Constable. John Abp. of St Andrews, John Bp. of Dunkeld, John Bp. of Ross, Alexander Bp. of Galloway, Alexander Bp. of Aberdeen, Robert Bp. of Brechin, John Bp. of the Isles, James Bp. of Argile, John Bp. of Moray. Lords Fleming, Livingston, Seton, Robert L. Boyd, Somervell, Herries, Ross, Maxwell, Ogilvy, Oliphant, William L. Borthwick, Sanchar, William L. Hay of Zester, Drummond, Elphinston, L. Claud Hamilton, Sinclair, Cairlieure.¹ Abbots, St Colm's Inch, Lindoris, Glenluss, Halyrood, New-Abbay, Dundrennan, Saulside, Corse-Regal, Inchafray, Kelso; Prior Pluscarti, Prior Lahteim.² Barons, Laird of Lochinvar, Bass, Waughton, Roslin, Corstorphin, Johnston, Weems, Balwery, Torry, Dalhousie, Farniherst, Sheriff of Teviotdale, Lamington, Calderwood, Closburn, Lanton, Traquair, Ker, Gardey, Clackmannan, Sauchy, Tulliallan, Findlator, Barnbougall, Greenhead, Bamff, Haddo, Rowallan, Drumallier, Coilsburn, Whitford of that Ilk, Robert Boyd of Badennis, Jerviswood, James Johnston of Torry, Robert Johnston of Lochmaben, John Creichton of Rihill, Sheriff of Air, Sir James Hamilton, Kt. Sheriff of Clidsdale, Robert Master of Sempil, Thomas Master of Boyd, Laird of Bombie, Skirlings, Kt., Laird of Boyn,³ Boghall,

¹ [A misprint for Carlyle. He was Michael fourth Lord Carlyle of Forthorwald, and was the last who possessed that extinct Peerage.—E.]

² [Who “Prior Lahteim” was, or where “Lachteim” was erected, is unknown. Probably *Loch-Tay* is meant.—E.]

³ [Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne. The following will correct the fourth note, p. 434 of the present volume. Sir James Melville there states that the “Lady Boyn” first announced to him in Edinburgh Castle the birth of James VI. This “Lady Boyn” was Mary Beaton, or Bethune, one of the Queen's “four Marys,” and was the eldest of eight daughters of Robert Beaton of Creich, descended from a younger son of Beaton of Balfour in Fife—the family who gave two Archbishops to St Andrews. This Robert Beaton, before he succeeded to the family estate by the death of his elder brother, is said to have been a page to the Queen in France, and married Joanna Renwall, or Grysoner, a French lady, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, who was the mother of Mary Beaton. This Mary Beaton, a portrait of whom is in Balfour House, married Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne, who was

Innerwick, Stenhouse, Dunrod, Craighall, Annesburn, Kilburny, Laird of Cockpool, Neil Montgomery, Kt., Patrick Congilton of that Ilk, Pollock, Ladyland, Smeton, Preston, Kt., Caldwell, Kt., Master of Kneland, James Steuart of Cardonald, Laird of Kneland, Cambuskenneth, Lauchop, Barclanochan, Gawston, Romano, Cranston, Kt., Newton of that Ilk, Bandenoth, Belstams, Whitford, Sir Andrew Ker, Kt., Sheriff of Linlithgow, Gairtlie, Silvertown, Kt., Haining, Rickarton, Ardkinlas, Dalziel, Semenance, Lickprevick, Corhouse, Robert Lawson of Humby, Esilmont, Macintosh, Giecht, Crieck Kt., Abergeldy, Whitelaw.¹

Perhaps at this distance of time men may take upon them to say that either the Queen ought to have gone immediately at first into the fortress of Dunbarton, or to have withdrawn now farther off into the countries where she expected most of her friends lay, till she had seen how the nation was disposed towards her. But it appears that those who were now with her, finding their numbers increase so largely in the short space of eight days or so, were so flushed with the hopes of success, that they, unluckily for her Majesty, determined to carry her in a sort of parade, in the very view of her enemies, to Dunbarton. But God

one of the jury on Bothwell's mock trial (see the third note, p. 546 of the present volume), and the representative of an old branch of the Ogilvies of Findlater. The original contract of the marriage of Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne and Mary Beaton is preserved in the General Register House at Edinburgh, signed by Queen Mary and Darnley, 3d May 1566, and by the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, Moray, and Atholl, as cautioners for the bridegroom, by Mary Beaton herself, and by her husband, who signs himself by his territorial title *Boyn*.—Miscellany of the Maitland Club, printed for the MAITLAND CLUB, 4to. Part I. p. 43-49.—E.]

¹ The following *nota* is added by Mr Crawford of Drumsoy, when he excerpted this paper from the Cotton Library, viz.—“ This being only a copy, and the Scots titles and names being not very well known to Sir Robert Cotton's transcriber, he has certainly mistaken some of them ; however, as near as possible we have copied after him, altering only those which fell within the compass of our own knowledge.—[Mr Crawford of Drumsoy certainly required to volunteer this apology, and notice the ignorance of Sir Robert Cotton's “transcriber,” for a more blundering list of signatures is no where to be found. It would have been as well if Mr Crawford of Drumsoy, when he altered those names “which fell within the compass of his own knowledge,” had bestowed some pains, and authenticated all the signatures in a proper manner, instead of leaving them in such a state as to display his own ignorance.—E.]

overrules the world, and we are always so foolish as to applaud or condemn according to events.

“¹ It was declared in the Queen’s Council, that her Majesty should be peaceably reponed in the Castle of Dunbarton, there to remain till all the Nobles and gentlemen of the land should convene at Dunbarton at a Parliament, and to devise for all general causes of the commonweal, and in particular for the Queen and the young King. They sorted from Hamilton upon the 13th day of May to pass toward Dunbarton. The Regent understanding this, caused his company to be sorted in arrayed battle to stop the Queen’s passage, and came forth to a village called the Langside, where they stood by the advantage of the ground. The gentlemen of the sirname of Hamilton were on the Queen’s vanguard, and my Lord Heris, with certain horsemen, on their wing. On the Regent’s vanguard were James Earl of Mortoun and Alexander Lord Home. The Queen’s fore-company were so evil conducted, that they were led among certain ditches, and were sorely strest by shot of hackbut from the Regent’s side. And in respect of this incommodity being so ill seconded by my Lord Heris, and having sustained great loss, were constrained to give back. These gentlemen were the worst treat of all the Queen’s side. The rear-guard perceiving them to be defeat did the like. The Earl of Argile being Lieutenant of the Queen’s camp, shewed neither courage nor vassalage² at this conflict. The Queen fled with speed out of the field, and past toward Dumfries, on the West Borders of Scotland, foreanent England. The slaughter was not great of both sides, for it exceeded not the number of 200. The Regent’s folks followed on the chace a great way. Divers of the Queen’s part were taken prisoners, and the most remarkable were George Lord Seton, the Sheriff of Air, Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick, Sir William Scot of Balwirie, Knight, James Heriot of Trabron, James and John Hamiltons of Garren, James

¹ Crawford’s MS.—[Historie and Life of King James the Sext, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 25, 26, 27.—E.]

² Other writers have said that the Earl of Argile fell into some fits of sickness, just before the engagement, which gave time to the enemies to form and put themselves in order, and proved a great disadvantage to the Queen’s army.

Hamilton of Kinkavil, David (James) Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, Alexander Baillie of Littlegill, and the Laird of Lauchop, with sundry other substantial gentlemen. There was hurt on the Regent's side my Lord Ochiltree, with divers others. The Noblemen that came to the field with the Queen were these—Archibald Earl of Argile, Lieutenant, Hugh Earl of Eglinton, Archibald Earl of Cassils, Andrew Earl of Rothes, my Lord Glamis, George Lord Seton, John Lord Herries, Hugh Lord Somervil, John Lord Fleming, Thomas Lord Boyd, my Lord Ross, the Sheriff of Aire, and Sir James Hamilton of Crawfordjohn, Knight, to the number of 6000 men or thereby. The Nobles and gentlemen on the Regent's part were James Earl of Morton, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Alexander Lord Home, John Lord Lindsay, Robert Lord Sempil, William Lord Ruthven, John Lord Grahame, Secretary Lethington, to the number of 3000, or some more.”¹ Thus this contemporary author.

But another writer,² of the same time, and of good reputation likewise, gives a contrary turn to the occasion of this battle. He says—“ Her Majesty was minded not to fight, nor hazard battle, but to go unto the Castle of Dunbartoun, and endeavour by little and little to draw home again unto her obedience the whole subjects. But the Bishop of St Andrews, and the House of Hamiltoun, and the rest of the Lords there convened, finding themselves in number far beyond the other party, would needs hazard battle, thinking thereby to overcome the Regent their great enemy, and be also masters of the Queen, to command and rule all at their pleasure. Some alleged that the Bishop was minded to cause the Queen to marry my Lord Hamiltoun, in case they had obtained the victory. And I was since informed by some who were present that the Queen herself feared the same; therefore she pressed them still to convoy her to Dunbartoun, and had sent me word with the French

¹ This agrees pretty well with Buchanan's account, who says they amounted scarcely to 4000; but then he reckons the Queen's forces to have been about 6500.—[Buchanan's *Historia Rerum Scoticarum*, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 225; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 359, 360.—E.]

² Sir James Melville.—[*Memoirs*, edited by George Scott, folio, p. 90, 91, 92; also Sir James Melville's “*Memoirs of his own Life*,” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 200, 201, 202.—E.]

ambassador the same morning before the battle, to draw on a meeting for concord, by the means of the Secretary Lidington and the Laird of Grange; and for her part she would send the Lord Herries and some other. She had also caused my brother Sir Robert to write a letter to me that same morning for that same effect, but the Queen's army came on so fiercely that there was no stay.

"The Regent went out on foot and all his company, except the Laird of Grange, Alexander Hume of Manderstoun, and some Borderers, to the number of 200. The Laird of Grange had already viewed the ground,¹ and with all imaginable diligence caused every horseman to take behind him a footman of the Regent's to guard behind them, and rode with speed to the head of the Langside-hill, and set down the said footmen with their culverings at the head of a strait lane, where there were some cottage houses and yards of great advantage; which soldiers with their continual shot killed divers of the vaunt-guard led by the Hamiltouns, who courageously and fiercely ascending up the hill, were already out of breath when the Regent's vaunt-guard joined with them, where the worthy Lord Hume fought on foot with his pike in his hand very manfully, well assisted by the Laird of Cesfoord his brother-in-law, who helped him up again when he was stricken to the ground by many stroaks upon his face, by the throwing pistols at him after they had been discharged. He was also wounded with staves, and had many stroaks of spears through his legs; for he and Grange at the joining cried to let their adversaries first lay down spears, to bear up theirs, which spears were so thick fixed in others' jacks, that some of the pistols and great staves, that were thrown by them which were behind, might be seen lying upon the spears.

¹ Blackwood observes that one of the Queen's Council had sent word to the Regent, and acquainted him the night before, which way her Majesty was to hold. Buchanan relates how that the Regent first led out his men into the open field before the town of Glasgow, which Spottiswood and Calderwood do both call *the Moor of Glasgow*, and that very probably too, expecting the Queen might have passed towards Dumbarton by the north side of the river.—[*Martyre de la Roynie d'Escoce*, 12mo. 1578, p. 172; Buchanan's *Historia*, fol. 225, and Translation, vol. ii. p. 360; Spottiswoode's *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, London, 1677, p. 216; Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 414.—E.]

“ Upon the Queen’s side the Earl of Argile commanded the battle, and the Lord of Arbroth¹ the vaunt-guard. On the other part the Regent led the battle, and the Earl of Mortoun the vaunt-guard; but the Regent committed to the Laird of Grange the special care, as being an experimented captain, to oversee every danger, and to ride to every wing, to encourage and make help where greatest need was. He perceived at the first joining the right wing of the Regent’s vaunt-guard put back and like to fly, whereof the greatest part were commons of the barony of Ranfrew; whereupon he rode to them, and told them that their enemy was already turning their backs, requesting them to stay and debate till he should bring them fresh men forth of the battle. Whether at full speed he did ride alone, and told the Regent that the enemy were shaken, and flying away behind the little village, and desired a few number of fresh men to go with him; where he found enough willing, as the Lord Lindsay, the Laird of Lochleven, Sir James Balfour, and all the Regent’s servants, who followed him with diligence, and reinforced that wing which was beginning to fly; which fresh men with their loose weapons struck the enemies in their flanks and faces, which forced them incontinent to give place, and turn back, after long fighting and pushing others to and fro with their spears. There were not many horsemen to pursue after them, and the Regent cried to save and not to kill; and Grange was never cruel, so that there were but few slain and taken. And the only slaughter was at the first rencounter, by the shot of the soldiers which Grange had planted at the lane-head behind some dikes.”

Besides these two accounts of this battle of Lang-side,²

¹ Though I should be loath to doubt lightly of any thing this contemporary writer narrates, yet because we know the Lord Arbroth (i. e. Lord John Hamilton) went lately into France, and that other writers mention the Lord Claud Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, another son of the Duke of Chastellerault, and progenitor of the Earls of Abercorn, to have had the command of this part of the Queen’s army at this battle, I therefore thought it not amiss to insert here this observation.

² It is a small village about a mile to the south of Glasgow, near the Water of Cart.—[Langside, the scene of this battle, is two English miles directly south of Glasgow, in the parish of Cathcart, county of Renfrew. On the summit of the rising ground of Camphill, near which the action

there is a third larger and more replete with circumstances to be seen in Buchanan's History,¹ to which I shall remit my readers, and set down here Calderwood's account,² which he seems to have collected together with pretty much exactness.

“As soon as my Lord Hume came to Glasgow, accompanied with 600 men of Merse and Lothian, the Regent purposed to march toward Hamilton and force the Queen's faction or fight. The other faction, consisting of 6000 men, and knowing that the adverse party with the Regent were not above 4000, confident in their own number doubted not to venture into the fields. It was their intention first to convoy the Queen to Dunbarton, a place of safety, that thereafter they might either fight or draw at length the war as they thought fittest; or if the Regent would fight them by the way, they were resolved to encounter him. The Regent mustered his army in Glasgow-moor, deeming that the Queen's army should have come that way; but then he perceived them to march on the south-side of Clyde. He taketh up their purpose, sendeth the foot-men to the bridge, and the horsemen by the fords with haste, to intercept them by the way; and gave charge to his horsemen to take the hill above Langside. The Regent's army made such haste that they were near the hill before the Queen's army perceived; howbeit they were marching toward the same place. The Regent's army was never seen all at once, because they marched among little knowes and hollow valleys, till they were near to the hill, which made the Queen's army negligent and secure, confiding in their own number, and contemning the small number of the other party. The Earl of Argyle, lieutenant for the Queen, being surprised on a sudden with an apoplexy, fell down, stayed the army a certain time; whereupon the other army, howbeit they were farther from the hill, prevented them, and took the vantage of the ground. There were in the battle with the Earl of

was decided, are the vestiges of a Roman camp, erroneously designated by the peasantry *Queen Mary's Camp*.—E.]

¹ [Historia Rerum Scotticarum, original edit. Edin. 1582, fol. 226; Translation, Edin. edit. 1752, vol. ii. p. 360, 361, 362.—E.]

² Calderwood's MS. [Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 414, 415, 416.—E.]

Argile, Lieutenant, the Earls of Cassils, Eglinton and Rothes; Lords Seton, Somervell, Yester, Borthwick, Livingston, Sanquhar, Boyd; the Sheriff of Air, the Lairds of Bass, Waughton, Dalhousie, Lochinvar, Roslin; the avant-guard was led by Claud Hamilton of Paisley, second son to the Duke of Chatlerault, and Sir James Hamilton of Evindail; with them the Hamiltons, their friends and followers, to the number of 2000 men; they bragged that they would by themselves defeat their adverse party. The Lord Herries had the conduct of the horsemen, all almost Borderers, dependents and tenants of my Lord Maxwell his brother. James Stewart of Castleton, and Arthur Hamilton of Mirriton, had the conduct of the shot, to the number of 300. The Regent's avant-guard was conducted by the Earl of Morton, Alexander Lord Hume, Patrick Lord Lindsay, Robert Lord Sempil. In the rear-guard with the Regent were John Earl of Marr, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, William Grahame Earl of Monteith, the Master of Grahame; Lords Ruthven, Uchiltree, Stewart, Cathcart; Lairds Barganie, Balquhan, Cessford, Luss, Buchanan, Pitcur, Lochlevin, Lethington, Sir James Balfour; the barons and gentlemen of Lenox, and the citizens of Glasgow. The shot was placed in the yards of Langside. The horsemen, about 200, were conducted by William Douglas of Drumlanrig, Alexander Hume of Manderston, and John Carmichael of that Ilk. The Queen's army stood upon another little mount, being disappointed of the hill. The great ordinance shot for the space of an half hour or thereby. The Regent had six pieces carried in carts; the Queen had seven. In time of shooting the great ordinance forty of the Regent's harquebusiers went and skirmished before the Queen's avant-guard, and killed three or four. The Queen's harquebusiers were driven back, but on the other side the Regent's horsemen, being but half number in comparison of the other, at the first rencounter gave place; but the Regent's horsemen who had retired to their company, seeing the enemy's horsemen casting about to invade the foot, with help of the bowmen, drave them back. In the meantime the Queen's avant-guard while they were marching through a strait lane, not above forty foot broad, were greatly annoyed by the Regent's harquebusiers; the Regent's avant-

guard marched fast toward them, and received them after they came out of the strait lane on the north-east side of Langside village with long spears, where there was a very sharp encounter for the space of half an hour, without yielding or giving ground on either side, so that where spears were broken they cast whingers, broken pieces of spears, stones, or whatsoever came to hand, at the faces of their enemies. The Lord Hume himself was hurt on the face with a stone, and almost felled. The Regent's harquebusiers shot continually from the dikes and house-tops. Macfarlane with his Highlandmen fled from the wing where they were set. The Lord Lindsay, who stood nearest to them in the Regent's battle, said—'Let them go, I shall fill their place better;' and so stepping forward with a company of fresh men charged the enemy, whose spears were now spent, with long weapons, so that they were driven back by force, being before almost overthrown by the avant-guard and harquebusiers, and so were turned to flight. The Regent's battle stood still till they saw the enemy flee without order. They also brake array, and followed the chace, at which more were slain than in the battle, and, as is thought, the most part by the Highlandmen, who, perceiving the victory to fall on the Regent's side, returned and pursued. More had been slain, men being thus enraged, if the Regent had not sent horsemen to all parts with a command to spare; yet the number of the slain were about 300. The number of the prisoners was greater. Among the prisoners taken were Lords Seton, Ross, Sir James Hamilton, the Sheriff of Air, the Sheriff of Linlithgow, the Master of Cassils, the Laird of Innerweik, the Laird of Trabrown, James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh.¹ On the Regent's side was slain only one man, a tenant of the Earl of Morton in Preston in the Merse, named John Ballon. Among the few that were hurt were Alexander Lord Hume and Andrew Stewart Lord Ochiltree, who was hurt by the Lord Herries."²

¹ [The assassin of the Regent Moray at Linlithgow, Jan. 21, 1569-70.—E.]

² Though Mr Holinshed belongs to the neighbouring kingdom of England, yet because he lived at the time of all these occurrences, and seems to have had very good information concerning our affairs, I have taken the freedom to insert his account of this transaction.—"On Sunday the ij. of May, in the yeare 1568, at supper tyme, the Queene escaped out of Lochlevyn by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas, brother to the Laird

This battle endured about the space of three quarters of

of Lochlevyn. The Lorde Seaton, the Laird of Ricarton, and James Hamilton of Orbiston, were ready to receyve hir, and conveyed hir over the Queenes-Ferry firste to Nudry, the Lorde Seton's house, and from thence to Hamilton Castell, where she remayned till the xij. day of May, beyng Thursday, gathering in the meane tyme such forces as she might from all places. The Earle of Moray, Lorde Regent, was in Glasquho at what tyme she thus escaped out of Lochlevyn, and upon knowledge had thereof meant at the firste to have withdrawen himselfe unto Sterlyng, but suddenly changing his purpose in that behalf, he determined to continue at Glasquho, which is not paste an eyght (eleven) myles from Hamilton, because he was perswaded that if he shoulde shrynke backe never so little he shoulde encourage his adversaries and discourage his frendes, and so consequently weaken his parte greatly. Hereupon the xij. day of May afore mentioned the Queene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Clede towarde Dunbartane; and out of Glasquho, on the other parte, marched the Lorde Regent with his forces, so as at length bothe the armies mette at a place called the Langside, neare to the House of Catcart, withiin two myles of Glasquho. There were on the Queene's parte the Earles of Argile, Cassilles, Eglinton, and Rothies, Claude Hamilton, sonne to the Duke of Chatellerault, the Lordes Seaton, Somerville, Yester, Borthwike, Levingston, Heries, Maxwell, Sanquhar, Boyd, and Ros; Lairdes and Knights, Lochinwar, Bas, Wauchton, Dalhowisy, Roslen, the Sheriffe of Air, Sir James Hamilton, and many other. On the Regent's parte were these accompted as principall—the Earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne, Menteith, the M. of Graham, the Lordes Hume, Lindsey, Ruthven, Simpil, Ogiltree, and Catcart; of Lairdes and Knights, Bargany, Blacquhan, Drumlanrig, Sessford, Lus, Buchannane, Tulibardin, Petcur, Grange, Lochlevyn, Lethington, and Sir James Balfour. At the firste joyning there was a right sharp encounter, for after they had bestowed their shotte of harquebusies and arrowes, they fell to it with speares and swordes; but at length, after three quarters of an houres fighte, the Queene's parte was put to flighte, the victory remayning with the Regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fighte before they turned their backs, among the whiche were fourteen of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prysoners about a three hundred, of whiche number the principall were these:—the Lordes Seaton and Ros, Sir James Hamilton, and many other of that surname. Of the Regent's parte the Lorde Hume was hurte in the legge and face, and the Lorde Ogiltree in the necke, by the Lorde Heries. The Lorde Lindsey, and the Lairdes of Drumlanrig and of Grange bare themselves right valiantly that day, sayling not in any poynt that belonged to the duetie of hardie capitaines. The Queene's partie was thought to be neare at the poynt of six thousande men, and the Regent's was reconed to be foure thousande; so that there were a tenne thousande men on the field that day, what upon one side and the other. The Earle of Huntley was comming forwardes to have assisted the Queene's parte, but the battayle was stricken, and hir people discomfited, as ye have heard, ere he could come, and so he returned.”—(The same thing is reported by some of our historians concerning the Lord Ogilvy)—“In this battayle the valiance of an Hieland gentleman named Macferlene stooode the

an hour only,¹ and when the Queen, who stood on an eminence to view the armies,² perceived that her friends had

Regent's parte in great steede, for in the hottest brunt of the fighte he came in with two hundred of his friendes and countrey men, and so manfullie gave in upon the flanke of the Queene's people that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Macferlene had bene lately before, as I have heard, condemned to die for some outrage by him committed, and obtayning pardon through suyte of the Countesse of Moray, he recompensed that clemencie by this peece of service now at this battayle." It would appear the Earl of Huntly and Lord Ogilvy, after signing the Bond, 8th May, p. 807-810, had gone away to bring up their followers in order to join the Queen.

¹ [The Regent Moray encamped his forces on the lands of Barrowfield near Rutherglen Bridge over the Clyde, now the eastern suburbs of Glasgow, and there expected to be attacked by the Queen's forces. On the 13th of May, the Regent was informed that the Queen's army was on the march to convey her to Dunbarton Castle on the north side of the Clyde, that fortress having been kept for her by Lord Fleming. It was the Queen's wish to avoid a battle and reach Dunbarton, as she was well aware of the military skill of her brother, and that among his supporters were Noblemen and gentlemen of undoubted valour and experience, but she was opposed by the ambition and impatience of the Hamiltons, who believed themselves the stronger party, and were anxious by a decisive blow to annihilate the Regent. Mary's influence so far prevailed that they consented to march from Hamilton to Dunbarton, and the Regent, congratulating himself on this resolution, watched their movements, and endeavoured, if possible, to bring them to an engagement. Kirkaldy of Grange had previously examined the ground, and forded the Clyde with his horsemen and a party of hackbutters as soon as he knew that the Queen's forces were to march on the south side of the river. On the same 13th of May the Queen's army appeared. In the locality where the battle was fought the ground rises to a considerable height on the south and east, and slopes rapidly towards the north and west. The Regent succeeded in securing the hill above the village of Langside, and formed his army into two columns, part of whom he posted in the village, and among gardens and enclosures. In this situation he waited the advance of the Queen's troops, whose cavalry could be of little use on such uneven ground. After the battle the Regent returned to Glasgow and proceeded to the Cathedral, in which he publicly returned thanks to God for a victory almost bloodless on his side. He was sumptuously entertained by the Magistrates, and having expressed his obligations to the citizens for their fidelity and bravery, he requested to be informed if he could be of any service to them. No immediate reply was offered, until Matthew Fawside, Deacon of the Incorporation of Bakers, intimated that the trade which he represented had liberally supplied the army with bread, and that, as the mill of Partick in the neighbourhood belonged to the Crown, a grant of it to the Corporation would be considered a public benefit. The Regent complied, and the property is still possessed by the Incorporation of Bakers in Glasgow.—E.]

² [A place is pointed out on an eminence fully in view of the field of battle, near the old ruinous castle of Cathcart, which is a mile and a half

lost the day, she “lost all courage, which she had never done before, and took so great fear,” that she rode away at full speed with some few trusty friends, and never once suffered her eyes to shut till she had got full sixty Scottish miles from the place of battle.¹ Her Majesty attempted

from Langside, where Mary anxiously waited the issue of a contest which was to decide her fate. A hawthorn bush, known as *Queen Mary's thorn*, probably planted by some devoted adherent, marked the spot till it was decayed by age about 1790, when it was succeeded by another to preserve the remembrance of this interesting locality. The peasantry shew another eminence near Cathcart Castle, called the *Court Knowe*, on which, they allege, the Queen held a council before the battle; but this is a popular error, for if any consultation occurred there, it must have been very hurried. The tradition that Mary beheld the route of her army from Crookstone Castle is altogether unfounded, yet it is singular that Sir Walter Scott, not only in *THE ABBOT*, but in his *History of Scotland*, or “*Tales of a Grandfather*” (vol. ii. p. 131), has fallen into this mistake, which he admitted in a note to his revised edition of *THE ABBOT*. Crookstone Castle is four miles west of the field of battle, and the swelling grounds which intervene altogether preclude the view of Langside from that quarter. The following description of the appearance of the localities at the time of the battle is interesting:—“The high road from Hamilton to Dunbarton either passed through Glasgow, crossing the Clyde at a ford near Dalmarnock, which was the way the Regent expected the Queen to take, when on the morning of the 13th he drew up his troops at Barrowfield to meet her; or through Rutherglen, entering this parish (Cathcart) at Hagginsshaw, passing along the ridge of the hill now known as Mount Floridon, then coinciding with the road from Glasgow to Ayr which wound round the north side of Clincart Hill, from which, about 100 yards to the west of the present Ayrshire road, it again diverged to the right, proceeded along the banks of a morass by what is now called the Bushy-Aik-Lane, and then conducted directly to the village of Langside, while the road to Ayr proceeded directly south, crossing the Cart at a bridge near the old Castle which still remains. In crossing Mount Floridon, Queen Mary's generals must have seen the enemy's forces rapidly approaching after their hurried march from Barrowfield on the opposite hill, and preparing to dispute their further advance.” It is almost needless to observe that the face of the country is now completely changed, modern alterations having removed the former landmarks.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland—Renfrewshire*, p. 503, 504.—E.]

¹ [Nearly ninety English miles. This long ride sufficiently intimates the terror of the Queen, and her horror lest she might again fall into the hands of her enemies. Lord Herries says that as soon as Mary saw that the battle was lost she was carried from the field by himself, Lord Fleming, and Lord Livingstone, accompanied by George Douglas and the foundling page called “Little Douglas.” When Mary left her station near Cathcart Castle, she and her attendants galloped off by a lane which joins the road to Rutherglen from Hagginsshaw, and from the difficulty she experienced in bringing her horse through its muddy avenue it has ever since been called *Mal's Mire*. In the lane called the *Dins Dykes*,

first to have taken the road towards Dunbarton, in order to secure her person in that impregnable fortress; but the passages thither being mostly in the hands of her enemies, she was advised by the Lord Herries to go into Galloway, in which country she would have present security, a short way from thence, either by sea or land into England, and might likewise obtain a passage into France, according as she should think it convenient for her to direct her course.

How soon the Queen was refreshed after so long and sorrowful a journey she held a consultation with her friends

about 150 yards south of the main street of Rutherglen, two rustics who were cutting grass in the vicinity attempted to stop the Queen in her flight, and threatened to cut her in pieces with their scythes if she proceeded farther, but she was instantly relieved from the insolence of those savages. Lord Herries, the companion of her flight, says that the Queen never halted till she came to Sanquhar, which by modern roads is fifty-five miles from Glasgow; but as her flight was chiefly across the country, it is almost impossible to trace her route to the coast of Kirkcudbrightshire. Her course, according to local tradition, which, however, is contradicted by Lord Herries, seems to have been through the romantic vale of the Glenkens, traversed by the Ken, in the northern district of that county. In winding her flight through its wildest recesses Mary drew rein for a short time at Queenshill, a property near the head of the vale of Tarf, which received that name to commemorate the event. She is said to have crossed the Dee at Tongland by a frail wooden bridge, which her attendants destroyed to retard the movements of the enemy. While this was in operation, the unhappy Queen obtained temporary shelter and refreshment in the cottage of a widow, who was rewarded, scanty as were the ways and means, to the extent of her ambition, by being made proprietrix of the cottage and adjoining field. All this was after she left Sanquhar, and entered Kirkcudbrightshire. Lord Herries says that Mary stopped at his house of Terreagles, where specimens of her needlework, and the bed in which she slept, are preserved. According to Lord Herries, Mary rested "some few days" at Terreagles, whence she proceeded to Dundrennan Abbey, in the parish of Rerrick, in the evening. It appears that the Queen did not pass her last evening in that religious house as is commonly believed. The Monks, dreading the vengeance of her pursuers in the shape of fine or confiscation, procured accommodation for her in a private house occupied by the ancestors of the late Mrs Anderson of Stroquhan, and the Queen, in return for their kindness, presented them with a valuable ring and a rich damask table-cloth. Such is the tradition of the district, which is not improbable. It may be here stated that the small creek, a mile and a-half south of Dundrennan Abbey, at which Mary subsequently embarked for England, is known as *Port-Mary* from that circumstance. The rocky scenery is wild and impressive, and the shore is reached from the Abbey through a secluded vale of most romantic beauty. The rock is still pointed out from which Mary took her final leave of Scotland. Maryport on the Cumberland side received its name as the place of Mary's debarkation.—E.]

what course she next should follow. And though they obtested her not to commit herself into the hands of the Queen of England, yet as an increase to all her former misfortunes this was the unlucky road she proposed, alledging for this her resolution the late kindnesses her cousin had shewed her, and her own aversion to go again into France with the equipage of an exile or fugitive where she had formerly appeared in so much glory and splendour.

Pursuant to this resolution "the Lord Herries wrote a letter on Saturday the 15th of May, to Mr Lauder,¹ the Deputy-Captain of Carlile, declaring to him the mishap of the conflict on the 13th at Langside, and requiring to know whether, if the Queen of Scots his sovereign should be compelled to seek refuge in England, she might come safely thither to Carlile. The said Deputy made answer by letter on Sunday in the morning, that the Lord Seroop being the Captain of Carlile and Lord Warden of these frontiers, was at London, whereby he had no authority in such a case pertaining to the state of a Queen, to assure anything; but he would send by post to the Court to know the Queen's Majesty's pleasure. And if in the meantime any necessity should force the Queen of Scots to come to Carlile he would gladly meet her, and receive her into his rule, and save her from all her enemies, until the Queen's Majesty's pleasure might be further known. But before that messenger returning from Carlile on Sunday could come where the Lord Herries was, the Queen and the Lord Herries were gone, and had taken passage in Galloway in a fisher-boat with eighteen or twenty persons² with her, and arrived on the same Sunday before night at a creek in Cumberland called Workington, distant from Carlile more than miles³;

¹ [Properly Lowther, an ancestor of the Noble Family of Lowther, Earls of Lonsdale. Sir Richard Lowther succeeded his cousin Henry Lord Scrope as Lord Warden of the West Marches. After Mary landed at Workington, Sir Richard Lowther, then High Sheriff of Cumberland, received orders from Elizabeth to convey her to Carlisle Castle.—E.]

² By Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 9, we are assured Mons. de Beaumont the French ambassador was now one of the Queen's company that came with her into England. Stow's Chronicle says, her Majesty "had in her company to the number of sixteen persons, besides four water men; and that Captain Read, with fifty soldiers, were appointed to attend upon her, and conveyed her to Carlile."

³ The number of miles here is blank in the original, but the distance

whereof, until Monday towards night, the said Deputy-Captain understood not. Nevertheless at the landing of the Queen of Scots at Workington, though she would at the first be known to be the Queen, yet certain gentlemen of the country, hearing of the landing of certain persons out of Scotland, resorted to Workington; and upon further understanding that she was the Queen of Scots, very dutifully brought her to a town called Coekermouth belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, by which the Queen's Majesty (viz. of England) was first advertised of her arrival upon the first knowledge thereof given to him by his officers, where she remained until the Deputy of Carlisle had assembled the whole number of the gentlemen of the country to conduct her as honourably as the manner of the country would yield to the Castle of Carlisle."

This is the account of the Queen's retreat into England as contained in one of Secretary Cecil's papers,¹ which I believe to be pretty exact. However, that my readers may not complain for want of other information, I here subjoin such accounts thereof as our own contemporary historians have afforded us.²—"She (the Queen) during her remain at Dumfries,³ sent a messenger to the Queen of

is thirty English or twenty-five Scottish miles nearly. Workington is situated at the south side of the Water of Derwent in the county of Cumberland, about sixteen miles from the mouth of the rivers of Dee and Nith in Scotland, from one of which it is certain her Majesty took passage.—[Workington is 34½ miles from Carlisle.—E.]

¹ See Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 1.

² Crawford's MS.—[Historie and Life of King James the Sixth, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 27, 28, 29.—E.]

³ This author once and again takes notice of Dumfries as the place where the Queen stopt after the battle of Langside, but Blackwood mentions *Dundreen*, which doubtless should be *Dundrenan*, an Abbay some two miles below the town of Kirkcudbright on the coast of Solway Firth, which place is indeed about sixty Scottish miles from Langside, the place of battle. And Holinshed says—"The Queene, perceyving the overthrow of hir people, fled from the place where she stoode to behold the battayle, and withdrew to Crawforde towne, and so by the Sanguhar to Dundrenane in Galloway." And says Calderwood's MS.—"The Queen perceyving the overthrow of her army, fled from the place where she was standing to behold, about a mile from the battle. She was accompanied by the Lord Herries and his horsemen, who after the repulse staid about her, and conveyed her to Dundrenan in Galloway."—[Dundrennan Abbey, now a most interesting ruin, is four and a half English miles from

England, desiring her passport to pass immediately into France,¹ which immediately was granted; and the Queen of England therewithall sent to the Queen of Scotland a fair diamond in token of friendship, as the token (custom) of that country is.² But it was converted to falsehood ere all was done; for although she made her believe before she went from Scotland, even in the midst of her distress, that she would supply her, yet it was never done by the least countenance that could be perceived against her enemies; for in the beginning of her troubles she receyted and harboured within her bounds the most capital enemies that ever she had—the one was Patrick Lord Ruthven, who died in the town of Newcastle in England; the other was James Earl of Morton, who afterwards became Regent of Scotland, and made a violent end for a filthy cause. Besides all this,

Kirkeudbright. In the genuine “*Historie and Life of King James the Sext,*” *Dundrennan*—not *Dumfries*—occurs in the text. See also Calderwood’s *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 416.—E.]

¹ This must certainly be a mistake, as appears by our Queen’s letter to the Queen of England immediately upon her arrival in that kingdom.

² And this likewise must be a mistake, for there was no message at all sent by our Queen to the English Queen until she was really landed in England. Nor does it ever appear that the Queen of England sent our Queen any ring, or other token of friendship (words only excepted) from the time she entered into England. This author has heard of a ring formerly sent by the Queen of England to our Queen, which he has imagined to be sent at this time. And indeed others of our writers tell the story as if our Queen had sent that ring to the Queen of England at this time, for no other reason, I imagine, but because both these Queens had reciprocally sent rings to each other as pledges (it is pretended) of contributing their mutual assistance to each other if they should chance to stand in need thereof; though truly I rather incline to think these rings were nothing else but the effects of ordinary civility, which commonly proceeds from the mouth only, and reaches not to the heart. And I even see but very little ground to believe that any ring was at all sent, or sent back, at this juncture from either of the Queens to the other.—[Lord Herries, however, is positive concerning the ring, of which he was the bearer. When Mary reached Cockermouth she despatched him to London with letters to Elizabeth with her own hand, “in which she expressed the hard condition her rebellious subjects had put her unto, and sent up with this Lord Herries letters which Queen Elizabeth had sent unto her some tyme before this, together with a *diamond ring* which she had lykewyse sent her in token of a sure friendship, which by her letters she desyred her to keep, that if she should happen to fall into distress, the sight of that ring should be an infallible tye for Elizabeth to assist her with all her power.”—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 103, 104.—E.]

although the Queen of Scotland was entered into England by that Queen's own permission, and great promises of friendship to follow thereupon,¹ by the taking of the ring carried by Sir Robert Meline,² now Treasurer-Depute of Scotland,³ notwithstanding she was committed first to the town of Carlisle, and next to the custody of my Lord Scroop, where she was so circumspectly attended upon, that for a long time she was debarred from all access to others, and all others debarred from access to her.⁴ And when she desired to have free passage through her country according to the first condition of the passport,⁵ it was answered, That some commissioners should be sent to talk with her at York, who should resolve her in all things. But to the effect I may return to my purpose; the Nobles of Scotland who were convened with her at Dumfries, understanding her bent mind to pass into England, they withstood her with many reasons, saying, That the Queen and Council of England meant no more uprightly to her at that time than they had to divers of her predecessors afore-time; which was to keep her sure within her kingdom, never to come

¹ "She (the Queen of Scots) never rested till she was in England, thinking herself sure of refuge there, in respect of the fair promises formerly made to her by the Queen of England, by word to her ambassadors, and by her own hand-writ, both before and after she was captive in Lochleven. But God and the world knows how she was kept and used," &c. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.—[Edited by George Scott, folio, p. 92; Memoirs of his own Life, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 202.—E.]

² Melvil.—[The Scottish peasantry pronounce *Melville* as *Meline*—a corruption of *Melvin*, which is often written for *Melville*.—E.]

³ Sir Robert was made Treasurer-Depute about the time of King James VI.'s marriage, in the year 1589.

⁴ This agrees not with what is told elsewhere, viz.—that "to Bolton, a house of the Lord Scroop's, whither her Majestie came about the 16th of June, was licensed to resort to her all manner of her subjects of what state soever they were, to the number of thirty at one tyme, coming to her, above her ordinary servaunts that wait upon her; which numbre the Queenes Majestie (of England) appoynted, although be the said Queenes own lettres she requyred but four at a tyme."—Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 6.

⁵ The first mention of a passport at all for our Queen to go into France was by the Lord Herries on the 29th May 1568, when he went out to meet the Lord Scroop and Sir Francis Knolles, who were sent from London to wait on our Queen at Carlisle, but the answer here mentioned by our author was not given then.

loose again, and to rule by their usurped suppositives in Scotland, as they had done before in the time of King Robert Bruce, and many others, to hold this Realm perpetually at under; using many other reasons to dissuade her from that purpose.¹ But all was in vain; her will behov'd to be accomplished, there was so great belief given to the passport and the ring on her side, that she got never credence to requit them with thanks. And thus she passed into England upon hopes of farther courtesy."²

It is to no purpose for us short-sighted mortals to complain behind the hand, when the time is past for recalling what we have done amiss; nor yet, perhaps, are the misfortunes which befall us owing always to this and the other reason we fondly ascribe them to. That our Queen's entering into England at this time was attended with much trouble and vexation to her,³ and at last, after eighteen years'

¹ This same argument, furnished likewise with several other particular instances of the hard usage our Kings have met with from England, is ascribed by Blackwood to the Archbishop of St Andrews at this time, which the readers may find translated from him into Dr Mackenzie's Life of Queen Mary, and how that Prelate should at length have fallen down upon his knees, and entreated the Queen with tears in his eyes not to depart, but remain within Scotland.

² Crawford's MS.—[Historie and Life of King James the Sext, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 27, 28, 29.—E.]

³ [Queen Mary's circumstances, when she arrived in England, may be inferred from the following extract of a letter written in French by her to Queen Elizabeth dated Workington, 17th May 1568—"It is my earnest request that your Majesty will send for me as soon as possible, for my condition is pitiable, not to say for a Queen, but for a simple gentlewoman. I have no other dress than that in which I escaped from the field. My first day's ride was sixty miles across the country, and I have not since dared to travel except by night."—Anderson's Collections, vol. iv, p. 33. Her destitution after her removal to Carlisle is thus stated in a letter to Catherine de Medici—"Madam, I beseech you to have regard to my necessity. The King owes me some money, and I have not a penny. I am not ashamed to make my plaint unto you, as to her who has brought me up; for I have not only not wherewithal to purchase a shift, but am reduced to a plight which the bearer will tell you." When the Queen landed in England she was entertained at Workington Hall by Sir Henry Curwen, until she removed to Cockermouth and Carlisle. The chamber in which she slept is still called the *Queen's room*. Lord Herries states that before he returned from the mission on which he had been sent by Mary to Elizabeth, announcing her arrival in England and requesting her protection, Lord Scrope, who was "Warden on the

confinement, with a violent death, is what all her friends would be ready enough to lament, and earnestly to wish she

English syde, and lived at Carlisle Castle, was commanded to carry her to the Castle of Carlisle, where, with a shadow of honor, she was kept under a strict guard."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 104. Mary remained at Cocker-mouth, after she left Workington, until Sir Richard Lowther had assembled a body of the country gentlemen to escort her to Carlisle in a manner suitable to her rank. When the important tidings reached Elizabeth she despatched an express to Lowther, enjoining him to treat Mary with the utmost courtesy and respect. Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys, the Vice-Chamberlain, were immediately sent to Carlisle with strict orders to watch every motion of the Scottish Queen, and Lady Scrope, sister of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and other ladies, were commanded to repair to Carlisle and attend Mary. Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys arrived at Carlisle on the 29th of May 1568. They were met a short distance from the city by Lord Herries, who announced to them the earnest desire of Mary to have an interview with Elizabeth, or that his royal mistress would require a passport to France, but he was informed that the former could not be granted till she was cleared from any implication in the murder of Darnley. Among Mary's attendants in Carlisle Castle were Bishop Lesley of Ross, Lords Herries, Livingstone, and Fleming, George Douglas, the foundling page "Little Douglas," Curll and Naive, her two secretaries, John Beaton, and Sebastian, Ladies Fleming and Livingstone, Mary Seton, and others. When the Scottish Queen was informed that Elizabeth refused to admit her into her presence, she expressed the most poignant sorrow, and burst into tears. Meanwhile, on the pretence that too many "Scottish strangers" were in Carlisle, Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys ordered the fortifications of the Castle to be completely repaired. Mary was narrowly watched, and her rides were limited to a short distance; but she was allowed to attend Divine Service in the Cathedral, with the intention of disguising from her as much as possible her situation as a prisoner, her attendants played at foot-ball, at which she was occasionally present, and she rode out "hunting the hare."—(Knollys to Cecil, 15th June 1568, Cotton MS). Mary's retinue was now increased to nearly forty, including "gentlemen servers and waiters, carvers and cup-bearers," and in the city her friends and their retainers from Scotland amounted to thirty or forty more, who often paid their respects to the Queen. In a letter to Cecil, dated 28th June, Sir Francis Knollys announces Mary's reluctance to be conveyed farther south. He notices her amusements, and "Mistress Mary Seaton, being Lord Seaton's daughter," who, he says, is "praised by the Queen to be the fynest busker, that is to say, the fynest dresser of a woman's head and hair that is to be seen in any country." The Queen had at that date six waiting women. "As touching her Grace's apparell," says Sir Francis, "besydes dyvers sutes of black colour that she hath here, according to her desyre we have agayne sent to Edinborough to my Lord Morraye for dyvers other sutes of apparell, and we look to-morrowe for the retorne of the messenger; but she seemeth to esteeme of none other apparyll than her owne." On the 7th of July that year Sir Francis writes that the Regent Moray had sent his own messenger with

had taken another resolution ; but yet neither she nor they could be certain that the same or the like miseries should not have come upon her elsewhere, or that they would certainly befall her upon her withdrawing into England. For though it be true that suspicions and misunderstandings

“ three coffers of apparyll,” which Mary appears not to have thought sufficiently gay, and she sent to the Regent “ for her desyred apparyll remayning in Lochleven.” He adds that Mary did not pay the messengers who were despatched on those errands, and that Elizabeth is “ lyke to beare the charges thereof also.” The tower in which Mary was confined was situated at the north-east corner of Carlisle Castle, and her windows commanded an extensive prospect of rich meadow land watered by the Eden, with the village of Stanwix on the opposite bank. A part of the staircase of Queen Mary’s tower and some ornamented stonework are now the only memorials. The door through which she came out to her daily promenade on the *Ladies’ Walk* is walled up. This tower, the lower part of which was of Norman architecture, and probably the original building erected by William Rufus, was taken down in 1834 in consequence of its insecure state, the materials were sold by auction, and a wall built round the angle of the site, the battlements of which are loopholed for musquetry. At the sale the oak beams brought very high prices to be manufactured into relics. In one of the rooms of the Keep of Carlisle Castle is a curiously carved oak table, which is said to have been a part of the furniture of Queen Mary’s kitchen. Two ash trees, which tradition asserted were planted by Queen Mary, were cut down by order of the Board of Ordnance in 1804, and as they were remarkably fine ones, probably the largest in the county, apart from the interest excited by their origin they formed an ornamental appendage to the Castle, which rendered their destruction most unnecessary and unaccountable. On the 13th of July, after very great difficulty, Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys succeeded in removing Mary from Carlisle. At first she was stubborn and unwilling. The latter writes to Cecil that when it was announced to her that Elizabeth had sent her own litter and horses, and she was entreated to go “ with contentation and good will”—“ surely,” he says, “ if I should declare the difficulties that we have passed before we could get her to remove, instead of a letter I should write a story, and that somewhat tragical.” The first place at which Mary and her attendants rested was Lowther, the residence of Sir Richard Lowther, the Deputy Warden of the Marches. When they arrived within five miles of the mansion they were met by Sir Richard, who informed Mary that Elizabeth had prepared Bolton Castle in Yorkshire, the residence of Lord Scrope, for her reception, and thither she was accordingly taken, strictly guarded, and forbidden to have any communication with her Scottish subjects. The unfortunate Queen was subsequently removed from one castle to another, as notions of caprice or fancied security dictated, with diminished comforts at every change of abode, until she was finally deprived of her personal liberty and of every consolation ; and she was consigned, on the 25th of September 1586, to Fotheringay Castle, in which, in the following February, her unhappy life was ended by the executioner.—E.]

had intervened betwixt our Queen and the Queen of England, yet she had in my opinion very great reason to expect that her cousin would have acted a better part towards her on this occasion :—those late remonstrances considered, which had been made in her favour so lately by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in his mistress's name. But indeed these were all very quickly forgot, and no sooner had the English Queen got our Queen in her possession, but she speaks in another accent, and resolves, if not from her own mind, at least by the advice of her Council, to make her a prisoner. How little are the words or promises of Princes to be depended upon when reasons of State can be alledged for recalling them !

The Queen's Majesty being now reduced to the dismal situation of a captive in another land, from which she had never afterwards the happiness to be delivered except only by an untimely death;¹ and this nation being thereby brought under the necessity of a new Government,² I suppose that

¹ [Queen Mary was beheaded in the hall of Fotheringay Castle on the 8th of February, or 18th of the new style, 1557, in the forty-fifth year of her age. "Here," says Lord Herries, "is now an end of this Queen's unfortunate reign, though not of her lyfe, which yet continued eighteen years longer, in all which tyme she suffered imprisonment, miseries, and affliction above infliction, at last death itselfe, by the loss of her head."—*Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 104.—E.]

² [The Regent Moray's career was of no long duration after Mary's flight into England. In the Conference of York, which was afterwards removed to Westminster, the Regent, without any satisfactory evidence of Mary's guilt, or any decision pronounced on that evidence, such as it was, hesitated not to give the most decided and ungrateful testimony against his sister ; and leaving her in the hands of his enemies, by whom she was virtually, though not formally, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, he returned to administer the affairs of Scotland, of which he was the uncontroled master. The Regent held a Parliament at Edinburgh on the 12th of July 1568, which was continued to the 16th, 19th, and 24th of August, and the 17th of November. Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, Lord Claud Hamilton, the Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis, Lords Herries and Fleming, and others, were forfeited (*Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. iii. p. 45-58). Those proceedings exasperated the Hamiltons, and Moray was assassinated on the 23d of January, while riding through the public street of Linlithgow, by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, nephew of the Archbishop, whose wife he had allowed to be deprived of her estate of Woodhouselee near Edinburgh, and who had been turned out of her residence by the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, the person who obtained the property. The ball passed through the Regent's body, and though he

when I shall have carried forward the Ecclesiastick Affairs of the kingdom to a coincidence with this period, the same may be reckoned a proper enough opportunity for putting a close to the First Volume of our Historical Collections.¹ To these last named affairs, after a long recess of seven or eight years, I am now going to advance, previous to which I shall only take the freedom to desire my readers to pause a little here, and upon shutting up this period of civil transactions allow themselves to reflect upon the instability of all humane grandeur, and indeed of all things whatsoever this world can afford. The case of our Queen has hitherto been, and I believe will continue to be, looked upon as a very eminent instance of what I here alledge, by the many traversies of fortune which accompanied her from the cradle to the grave. And if the seven years last run out might have been judged the most stable time of her life, yet strange it is to consider what and how many elevations and depressions have been interspersed even here! not a day, not an hour almost, but some new turn came into her affairs! and these vicissitudes, too, were as surprising in their kind as various in their number! To recapitulate them in the fewest words would consume too much time and labour—it would seem to require little less than to repeat over again all that I have already collected. I pretend not, however, to say that these alterations and contrary gales surrounded her Majesty *fortuitously* only. It is to be acknowledged that she herself might have had a procuring hand in some of them;² but it appears to

was able to dismount and walk to a house, he expired a little before midnight in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Such was the end of Moray, who was long remembered by the people as the *Good Regent*. When Mary was informed of his fate, she is said to have exclaimed—"Would that he had not died till he had repented of his crimes toward his God, his country, and me!"—E.]

¹ [Our Historian means Books I. and II. of his folio History, forming the first and second volumes of the present edition, which he modestly entitles, as in reality they are—"Historical Collections." Bishop Keith contemplated a second volume, which he actually commenced.—See "Biographical Sketch," vol. i. p. xxxvi.—E.]

² [The narrative of Mary's reign in Scotland, which occupies the whole of the present volume, is one of the most eventful and extraordinary in the annals of the kingdom. It completely proves that the Queen was incapable of conducting the government, and her deposition was almost an act of necessity. Her whole administration of State affairs was a

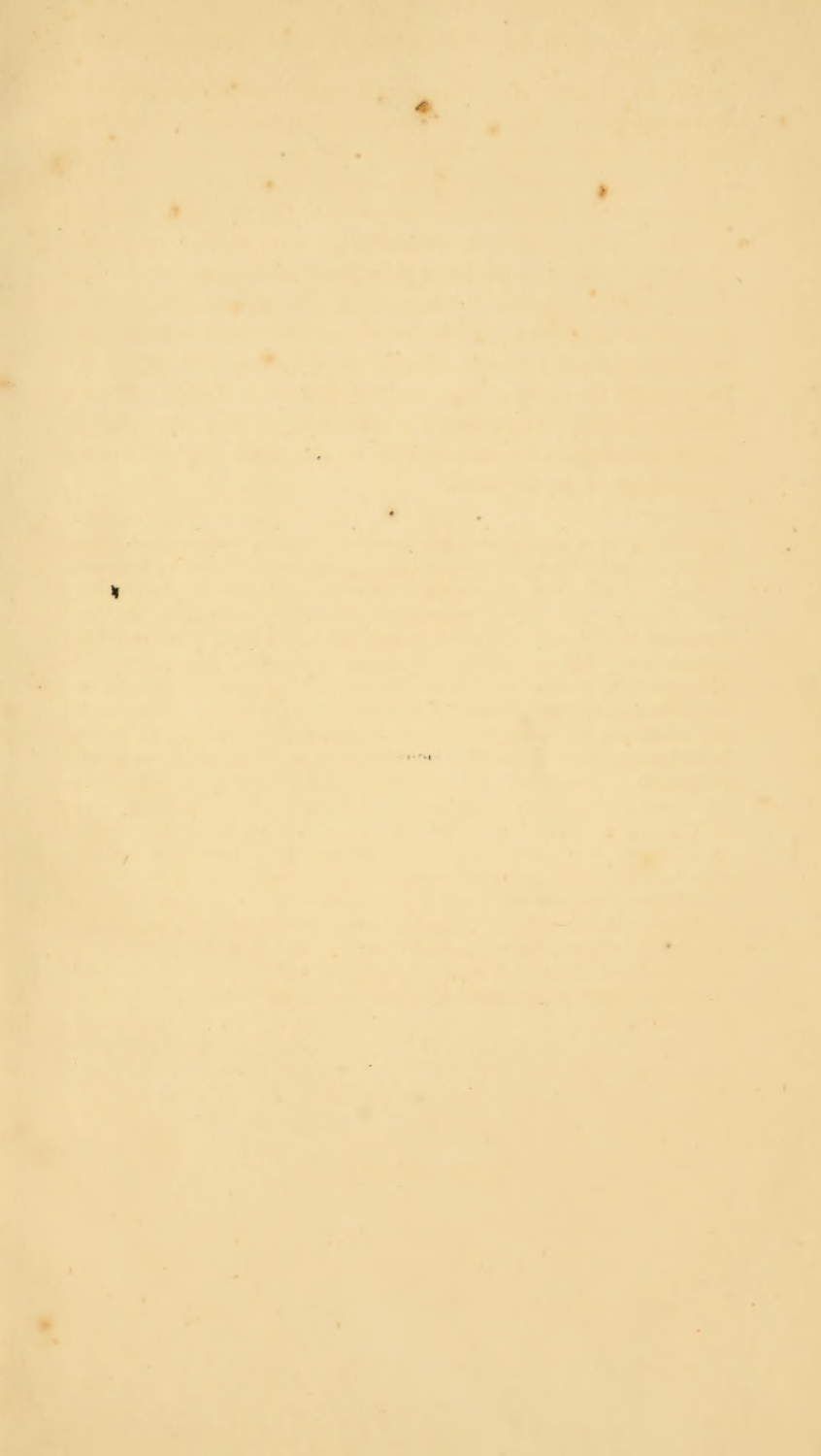
be no less true that a turbulent and unconscientious set of men, whom she had admitted into the principal management of her affairs, stirred up a great many more. She had been oftener than once esteemed, applauded, loved, and praised by those very persons who have now driven her into a foreign kingdom to save her life; and some of themselves, whatever might be her miscarriages, were so conscious of their present iniquitous deportment towards her, and seemed to be so sensible of the wicked designs of their own faction, that their hearts smote them—they relented, took a contrary course, and had the chance, whether good or bad I shall not determine, to lose their lives by the power of these very persons whom they had assisted to raise up to that usurped authority, and without whose advice and valour they had never been able to lay hold of it. Our Queen had likewise been in former time an object of envy to the English Queen.¹ That Princess saw our sovereign adorned by nature with many

miserable failure, while it was characterized by the perpetration of a series of crimes, one of them at least committed in her very presence, which indelibly disgrace the age, and can scarcely be paralleled in any other country. Plot after plot was concerted in rapid succession, and Mary was in some way or other the unfortunate victim of them all. But it must be recollected that the Nobility were most profligate, corrupt, and unscrupulous, and the people were in a state of the most deplorable ignorance, rudeness, and turbulence, easily excited by their feudal masters, and by the declamations of the preachers, who pursued Mary with unceasing malignity. She had been educated in the most licentious Court in Europe, and her marriages in Scotland were most injudicious and fatal—a fact sufficiently proved by the imbecility, bad habits, and ingratitude of Darnley, and by the atrocious villany and profligacy of Bothwell. “Her husbands,” says Stuart, “like her courtiers, were eager to interrupt her prosperity and enjoyments, and while her administration was deformed with disasters and faction, her domestic life was embittered with inquietudes and sorrow.”—E.]

¹ [“The incomparable beauty and expression of Mary’s countenance,” says Dr Gilbert Stuart, “the exquisite propriety of her stature, and the exact symmetry of her shape, attracted and fixed the admiration of every beholder. In her air, her walk, her gesture, she mingled majesty and grace. Her eyes, which were of a dark grey, spoke the emotions and sensibility of her mind; the sound of her voice was melodious and affecting; her hair, which was black, improved the brightness of her complexion. To give the greatest lustre to her person, she took a full advantage of the adventitious aids and garniture of dress. She discovered an inexhaustible fancy in the richness and variety of her garments. She delighted in jewels and precious stones, and she was anxiously curious in the fineness and fashion of her linen.—Elizabeth, to whom her abilities

excellent endowments of body and mind, and herself superior in *power* alone. Both the Queens had high and enterprising spirits; both of them looked with jealous eyes on each other; and neither of them could think of yielding to another. But now there is a sad catastrophe in the affairs of our Queen, and her Majesty is even forced to fly for shelter into the dominions of the Queen of England! And no sooner is she arrived thither, than she makes her humble request to her cousin, tells her she is come into her land for security against her own rebellious subjects, and prays for assistance to replace her on her throne! What strange reverse of life! How bitter a pill must all this have been! And how little elevated should we be with any sublunary advantage or preferment!

and beauty were a source of the most unrelenting jealousy and anger, embraced with a ferocious ardour the opportunity of humbling her completely as a Queen and as a woman. She was exposed to all the practices of a cunning and wicked vengeance. The vilest calumnies, the most insulting mortifications, the most studied barbarities, were employed against her. She was made to exchange a kingdom for a prison, and while she felt in her own person the cruelest injuries, she was afflicted with the dangers that threatened her country and her son. An inclement and suspicious adversary, who dreaded to encounter her when at liberty, tarnished the glory of an illustrious reign by trampling upon her sceptre while she was a captive. The rivalry of beauty still more perhaps than of talents fostered the resentments of Elizabeth, and while she made Mary to suffer under her power, she found the most exquisite delight in overturning the dominion of her charms.—To overwhelm her with distress and anguish, Elizabeth scrupled not to insult and violate the most established principles of law and justice, the honour of hospitality, the reverence of her sex, the holiness of religion, the solemnity of engagements, the ties of relation, the feelings of humanity, the sanctity of innocence, the majesty of kings.”—History of Scotland from the Establishment of the Reformation till the death of Queen Mary, 4to. London, 1782, vol. ii. p. 386-389.—E.]





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